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THE BUDDHIST COUNCILS.

BY PROFESSOR L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

I.

THE FIRST TWO COUNCILS.

THE discoveries and the researches of recent years have, at least partially, confirmed the views that Messrs. Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, and Windisch, not to mention others, had expressed concerning the antiquity of the Buddhist Canons ; they have, to a large extent, invalidated several of the objections of Minayeff. I am all the more bound in candour to recognise this, as I reproach myself with having formerly adhered on certain points to the scepticism, or, if the expression is preferred, to the agnosticism of the great Russian savant, one of the most penetrating intellects which have done honour to our studies, who, however, in his short and fruitful career, evidently had not the time to point and bring to maturity all his ideas, and who has given us in his *Researches* merely the outline or the first edition of the book to which his life was consecrated.[1]

The moment seems to us to have arrived for resuming, in order to recapitulate it and perhaps advance it a little, a discussion which, at times, was almost impassioned; to examine under what conditions and on what terrain it must be pursued at the present time ; to determine what remains of the criticisms formulated by Minayeff. It will be seen that on some points where, according to Prof. Oldenberg, he was grievously mistaken, he sometimes was perfectly right, — notably in that which concerns the Councils ; and that even where he was wrong — notably about the edict of Bhabra (Bairat), — his work was useful and throws a singularly clear light on some of the problems of this old story.

There is scarcely need to say that all the studies bearing on the origin of the Canons are necessarily provisional. The fault of this lies above all with the sinologues, so zealous when it is a question of problems which interest sinology only, but at times negligent when Buddhism is concerned. We ought to be the more grateful to the few scholars who have revealed to us some details concerning the literature of the sects of the Little Vehicle.[2]

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[1] *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme* par I. P. Minayeff, translated from the Russian by R. H. Assier de Pompignan, *Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'Etudes*, t. IV. (1894). The original edition dates from 1887. H. Oldenberg, *Buddhistische Studien*, Z.D.M.G. LII. (1898), pp. 613—694.

[2] Not to mention the older ones, Wassilieff, Beal. (*The Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas according to the Chinese Version*, Vhdl. of the 5 Or. Kongr., Ostasiat. Section, p. 17, *Berlin*, 1881, reprinted in *Abstract of four Lectures*, (1882), — and the notes on the Mahîçâsakas, ap. Oldenberg, *Intr. to Vinaya Pitaka*, I. p. xliv), — I should mention the article of M. Suzuki, *The First Buddhist Council* (*Monist*, XIV., 27th January 1904, pp. 252—283, with a preface by A. J. Edmunds) which is the most complete work we possess on the Chinese Sources.—Tibetan Sources for the First Council (Sarvâstivâdin School), Csoma Feer, *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, II. 196 ; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 159 ; Schiefner (*Lebensbeschreibung*). See, also, Wassilieff, *Buddhism*, and the notes on Târanâtha.

§ 9. Ānanda, who had not been questioned on the Vinaya — and besides, the method adopted did not permit any initiative except to the president, — Ānanda begins to speak : Then the venerable Ānanda said to the theras : "The Most Happy, at the moment of his death, spake thus to me : 'When I am dead, O Ānanda, let the Saṁgha, if it wish, abolish the small and lesser precepts.' "[16] "Then, O Ānanda, did you ask the Most Happy which were these precepts?"— "No, my friends."

Which are the small precepts? All the laws, except the four *pārājikas*? All, except the *pārājikas* and the thirteen *saṁghādisesas*? All, except the *pārājikas*, the *saṁghadisesas* and the two *aniyatas*? etc. The "Fathers" offer six different opinions.

Kāçyapa makes them accept his way of thinking : "For fear of scandalising the laymen, who know our laws of discipline, let us change nothing of what Buddha has decided."

§ 10. The monks[17] reproach Ānanda with a certain number of failings : "You committed a fault when you . . . . confess this fault." Ānanda consents to confess his faults : "It was by forgetfulness that I . . . . I did that with the intention . . . . " And all his replies end with the formula : "I do not see the wrong in that. Nevertheless, out of deference to you[18], I confess this sin."

The sins of Ānanda are known to all the sources of M. Suzuki, with the exception of the *Sudarçana-vinaya.*

Their number is sometimes six, sometimes seven, sometimes nine. As the agreement is not absolute, we may distinguish twelve heads of the accusation.[19]

Here are the most important data :—

Cullavagga: (1) Not having informed himself concerning the lesser precepts; (2) Having stepped upon Buddha's robe for the rainy season, when wishing to sew it (*Vassikasāṭika, varṣāçāṭi, M. Vyut*, § 261, 92); (3) Having first admitted the women to venerate the body of the Master, so that the body should be profaned by their tears[20]; (4) Not having prayed the Master to prolong his life; (5) Having obtained from Buddha the admission of the women into the order.

Mahīçāsakas : (1) Lesser precepts; (2) Having stepped on the Master's robe, when wishing to sew it; (3) Admission of the women into the order; (4) Prolongation of the life of Buddha; (5) Not having given to Buddha something to drink, in spite of his thrice-repeated request; (6) Having first admitted the women to venerate the remains of the Master.[21]

Dharmaguptas :[22] (1) Admission of the women; (2) "Buddha asked Ānanda three times to serve him as one who offers things (?) to Buddha, but he declined him[23]; (3) Having stepped on the

[16] *Khuddhānukhuddaka*, "the lesser and minor precepts."

[17] See below, note 31.

[18] *Āyasmantānaṁ saddhāya* = out of my faith in you.

[19] This is the number at which M. Suzuki arrives : One point is proper to the Sarvāstivādins : to have held useless discussions concerning the parables of Buddha. Two points are peculiar to the *Collection of the Kāçyapa* (1) When Ānanda was one time reproached by Buddha, he secretly cherished ill-will and was mischievous to others. (2) Ānanda was not yet delivered from the three passions — lust, hatred, ignorance, while the other bhikkhus at the Council were freed from them. One point (Dharmagupta, 2) is a duplicate of the refusal of the water. Lastly, M. Suzuki distinguishes three variants of the episode of the women : (i) Having first admitted the women to the veneration of the body, (ii) Having permitted this "gilded" body to be profaned by tears, (iii) Having uncovered it in the presence of the women.

[20] A variant in "a recent Pāli biography of Buddha," ap. Minayeff, p. 83, note.

[21] Without mention of the tears that had profaned the body.

[22] The order in Beal is very different.

[23] This point must not be confused with No. 5 of the Mahīçāsakas, which is repeated below. According to Beal, we must understand ; three times Buddha asked Ānanda to follow him and three times he refused.

robe when wishing to sew it; (4) Prolongation of the life of Buddha; (5) Having refused to give to drink to Buddha . . . .; (6) Lesser precepts; (7) Having shown the gilded body of Buddha to a multitude of women,[24] permitting them to profane it by their tears.

Mahāsāṁghikas : (1) Admission of women into the order; (2) Prolongation of life; (3) Having walked on the robe while sewing it; (4) Having refused to give Buddha to drink . . . .; (5) Smaller precepts; (6) "Ānanda exposed the secret parts of Buddha in the presence of women, thinking that the act would tend to a cessation of their passion; but how could he know this when he had not yet attained to the stage of Arhatship?"[24a]; (7) Having exposed the gilded body of Buddha . . . .

According to the *Mahāvastu*, III. 48, Ānanda had authorised his disciples to eat in a group. This infringement of the rule, which we shall find again at Vaiçālī, does not appear to have been counted among the failings of Ānanda. It is to be noticed that in the recital of the First Council Ānanda is only named in passing (*Mhv.* 1, 69 *sqq.*). Kātyāyana and Kāçyapa are the only notable characters.

Sarvāstivādins. According to Rockhill (*Dulva*), like the Mahāsāṁghikas, except for No. 3. where the occasion of Ānanda's sin (sewing or washing the robe) is not determined, and for No. 6, where it speaks of men and women of ill-manners. According to M. Suzuki (Chinese source), we must add (2*a*) "When Buddha preached in parables, Ānanda made, in spite of his presence, some superfluous remarks on them," and modify (3) "Having walked on the robe when washing it," and (4) "Having given muddy water to Buddha."[25]

§ 11. Purāṇa, who was travelling in the mountain of the South with five hundred bhikkhus, arrives at Rājagṛha as the recitation of the Vinaya and of the Dharma is finished. He comes to salute the theras. The latter say to him: "The Dharma and the Vinaya, O Purāṇa, have been chanted by the theras. Associate yourself with the choir."[26]

Purāṇa replies: "The Dharma and the Vinaya have been well chanted by the theras. However, in the way in which I have heard and received [the law] from the mouth of Bhagavat himself, in that manner I purpose to retain it in my memory."

The episode of Purāṇa is more fully developed in the three Chinese sources which speak of this important personage; that is, the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas, that of the Mahiçāsakas and the *Vinayamātṛkasūtra.*[27]

Purāṇa arrives at Rājagṛha when the Council is ended. At his entreaty, Kāçyapa gathers together the assembly afresh and Upāli recommences his recitation. Purāṇa approves of all; only he demands the insertion of eight permissions, eight "things" compatible with the law which forbids the eating of preserved foods and of which Buddha had entirely approved: these are (I reproduce the translation of M. Suzuki) "(1) keeping food indoors; (2) cooking indoors; (3) cooking of one's

24 According to Beal, only one woman was concerned.

24a Accordingly, Arhats only possess abhijñās.—According to the Tib. *Lebensbeschreibung*: "Du hast einem Ehepaare Geheimlehren mitgetheilt."

25 According to the *Dulva*, Ānanda excuses himself for not having given water to the Tathāgata to drink, because five hundred chariots had disturbed the water of the river (Kakusthana = Kakutthā) in crossing it.

26 *Upehi taṁ saṁgītim.* — *Vinaya Texts*: "Do thou, then, submit thyself to and learn the text so rehearsed by them," a translation which is elegant, but somewhat long. Buddhists say: *upemi buddhaṁ saraṇam.*

27 Besides the reports of M. Suzuki (article cited, p. 280), see Wassilieff ad Tāranātha, p. 291: . . . . "the tradition of the Chinese Vinaya that already at the First Council, Pūrāṇa protested against *seven* points that "Kāçyapa had introduced."

We have seen that the *Dulva* speaks of a Pūrṇa, bell-ringer of the Council and delegate to Gavāmpati (above note 12).

own accord; (4) taking food of one's own accord; (5) receiving food when rising early in the morning; (6) carrying food home in compliance with the wish of the giver; (7) having miscellaneous fruits; (8) eating things grown in (or by?) a pond."[28]

Kāçyapa agrees that Buddha did, in truth, authorise the eight "points"; but it was only because food was scarce, — in case of *āpad*, we should say; later, he withdrew this permission. Purāṇa replies that Buddha, being omniscient, does not permit that which is otherwise forbidden, neither does he forbid that which is otherwise permitted. Kāçyapa explains that the omniscience of the Master enables him on the contrary to modify the laws; he concludes: "Let us, O Purāṇa, come to this decision: that which Buddha does not forbid, shall not be forbidden, but his prohibitions shall not be transgressed. Let us exercise ourselves according to the disciplinary laws of Buddha."

M. Suzuki did not observe that the eight points are discussed in the *M. Vagga* (VI. 17—19, 20; 4, 32); but, if I dare to say so, the whole episode is antedated; it was Buddha himself who, after having authorised the "keeping food indoors, etc.," withdrew this concession.[29]

§ 12. Ānanda begins to speak: "Bhagavat said to me at the moment of his death: 'When I am dead, Ānanda, let the Saṁgha impose the *brahmadaṇḍa*[30] on the bhikkhu Channa.'" And on the demand of the theras, — Kāçyapa does not play part here any more than in the chapter on the failings of Ānanda,[31] — the confidential disciple explains what is this punishment: "Let the bhikkhu Channa say what pleases him; the bhikkhus will not speak to him, will not exhort him, neither will they warn him." He agrees to go and announce this sentence to Channa, but accompanied by a group of brethren, of five hundred brethern, "for this bhikkhu is fierce and passionate."[32]

§§ 13-14. These two paragraphs are devoted to an episode in Ānanda's journey in search of Channa: his meeting with the wives of King Udena and his conversation with this king. The recital is interesting and is not a digression in a book of Vinaya, for it is a question of the use of old garments and, in general, of all objects not in use.

§ 15. Ānanda announces his sentence to Channa, who receives it with much humility. His grief and his remorse are such that he attains the quality of Arhat. He goes to Ānanda. "Suppress for me now, O Ānanda, the *brahmadaṇḍa*." "From the same moment, O Channa, that you realised the quality of Arhat, from that same moment the *brahmadaṇḍa* was suppressed."

§ 16. Conclusion of the Chapter: "As five hundred bhikkhus, without one less or one more, have taken part in this choir of the Vinaya, this choir of the Vinaya is called 'of the Five Hundred.'"

What does Prof. Oldenberg think of this account? It is rather difficult to say, for his opinion seems to be wanting in that fine unity which he is pleased to recognise in the first paragraphs which composed it.[33] On the one hand, he has stated and repeated that he did not believe in the account

[28] The Mahīçāsakas enumerate differently the "points" of Purāṇa; there are seven of them, "receiving food in compliance with the wish of another; (5) taking fruits of one's own accord; (6) receiving things coming out of a pond; (7) eating fruit with its seeds (or stones) removed, when received from one who is not a regular attendant in the Saṁgha." — The *Vinayamātṛkā* appears to follow the Dharmaguptas', for the two points which it explains accord with the list of that school.

[29] To make the list of the Dharmaguptas correspond with that of the *Culla* (seven points) it suffices to combine the 4th and the 7th of the former, "taking miscellaneous fruits of one's own accord."

[30] *Brahmadaṇḍa* — "the higher penalty." This expression is only met with here and *Mahāparinibbānas*, VI. 4. See Kern, *Gesch.* II. 118-119. Channa had already incurred severe penalties (see *Culla*, I. 25—31).

[31] In other sources (see p. 11-12) it is Kāçyapa who takes up the word against Ānanda.

[32] Wassilieff ad Tāranātha, p. 291: "According to the tradition of the Chinese Vinaya, at the time of the First Council the bhikṣu *Chanda* created at Kauçāmbī a division among the monks and Ānanda was sent to adjust affairs."

[33] "Schönster Einheitlichkeit"—*Buddh. Studien*, p. 614.

of the Council proper [§§ 7-8]; — and that for reasons whose whole weight he has caused to be felt afresh by well-disposed persons, for, in truth, they affect us very little[34]; — moreover, he scarcely dares to attribute any historic value whatever to the discussion relative to the "small and lesser precepts, and the major penance inflicted on Channa" (§§ 9 and 12): "Es mag sogar an irgendwelche Überbleibsel von historischer Erinnerung gedacht werden: das wird ebenso wenig zu beweisen wie zu widerlegen sein." On the other hand, he protests himself with great vigour against the observations of Minayeff. The latter, retaining as historic or semi-historic all the episodes (Subhadra, small rules, faults of Ananda, etc.), puts aside as apocryphal or tendencious the history of the Council in its official convocation (§§ 3-4), in its literary labours (§§ 7-8), and tries to show, on the one hand, the incoherence of §§ 1-2 and 3-4; on the other hand, the contradiction between the episodes and the solemn drawing-up of a complete canon.

Our Chapter of the *Cullavagga*, says Prof. Oldenberg, opens with the textual reproduction of an episode of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (*Culla* XI., § I. = *Mahāparinibbāna*, VI., 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 40); next it gives us a legendary reconstruction of the First Council, inspired by the narrative, authentic and historical in this case, of the Second Council; finally it makes use of Buddha's discourses relative to the secondary precepts and to the "boycotting" of Channa, discourses reproduced in this same *Mahāparinibbāna*. "The point of view of Minayeff, who claims to recognise in these episodes [and those of the "failings" of Ānanda] an old kernel of authentic tradition (einen alten kern guter Überlieferung) and to separate them from the rest of the account due to a much younger time, this point of view is illusory." In fact, "Der Culla, wenn er jene Andeutungen seinerseits ergriff und daraufhin die Geschichte von dem Konzil mit den in Rede stehenden Episoden ausstattete, beging damit *nicht in mindesten*, wie Minayeff will, *einen Selbstwiderspruch.*"

Minayeff has not put on his spectacles when he maintains that the *Culla* identifies Kāçyapa's five hundred companions, among whom were Subhadra and many of the faithful but imperfect bhikṣus, with the five hundred Arhats (except one) whom Kāçyapa elected for the conclave. The § 1 of the *Culla* contains the account of his journey, given by Kāçyapa before a numerous assembly probably at Kuçinārā; this assembly is the one convoked by Kāçyapa to chant the choir and in which he is going to choose the members of the choir.

Minayeff saw a contradictory repetition in the designation of the future conclavists by Kāçyapa at the prayer of the Saṁgha, and the official decision following on a "double proposition" (and not quadruple, as the Russian savant says) which delegates to these same conclavists the power and the mission to hold their sessions at Rājagṛha:[35] wrongly, for, adds Prof. Oldenberg, "Nothing can be more probable, nor more conformable to the habits made known to us by the literature." There is here (§§ 1—5) neither incoherence nor contradiction.[36]

[34] P. 628, note. These reasons are, firstly, that the *Mahāparinibbāna* does not breathe a word of the Council. See the *Introduction* to the text of the *Mahāvagga*, p. xxvi and following, and the remarks of Mr. Rhys Davids—*Buddhist Suttas*, p. xiii.

[35] Minayeff believed that we have to do with two accounts: according to the first, "perhaps the nearer to the truth," Kāçyapa chooses the members of the Council and to them he adds Ānanda; the second, of later origin, introduced in order to give to the Council a character of authenticity, admits of our § 4, the approbation by the Saṁgha of the measures it has itself instigated.

[36] M. Oldenberg is in the right. It is all the same certain that if this part of the account, deftly interpreted, can be made to agree, the author has certainly not taken much trouble to make himself clear. To what monks does Kāçyapa relate his encounter with the parivrājaka, bearer of the sad news, and his journey with Subhadra? The same, evidently, who beg him to choose the members of the future Council. Where does this scene take place? "The *Culla* does not say formally," says M. Oldenberg, "but decidedly we cannot hesitate about the way in which the editor of the *Culla* has represented the matter. The modern Singalese sources, as also those of the North, place the scene at Kusinārā . . . . The account of the *Culla*, which joins on to (anschliesst) the *Mahaparinibbāna-sutta*, long passages of which it reproduces textually, has certainly no intention of making Kassapa appear in any other place than that to which the *M. P. S.* conducts him and where all the other sources quoted make him appear." I quite agree; I should be more sure of it, if I were certain that the *Culla* has really interpolated the paragraphs *M. P. S.*, VI., 33—39, 41, 40;—which, as M. Oldenberg has remarked many times, lead to nothing in the *M. P. S.*; if I understood why Kāçyapa gives no answer to Subhadra, any more than the other monks whose piety is manifested by untimely weeping. Prof. Oldenberg, apparently, does not see any difficulty in this last detail.

At the most we can only speak, in one sense, of a certain Discrepanz, — for we must never lose the feeling for nuances : "Von einer Discrepanz kann meines Erachtens nur in dem Sinne gesprochen werden, dass die Konzilerzählung [§§ 1—5, 7—8, 16] offenbar, wie ich eben gesprochen habe, an den Hauptvorgang ein paar dem Mahāp. S. entnommene Daten resp. auf Grund dieser Daten hergestellte Konstructionen herangeschoben hat." That is, " At the most we may speak of a want of harmony, in this sense that the *Culla* has joined to the principal account [that is, to the account otherwise legendary or tendencious of the Council] a certain number of data borrowed from *M. P. S.*, or rather reconstructions suggested by these data." But what does it matter that these reconstructions and these data are contradictory to the principal account? This principal account is innocent of all contradiction: "Jene Erzählung ist — das werden wir nach allem hier erörterten gegen Min. fest halten durfen — von inneren Widersprüchen frei."

Wishing to set forth the primitive compilation of the Scriptures, postulated by orthodoxy, the compiler of *Culla* XI. has naturally brought forward Kāçyapa, Ānanda and Upāli. He has added the story of Kāçyapa's journey and the episode of the lesser precepts, has grouped and developed several other souvenirs relative to this period: almost all were known to him through the *M. P. S.* At the most can we notice that the adoration of the remains of Buddha by the women is not mentioned in this venerable Sutta.[37]

In one word, M. Oldenberg believes that all our chapter of the *Culla* is a "forgery," but a forgery very well done and that the analysis does not permit us to draw from it the conclusions formulated by Minayeff.

The Russian savant did not read with sufficient attention the proofs of his admirable book; he would have avoided some mistakes over which his adversary triumphs.[38] On the other hand, the chapters which he devotes to the Councils are composed in a mediocre manner; the thought often

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But the Buddhists have not understood it any better than Minayeff, as is proved by the variants of the episode. Only the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, translated by Fa-hien (Nanjio, 118) imitates the reserve of the Pāli text. But in the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (Nanjio, 1115)[a] "An old, bad and stupid bhikṣu . . . . Kāçyapa heard his words, but others did not perceive them, because through deva's miraculous power they were kept secret." In the *Mūlasarvāstivādanikāyasamyuktavastu* (Nanjio 1121) which, I may say in passing, makes the *M. P. S.* followed by the account of the Council,—this suits very well; "An old bhikṣu . . . .; many gods in the sky hearing his unjust utterance kept his voice secret by their miraculous power and let nobody hear it except Kāçyapa. Kāçyapa understood his words. Then the Venerable One, to exhort him, stood for a little at the wayside and addressed the assembly saying, '*Sabbeh'eva piyehi manāpehi . . . . n'etaṁ thānaṁ vijjatiti*' (*M. P. S.* VI. 41)."

In other sources, the words of Subhadra (whose name varies) are, at least, mentioned by the narrator: Nanjio, 119: "Ban-do of Çakya-clan . . . . Kāçyapa was displeased;" Nanjio, 545, 2: "A Çākyaputra called Ba-nan-da . . . .; Kāçyapa hearing this was sad." Similarly the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas (Nanjio, 1117). In the Nanjio 552 (which would be, it is said, a translation anterior to 118, 119 and 545, 2), things happen less simply: "One bhikṣu . . . . all other bhikṣus disagreed with him and they complained to a deva, who, seizing that old bhikṣu, threw him outside of the assembly;" and in the *Mahāsāmghika Vinaya* (Nanjio 1119): "Kāçyapa was sad, and as he snapped his right hand finger, fire came out of it, and he stamped the ground with his right foot."

M. Kern very usefully recalls the Bhadra, incarnation of the devil, whom we shall find again in discussing the Council of Pāṭaliputra.

It seems that the disconnectedness of our report (*M. P. S.* VI. 1. = Nanjio 118 = *Culla* XI.) is a mark of authenticity, and it is not without some reservations that I assent to M. Oldenberg's thought. "Wie sich sein (*Culla's*) Verfasser die Sache gedacht hat, kann doch schlechterdings nicht zweifelhaft sein." It seems that this editor has not taken any care to picture the things to himself.

[37] "Merkwürdiger weise nicht in *M. P. S.* berichtet wie schon *S. B. E.* XI. 379, bemerkt ist." (*Buddh. Stud*, 618, n. 3.)

[38] See above, p. 7, the confusion of the *ñatticatuttha* and the *ñattidutiya*; below, note 55, the interpretation of *ubhato vinaye* and p. 13, inexact expression "in the canon." These are not serious faults.

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[a] This quotation, as well as those which follow, are, according to a kind communication, from M. N. Wogihara.

is merely indicated, and the author does not draw all the desirable advantages possible from the positions that he occupies and the weapons which he has at his command. Lastly, his manner may repel a reader who sees himself, from the first line, treated somewhat "cavalierly," — as is the case with Prof. Oldenberg — and who sees the venerable Suttantas treated with even still less respect. In fact, and this is the main point, Prof. Oldenberg was mistaken concerning the thought of Minayeff on the historical value of the Council and the episodes, and it is the fault neither entirely of Minayeff nor of Prof. Oldenberg : the latter does not believe in the Council, but he is so very near it ! the former seems to claim to make history with the *Culla*, although he believes neither in the Sutras nor in the *Culla*.

These attempts at internal criticism are extremely delicate, especially for those who resign themselves to being ignorant of many things and who have not the faith of the coal-heaver in the texts. They are afraid, for subjective reasons, to distinguish that which can be historical from that which has not the slightest chance of being so ; never, and the mere thought of it disconcerts them, never will they believe that the silence of a Sūtra about a dogma or an ecclesiastical event can furnish anything but an hypothesis. They read again two or three times Prof. Oldenberg's remark about the absence of allusion to the First Council in the *Mahāparinibbāna*: "*This silence is as valuable as the most direct testimony.* It shows that the author of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* did not know anything of the First Council"[39]; still they are not quite sure they have read correctly. For very little they would desert a discussion without issue, because it is without possible control and without any known principle. But if, like Minayeff, they think it necessary to take part in it, nobody shall be able to reproach them with relying upon data which they themselves do not accept without reserve, for their adversaries admit them. And it is a principle formulated by Dignāga in his controversy with the Brahmans, that in a dialectical tournament, every argument is of value, as soon as the adversary cannot refuse to accept it : it matters little what the arguer himself may think of it. Either I am mistaken, or Minayeff was too good a Buddhist to remain a stranger to this state of mind, and it is one of the reasons why he so often provokes his erudite and convinced antagonist.

I am, however, persuaded, as he was himself, that the *Culla* can furnish something better than a pretext for clevernesses. It will suffice to establish that the want of harmony between the account of the conclave and the episodic data is still more radical than Prof. Oldenberg thinks ; and perhaps the reader will admit that Minayeff judged rightly when he recognised in these episodes, not historical data properly speaking, but an old fund of authentic tradition of inappreciable value for a right understanding of ancient Buddhism.

Let us once again consider in its different parts the study of Minayeff, taking advantage, as it is right to do, of the indications and materials furnished by Prof. Oldenberg.

1. The § 16 of *Culla* XI. recalls that "five hundred bhikkhus took part in this recitation of the *Vinaya*; in consequence this recitation of the *Vinaya* is called that of the Five Hundred."

Now § 8 sets forth the recitation of the Dharma, that is to say, of the five Nikāyas. Why does the final paragraph ignore the work of Ānanda ? Does it mean that the Council was occupied exclusively with discipline, and that § 8 has been interpolated after Chapter XI. had received its title ? Minayeff did not judge this little remark worthy of him ; however, it borrows a certain interest from the fact that the *Culla* does not breathe a word of a recitation of the Abhidharma (a proof of antiquity, as M. Oldenberg very rightly observes),[40] whilst the Vinayas of several sects, Dharmaguptas, Sarvāstivādins, speak of the Abhidharma in their chapters corresponding to *Culla* XI. The Mahīçāsakas and the Mahāsāṃghikas, on the contrary, imitate the reserve of the *Culla* in that which concerns the books of "scholastic nomenclature"[41]: it would be curious if the *Culla* XI., in the edition which its title supposes, should, in omitting the five Nikāyas, have possessed over the Mahīçāsakas the advantage which it shares with the Mahīçāsakas over the Dharmaguptas and the Sarvāstivādins by omitting the Abhidharma.

[39] See *Intr. to the Mahāvagga, loc. laud.* above, note 34. — There is a very simple and attractive idea I owe to my friend M. Louis Finot : the history of the Council was formerly the end of the Sutta dealing with Buddha's *nirvāṇa, i. e.*, the *M. P. S.* When the Scriptures were tabulated in the Piṭakas, it seemed more approprious to have the Council in the Vinaya (see above, note 36, 2nd §).

[40] *Buddh. Stud.* p. 628. See above, note 12.

[41] *Mātṛkās.* See Kern, *Man.* pp. 2-3.

2. The sentence against Channa (§§ 12—15). — Of this procedure against Channa, the *brahmadaṇḍa*, the Vinaya, according to the authoritative opinion of M. Oldenberg, knows nothing; the monks to whom Ānanda addresses himself are no better informed, since he is forced to explain it to them. Only the *Mahāparinibbāna* makes mention of it (VI. 4) and furnishes us with the conversation which Ānanda repeats word for word to the bhikṣus of the conclave. (*Culla*, XI., § 12.)

This shows, at least, that Ānanda did not make the members of the Council chant the integrity of the *Mahāparinibbāna*; for he would not have had to repeat to them this injunction of the dead Master.

This shows, to argue *a silentio*, that the Vinayas, with their *Vibhaṅgas*, are anterior to the *Mahāparinibbāna*, since they do not speak of the *brahmadaṇḍa*.[42]

3. Failings of Ānanda (§ 16). — The recital is finished. The monks charge Ānanda with a certain number of faults and Ānanda replies as we have seen.

I. — Before entering into the detail of the sins, a few observations are necessary.

A. — How can any charge whatever be brought against Ānanda, who is a Arhat?

"Ānanda had already become an impeccable saint, that is, an *arhat*, and yet he submits to a trial; the assembly calls upon him to do penitence for some sins: Buddhaghoṣa, in his account of the First Council, has left aside all this episode. Perhaps he thought it would scandalise the faithful to read of the sins of an Arhat, impeccable according to the later dogmas; at any rate, it is a fact that the most ancient accounts have, in spite of their late redaction, preserved the vagueness of the primitive ideas with regard to the saint. We can hardly consider even the fact of the trial as an invention of the legend, and even in the VIIth century, at the place where Ānanda was judged, there stood, if we must believe Hiouen-Thsang on this matter, a stūpa in memory of this event."[43]

Here are Prof. Oldenberg's remarks on this point: "Does the trial of Ānanda allow us to oppose to the definite dogmas concerning the Arhat, the vagueness of the primitive ideas with regard to the saint? Have we really any reason for believing in this primitive uncertainty? Everything seems to me to indicate that the "circle of ideas" of ancient Buddhism has endeavoured from its origin to establish the conception of the Impeccable, the Delivered.[44] And the tradition, northern as well as southern, seems to me to be unanimous in guaranteeing this conception as very ancient: the divergences of view concerning the Arhat, which were met with in the later systematic theologians, do not, in my opinion, change anything on this point. But, in fact, it is useless to occupy myself with this problem here: it is sufficient to point out that Ānanda becomes Arhat immediately before the operations of the Council. The account emphasises the point that he was not Arhat before. As regards the *dukkaṭa* that he has committed, he committed them during the Master's lifetime, before being Arhat. Now, whoever is, in a certain measure, familiar with the statement of the disciplinary proceedings, such as the Vinaya gives them, will see without difficulty that every fault once committed must find its disciplinary sanction without taking account of the point as to whether the guilty person has in the meantime attained to some degree of spiritual perfection."[45]

I am not, alas! at home (*zu Hause*) in the disciplinary proceedings of the Vinaya: I may say, almost without affectation, that I have studied chiefly the eleventh chapter of the *Culla*. Fortune wills that I find in it an important detail relative to the problem which occupies us: we know that Channa, when Ānanda informed him of the "boycotting" pronounced against him by

[42] For other remarks on this episode, see p. 11 and note 70.

[43] Minayeff, *Researches*, p. 31. This last phrase revolts M. Olderberg (p. 626). Perhaps Minayeff does not carry credulity as far as Prof. O. believes: we may see here a notable example of his irony. The story of the sins of Ānanda bears in itself a character of authenticity: the monument of which the Chinese pilgrim speaks is only a subsidiary proof. Not a few centuries have passed, in fact, between the trial of Ānanda and the time of Hiouen-Thsang. — But there are many people who believe in the birth of Buddha in the garden of Lumbini on the faith of an inscription of Açoka. Now who will say when the Cakravartin was born under the tree of the clouds?

[44] It is well known that the books of Abhidharma (*Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, *Kathāvatthu*) distinguish very clearly between the *nirvāṇa* which alone is *asaṁskṛta* and the *arhattva*, which is nothing else than the disappearance of the *āsravas*, of the *rāga* (vītarāgatva). The *saṁskṛta* is *sāsrava* or *anāsrava*. See *M. Vyut*, § 109, 101, and following. The impeccable is not delivered from the *skandhas*.

[45] *Buddh. Studien*, pp. 620-621.

Buddha, fell into such repentance that he at once became Arhat. Thereupon, as we have already said, but this is worthy of repetition, he goes to implore Ānanda to remove the excommunication:[46] he is then of the same opinion as Prof. Oldenberg. A fault committed before the acquisition of the "Arhatship" must find its disciplinary sanction. Ānanda who, we believe, understands the matter better than anyone, answers him in suitable words: "From the very moment, friend Channa, that you acquired the quality of Arahat, from that moment penance ceased." — "Whatever he may say, no one will speak to him, will exhort or admonish him": thus had Buddha spoken on his death-bed concerning Channa. But by the fact that one becomes Arhat, the penance falls to the ground, although it had been pronounced as decisive. — It is true that the Vinaya knows nothing of this penance styled "of Brahma," and that in consequence familiarity with the Vinayas is here without importance.

Let us notice again that Channa finds himself absolved from the excommunication when it is no longer harmful to him. We know that, according to the orthodox argument, not only the Arhat cannot fall, but also that the assistance of others, counsel or instruction, is perfectly useless to him.

The story of an Arhat culpable and subject to penance against his will is contrary to the orthodoxy of the "non-mahāsāṁghikas."[47] When it was composed, the scholastic had not yet made use of the scriptural data and spiritual experience to develop the dogma in all its details. I believe, with Prof. Oldenberg, that the two traditions are in agreement in attributing great antiquity to the conception of the saint; but I add that they seem to me to put beyond all question the very ancient divergences of the doctors on this dogma. One cannot, in fact, consider these divergences as differences of opinion which appeared "unter den späteren theologischen Systematikern." The heretical "inventors" of the *five points* (four of which are relative to the Arhat) are neither systematic theologians nor persons of late date. Buddhists connect with their names the memory of the first division of the Saṁgha. But, were they as ancient as I believe, it seems that before the period when the Buddhists divided themselves into affirmers and deniers of the possibility of the fall and ignorance of the Arhat, there was one in which the question had not been dogmatically propounded. That is what Minayeff saw here, and, in my opinion, with much reason.[48]

B. — According to the *Culla*, the Vinayas of the Mahīçāsakas and of the Mahāsāṁghikas and several other sources whose independent authority is doubtful, Ānanda's examination of conscience, instituted by the conclave or by Kāçyapa, took place after the operations of the Council and had not any connection with his qualification as Arhat or as member of the aforesaid Council.[49]

This is strange, it seems, and suspect; and one can only approve of the Dharmaguptas for having placed the trial of Ānanda before the Council, and the Sarvāstivādins as well as two other Chinese sources for having made Ānanda's admission subordinate to his justification and to the acquisition of sanctity (*arhattva*). But this absence of order and propriety in three sources of the first rank, compared with the greater harmony which rules in the others, permits us to assert with Minayeff "the entire independence of the accounts, united by our diaskeuasts into one single whole." In the oldest account, we believe, there was no question of a Council: they reprimand Ānanda. If one adds to this first nucleus the legend of a Council, the reprimand of Ānanda will at first not change its character; and if orthodoxy, just about to be formed, exacts that all the members of the conclave should be Arhats, there will be no difficulty in assigning to the reprimand the place of second rank which is suitable to it after the narration of an event of so great importance as the redaction of the Scriptures. Orthodoxy is not yet sufficiently sensitive to feel the contradiction of this chronological arrangement; it is not sufficiently rigid to exclude the precise mention of the

46 What right does Ānanda possess to take away an excommunication pronounced by Buddha and approved by the Saṁgha?

47 See our remarks on the Third Council.

48 See Childers, 53 b *ad. fin.*: "Arahā properly means only a venerable man and in Dh. 240 [25] we find it applied by a non-Buddhist to Acelakas or naked ascetics."

49 The trial of Ānanda takes place either before the compilation of the Scriptures (Dharmaguptas, Sarvāstivādins, *Mahāprajnāpāramitāçāstra*, *The Collection of Kāçyapa*, [Nanjio 1363], Hiouen-Thsang, I. 156), or after (Mahiçāsakas, Mahāsāṁghikas, *Vinayamātṛkāsūtra*, *Life of Açoka*). Sometimes there is no connection between the faults of Ānanda and his quality of member of the Council (sources of the second group and Dharmaguptas); sometimes, on the contrary, the aim of the trial is to show that Ānanda is not Arhat and ought to be excluded from the conclave.

"non-sanctity" of Ānanda at the time of a gathering the object of which was to punish him.[50] All that the orthodox tendency can obtain is to promote Ānanda to sanctity during the night of the Council.

With the Sarvāstivādins, on the contrary, the reprimand of Ānanda has become a trial. Kāçyapa asserts that the presence of the pious friend of Buddha mars the general sanctity of the whole assembly: he sees that Ānanda is still subject to the passions, anger, lust, ignorance, attachment. He excludes him. Ānanda replies: "I have not sinned, says the text, either against morality, or the doctrine, or against good conduct: I have done nothing unseemly nor harmful to the community!" Kāçyapa returns: "Immediate disciple of Buddha, what is there astonishing in that you have not committed the sins of which you speak? But, as for having done nothing harmful to the community, did you not pray Buddha to receive the women into the Order, the women whom Buddha declared as dangerous, as serpents and noxious to the Order . . . . [51]"

We see that the idea of the Arhat is still very inchoate here and as an accessory.

Also the text entitled *Collection [of the Scripture] under Kāçyapa* adds to the reproaches addressed to Ānanda the only one which is of importance and which, up till now, did not figure among the faults, although it had slipped into the Sarvāstivādin context: "Ānanda is not freed from lust, hatred, and ignorance." Then he is not Arhat, then he is not one of us! It is well to oppose to this version the text of the *Culla*: "Although he may still be a student, say the monks to Kāçyapa, choose Ānanda, for he is incapable of lust, hatred, ignorance, or fear."[52]

II. — Among the sins of Ānanda especially interesting are the fifth, the fourth, and the first.[53]

A. — Fifth fault: "Again you did wrong, O Ānanda, when you exerted yourself to obtain the admission of the women into the Dhamma and the Vinaya proclaimed by the Tathāgata." Ānanda replies that he was thinking of Mahāpajāpatī, the Gotamī, sister of the mother of Bhagavat. The Sarvāstivādins add, according to Rockhill (*Life*, p. 152): "I asked only that the women who were [my] relations and friends might enter into the Order."[54]

Here we are treading upon very unstable ground. Minayeff asks himself if there is not in this accusation "an echo of the very modern prophecies and ideas concerning the end of Buddhism in consequence of the admission of women into the monastic community."

I believe, on the contrary, that here we hear an echo, very weak and indistinct, of a "prehistoric" controversy relative to the admission of the women.[55]

B. — The fourth sin, says Minayeff, deserves to be noticed. "In this also, O Ānanda, have you committed a fault: when Bhagavat made to you a suggestion, an invitation so plain, so evident, you did not supplicate him, saying, 'let Bhagavat remain during the 'age' (*Kalpa*). . . ., out of compassion for the world.'" We do not know, continues Minayeff, if the author of the account that we are examining attributed to Buddha this power [of prolonging his life during a *kalpa*]; but it is evident from these words that the holy members of the Council who were judging Ānanda did not doubt that Buddha could, if he had wished or if he had been properly asked, have continued to live for

[50] The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarika* knows an Ānandaçaikṣa. — See also Sukhāvativ., § 1.

[51] According to Rockhill; *Cf.* Kern, II. p. 239.

[52] This is to say, he has laid aside the passions which the Arhats have laid aside. See note 24a, the confusion of the *abhijñās* and of the *arhattva*.

[53] With regard to the second sin (having stepped upon the robe) and similar faults (having refused water) Minayeff expresses himself thus: "This conduct on the part of Ānanda was not only a transgression of the rules of the Vinaya which determined in the sequel the relations of the disciple and the master, but it implied something more monstrous still, contempt for the supreme saint, for Buddha." To me the observation does not seem conclusive.

[54] We must connect with this datum those pointed out by Minayeff, p. 41, on the role of the family of the Çākyas in the Community, *Mahāvagga*, p. 71, and the recent archæological discoveries.

[55] See note 106, at the end.

I do not insist on the absurdity of the reproach addressed to Ānanda of having made himself the instigator of a measure taken by Buddha himself. And the monks have just "chanted," without objection, the 'double Vinaya' (*ubhato vinaye*), that is to say, the Vinaya of the bhiksunīs as well as that of the bhikṣus! I may say in passing that Minayeff seems to have been mistaken about the meaning of this expression (=, according to him, *Vibhaṅga* and *Khandakas*). See *Buddh. Studien*, p. 618, n. 1.

an entire *kalpa*;[56] they shared a conviction which, *in the canon*, is attributed to the Mahāsāṁghikas and declared heretical. The teaching of the Mahāyānikas on this possibility of prolonging human life was also the same.

Prof. Oldenberg observes, with good reason, that the words which we have underlined, *in the canon*, constitute an inaccuracy. The *Kathāvatthu* condemns, it is true, the above opinion, — the *Kathāvatthu*, the youngest of the books of Abhidhamma, which orthodox tradition only makes go back to Tissa Moggaliputta, to the Third Council, and which Minayeff himself considers as much later, so that we may, "if we wish," say that the above doctrine is condemned *in the canon*, but that it is best to be a little more precise. But it is not in the *Kathāvatthu*, it is in the commentary of the *Kathāvatthu* that the Mahāsāṁghikas are designated as holding the heresy in question:[57] "The *Kathāvatthu* informs us concerning the activity of a generation of theologians who hold with the text of the Suttas a relationship analogous to that of the Christian scholastics with the text of the New Testament. The Suttas constitute firm data; more or less lengthy fragments of them are often quoted; they enjoy an unlimited authority. But it is necessary to interpret them properly and to find a solution when they seem to contradict each other. It is thus that in the passage of the *Kathāvatthu* with which we are concerned there is examined the contradiction between the scriptural datum on the power of prolonging life which the *iddhi* [magic virtue] procures and that other scriptural datum which declares it impossible that he who can grow old should not do so, and that he who is mortal should not die.[58] The conclusion is that in fact such a power could not have been attributed to the *iddhibala*; and the commentary, rich in exegetic devices, as frequent among the pious Buddhist dialecticians as among their Christian confrères — gets rid of the Scriptural testimony which in truth is perfectly clear, by an [ingenious] distinction between the different meanings of the word *kappa*." [59]

I have made a point of reproducing the whole of this page because it is very happy and very instructive; but it scarcely modifies the form which must be given to Minayeff's argument.

It is granted that, according to the redactor of the *Mahāparinibbāna* (III. 3, etc.), Buddha attributed to himself, as he attributed to all the possessors of the *iddhibalas*, the power of "remaining" until the end of the "age." Hence, the opinion of the Elders and of Ānanda is in agreement with a text canonical in the highest degree. It is contradicted by the *Kathāvatthu*, as also by the *Milinda*. This proves, as Prof. Oldenberg very rightly observes, that from the moment that the Buddhists tried to construct a "dogmatism" they came into collision with sacred texts irreconcilable one with another, or irreconcilable with the theoretical dogmatic views formed or in formation. But at what epoch did dogmatic preoccupation become concerned with the question of the virtues conferred by the *iddhibala*? Very early, in our opinion, for this question, like that of the impeccability of the Arhat, is in close connection with that of Buddha considered as *iddhimān*; besides, it is connected with the attitude which the community will take up with regard to the Yoga. It seems that orthodoxies must have, or may have, been formed on these points long before the time of the *Kathāvatthu*.

I easily believe the commentary of the *Kathāvatthu* when it names on this subject the Mahāsāṁghikas; for the Northern sources attribute to the group of the Mahāsāṁghikas, Lokottaravādins, etc., the opinion that the life of the Buddhas has no limit; as also, that there is nothing "mundane," or, if one prefers, "terrestrial" in them. This doctrine, which exalts the Master and extols the magic virtues, the passage cited from the *M. P. S.* and our "legend" of the trial of Ānanda prove to belong to the oldest tradition, to the tradition of the "Elders." The *Kathāvatthu* and the *Milinda* deviate from it, and although Buddhaghoṣa recognises clearly the sectarian views of the *Kathāvatthu*, — "Buddha," he makes Tissa say, "is Vibhajyavādin," — it is not superfluous to state it in passing. The tendency of the "Southern" tradition is, if I may so express myself, euhemerist. Further, it is characterised by great sobriety in that which

[56] The Tathāgata may remain alive for the *kappa* or for the remainder of the *kappa*, for an "age of the world" (many millions of human centuries), or for the residue remaining of the present "age of the world." See *M. P. S.* III. 3, 45, and *Milinda*, p. 140 = Rhys Davids, I. p. 198.

[57] *Buddh. Studien*, p. 619.

[58] *Aṅg.* II. p. 172.

[59] *Kappa* would here mean the normal duration of human life. In other words, Buddha would have boasted of the power of escaping a premature death (*akālamaraṇa*). The problem of the *akālamaraṇa* of the Arhat has been much discussed. The cleverness of Buddhaghoṣa is therefore not solely his achievement.

concerns Yogism and all its forms. Some Indianists, as celebrated as authoritative, like to surpass the Suttas and construct a reasonable "Ultra-Hīnayānist" Buddhism, reasonable, purged as much as possible from magic and the supernatural. It is interesting to observe that the conflict which divides us to-day is only the reflection of the dissension, which, we believe, separated into sects the believers of the early ages. Is the historic Buddha, that is to say, the Buddha of the first Buddhist generations, merely a "saint," or is he a superior being, divine, *lokottara*? And, without questioning the sincerity of the old Singhaḷese theras of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, the definitive compilers of the Nikāyas, one notices, in spite of oneself, that the school which has preserved for us the canon in the Pāli language is the same that has given us the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Milinda* in their complete redaction.[60] The men who play with the words of Bhagavat, as do Buddhaghoṣa and Nāgasena, are they not to be suspected of having made sad mutilations in the old legend? Cannot we suppose, without too great credulity, that they have, more or less unconsciously, dropped a part of the "common tradition" of old Buddhism? [61]

At least we must notice all the indications which throw light upon this old and problematic history. And, from this point of view, the observation of Minayeff on the fourth sin of Ānanda seems to us as precious as it is well-founded.

C. — The abolition of the small and lesser rules.[62] — See *Culla* XI., § 9 and § 10 *initio* (first sin of Ānanda, according to the Pālī reckoning).

Compare *Mahāparinibbānasutta* VI. 3. "When I am no more, O Ānanda, let the Order, if it so desire, abolish the lesser and minor rules"; and *Pācittiya* lxxii: "If a bhikkhu at the time of the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* should speak thus: 'What is the good of the recitation of the lesser and minor rules, except to engender doubt, weariness and perplexity?', this bhikkhu is guilty of contemning the rules." [63]

"The hypothesis forces itself upon us (drängt sich von selbst auf)," says Prof. Oldenberg, "that the redactor of our chapter of the *Culla* spoke of these things (that is to say, of Channa and of the lesser precepts) because the *Mahāparinibbāna* had spoken of them."

"Buddha had given orders to be executed after his death: ought one not, when one had to speak of what happened in the community after the death of Buddha, to explain how these orders had been executed? The tradition of the *Mahāparinibbāna* speaks in the sense which we know of the *khuddakānukhuddakas*; on the other hand Buddhists did not know that the community had supposed any of the intended rules. Hence, what is more simple than to suppose that the community had resolved to keep to the established laws?" [64]

That is what the compiler of the *Culla* will have done, and the same reasoning holds good for the history of Channa and his penance: certainly, it is not bad; but it is not conclusive. Several other explanations may be given, if we wish, and all as good, on the question with which we are now occupied.

The observation of Minayeff remains entire. Let us take into account the allusion of the *M. P. S.* to the abrogation of the lesser rules, or the discussion recounted in the *Culla* or the indication furnished by *Pāc.* lxxii., or the three documents all at once; the fact remains that we have to do with a datum "bearing the mark of a remote antiquity," — difficult doubtless to restore to the historical context to which it belongs, — but "rather" irreconcilable with a rigorous constitution already fixed by discipline. It gives us pleasure, a somewhat cruel pleasure I confess, to see the poor theras seek in their sacred *Pātimokkha*, where Buddha has formally condemned the contemners of the lesser laws (*Pāc.* lxxii.), for the minor and very minor laws which this excellent Buddha,

[60] On the ancient parts of the *Kathāvatthu*, see our remarks on the Third Council.

[61] In any case, they have preserved for us many precious things; see the *Ākaṅkeyyasutta* and the remarks of Mr. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 207, also the *Mahāsudassanasutta* (*ibid.* p. 237). I can only call attention in passing to this question, on which it is easy to be lengthy, but difficult to be demonstrative.

[62] According to *Milinda* (IV., 2, 3, p. 144), by *khuddaka* we must understand some *dukkaṭas*, by *anukhuddaka* some *dubbhāsitas*. The *Vinaya Texts* translate: "the lesser and minor precepts." Tib. *Phran-tshegs*; Rockhill, *R. H. R.* IX. 168.

[63] This text has escaped Kāçyapa, Ānanda, and the Elders.

[64] "Dis Überlieferung des M. P. S. gab jenes Wort über die Khuddakānukhuddakāni: Man wusste andrerseist nichts davon, dass eine Aufhebung irgend welcher derartiger Satzungen erfolgt sei; was war einfacher, als sich hier zu helfen, in dem man die Gemeinde einen Beschluss fassen liess wie den im Culla § 9, berichteten?"

with the most annoying inconsequence, gave them permission to repeal. To adopt one of the six interpretations of the Fathers, there is hardly anything but assassination which is forbidden to the sons of Çākya! If the Most Happy One were still living, say the six bhikṣus of the *Mahāsāṁghikavinaya*,[65] he would abolish all the laws!"

The word of Buddha which authorises the Order to modify the laws fixed by the Omniscient is very extraordinary. Has he not, before making this confidence to Ānanda, just declared solemnly that "the truths and the laws of the Order which I have promulgated and established for you all, let them hold the place of Master to you when I shall be no more?"[66]

We are, in truth, in darkness so profound that it is difficult, not to formulate hypothesis, for they present themselves in crowds, but to attach oneself to one definite hypothesis. The thought of Minayeff, and we shall see in examining the history of Vaiçālī, that this thought appears very wise and judicious, is that the disciplinary rules at the death of the Master were very far from being fixed as we know them. To be a Buddhist monk it was necessary, first of all, to be an ascetic, a *çramaṇa*, that is, to conform to the general laws of religious life already determined under diverse forms, Jaina or brahmanic; it was necessary also to be a "son of Çākya," by submitting to the particular form of religious life that the ever-increasing experience of the Master, then of the community, shall deem it well to formulate; by forming part of the *Saṁgha*, presided over by Buddha and constituted of friendly brotherhoods.

Now Buddha himself has recognised the inutility and the harmfulness of penance (*tapas*); the picture which he draws of the "fruits of the religious life" has nothing terrible in it; his first official word is to announce — he is addressing ascetics, *Yogins* — a middle course between austerity and "laxity."[67]

From that a truly seductive solution presents itself and one which we may recommend to the conservative school. When Buddha allows the *khuddakānukhudakas* to be suppressed, he does not mean principles proclaimed by himself, laws of the "honest ascetic," who can live and walk with great strides, following the Eight-fold Way, towards Nirvāṇa. He is speaking of the minor and very minor rules with which heretical disciplinarians encumber themselves and which overwhelm all spiritual vigour.[68]

The First Council was not what a vain people thinks. The codification of the Scripture did not hold the position in it that has been stated by ecclesiastical tradition. But, as Minayeff remarks, in our accounts we must not "confound the statements which do not deserve the same belief. . . . the assemblies were instituted quite naturally and were a necessary consequence of a given state of things." These assemblies, partial, as *Culla* XI., § 11 (absention of Purāṇa) indicates, were organised, perhaps, under the "already" classical form of the conferences held during the rainy season by all the monks, without exception, belonging to the same centre.[69] Perhaps they are a little more solemn; they are provoked by difference of opinion among the monks, by accusations brought against one or another. The Master is no longer living: it was necessary that some authority should be organised or affirmed to formally contradict Subhadra, who believed himself freed from all rule by the disappearance of Buddha, to attaint Channa, whose sentence[70] the Master

65 The discussion about the lesser rules is there very elaborate. Suzuki, article quoted, p. 277.

66 *M. P. S.* VI. 1. It is strange also that Ānanda should reveal to the Council the delegation of power the Master made to the community, after the Vinaya has been chanted by Upāli, after Ānanda himself has chanted the Dharma. Is it still time to discuss the alteration of rules when they are already canonical?

67 See the remarks of Mr. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 208), on the Kassapasīhanāda.

68 See Rhyds Davids, *loc. cit.*: "So hard, so very hard, was the struggle that the Arahat, or the man striving towards Arahatship, should be always sufficiently clothed, and take regular baths, regular exercise regular food. He was to avoid not what was necessary to maintain himself in full bodily vigour and power, but all undue luxury and all worry about personal comfort."

69 According to our texts, if there was in the quarters for the rainy season one monk who did not take part in the assembly, it would have no authority. I believe this disposition ancient, at least in its origin, for it springs from the solidarity which the Master wished to establish between the scattered elements of his Saṁgha. (See p. 3, l. 4, and the *āvāsa* and the *anumatikappa* (Vaiçālī).

70 M. Kern has remarked that Buddha always remains a stranger to disciplinary proceedings. See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 5th edit. p. 398, how the Saṁgha is raised itself to the dignity of "jewel."

did not have time to pronounce, to reprimand Ānanda himself, who is no longer protected by the affection of Buddha against the jealousies it has aroused. Now the Master, as Purāṇa will say, if we are to believe two respectable[71] traditions, and as the texts sufficiently prove, the Master did not always express the same opinion on all the points of discipline. His omniscience allowed him to seize the essential part in everything and to accommodate his precepts, like his doctrine, to the needs of each. But he is no longer there to soothe the conflicts (*vivāda*), and the community, widowed of its infallible chief, must have rules. Ānanda will recall that the Master condemned disciplinary futilities: but not everyone hear or understand in the same way this word of freedom.

"Even in the Vinaya, it seems to me," says M. Barth, "that there are several conceptions of the devout life. At one time the bhikṣu is a solitary wanderer, without fire or resting-place; two of them may not follow the same road[72]; at another time they wander in numerous troops, ordinarily five hundred, in the train of the Master or of an eminent disciple; sometimes they form sedentary groups: there are the bhikṣus of Kosambi, of Vesāli, of Sāvatthi [āvāsika = Naivāsika, *M. Vyut*, § 270]; they are authorised to possess personal property, absolutely incompatible with a wandering life; the *Pātimokkha*, the oldest nucleus, supposes the life of the convent." [73]

Let us be sure that there are many later developments here, especially in the sense of the cenobitic life; but do not let us doubt, either, the primitive diversity of the Buddhist groups.[74] Sometimes Buddha rallied to his banner of salvation communities of hermits, sometimes Yogins "solitary as the rhinoceros," the future "pratyekabuddhas"[75] often he rescued from the world sons of good families, merchants and women. Thus, when Ānanda, representative of the "worldly" elements, partisan of the broader ways, the man of the Eight-fold Way, as Upālī is the man of the Vinayas, when Ānanda wishes to cause an easy Prātimokṣa to triumph, then Kāçyapa, the man of the Dhūtāṅgas[76] "ascetic attracted from outside into the community," rises to answer him. "We must not scandalise the laity; the sons of Çākya must not be less *çramaṇas* than the heretical priests; we must suppress nothing of the lesser and minor laws."

He made sufficiently great concessions to Buddha when he clothed his ascetic nudity with the triple robe: before becoming the follower of the lion who roars out the way of Nirvāṇa, he assured himself that Gotama does not condemn all penance, that he does not reprove ascetics who lead a hard life, and only then did he consent to moderate his own roaring. But he will not slip further than is necessary down the slope of "laxity."

If we understand a certain passage of the *Milinda* as an apologue, we shall find there the confirmation of this manner of regarding the matter. "Why," asks Milinda, "did the Most Happy authorise the abrogation of the minor rules? And, does he not, by this deed, enter into contradiction with himself?"—"No," replies Nāgasena; "Bhagavat only authorised the abrogation of the lesser rules in order to prove his bhikkhus. Just so a king will counsel his children to abandon the frontier districts, 'for the kingdom is great and difficult to protect with the forces we have at our disposal.' But at the death of the king, will the princes abandon the frontier districts which they already hold?" "No," replies Milinda, "kings love to take; the princes will perhaps conquer new territories, two or three times greater than their heritage, but they will not give up an atom of what they hold." "In the same way, O King," replies Nāgasena, "the sons of Buddha, in their love for the law, will be able to keep 250 rules, but they will never abandon one law which has been regularly established."

71 See p. 5.

72 See M. Barth's article on *M. Vastu*, p. 28. *J. des Savants*, 1899. M. Barth quotes *Mhv.* III., 415—420 (415, *caratha bhikṣavaḥ carikāṁ mā ca duve ekena agamittha*, and 421, *praviviktā viharanti bhikṣavaḥ*) and *M. Vagga*, 1. 11. *Cf.* the note of the *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 112, on the phrase: "Let not two of you go the same way." "This cannot be understood as a general rule, for it is repeated nowhere where precepts for wandering Bhikkus are given, and, on the contrary . . . . — The precept given here is intended to refer only to the earliest period in the spread of the new doctrine . . . . "

73 *Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde*, 1899—1902, III. i. p. 29.

74 We shall return to this problem after having examined the legend of Vaiçālī.

75 See Kern, *Manual*, p. 75, note 6 (*Sutta. Mp.* I. 3 and 12; *Therag.* 518—526) and 61, n. 7. (d. *Mhv.* I.—301); *M. Vyut.*

76 See Kern, *Manual*, p. 75, note 5 (*Dīpav.* IV. 3, V. 7; *Sam.* N. II. 156, *Div.* 61, 3 *infra*, 395), Beal, *Latena* p. 256, ap. Kern, *Gesch.* II. 15, *Cullavagga*, V, 10, 3. *Cf.* below, our remarks on Devadatta (notes 100 and 104).

Like kings, the ascetics are very covetous (*luddhatara*). It is their successive conquests which have consecrated the 227 rules of the Pālī *Prātimokṣa* and the 250 rules of which Nāgasena[77] speaks.

I fear that the "Vengeance" of Minayeff carries my zeal a little too far, for I am reasoning as a believer would do! But at least the position of the author of the *Researches* is excellent from a strictly negative point of view, and I do not at all understand why Prof. Oldenberg refuses to follow, — if not quite to the end, for I myself shall have to make some reservations,[78] at least in that which is evident in itself, — the interpretation of Minayeff, as he himself very well sums it up:[79] "The episode [of the *Khuddakanukhuddakas*] transports us to a time when no (Buddhist) code of religious discipline could exist;[80] when one could not as yet know what was important or not in the rules of the monastic life.[81] When the *Culla*, before relating this episode to us, makes the assembled saints recite the entire Vinaya, it contradicts itself." [82]

Does Prof. Oldenberg believe that the Vinaya was chanted at Rājagṛha, immediately after the death of Buddha? No, it seems; and hence, why not admit that the discussion of the *khuddakae* takes us to a time when the Vinaya was not canonically codified? Does he believe in the authenticity of the words pronounced by Buddha on the *khuddakas* and on Channa, words preserved in the *M. P. S.*? Yes, doubtless; — certainly, much more than Minayeff or myself. Why then suppose that the redactor of the *Culla* has invented the above discussions in the bosom of the Saṁgha in order to follow out the suggestions of the *M. P. S.* instead of admitting that the events themselves have followed out in the same way the Master's words? The only time that Minayeff believes in the tradition, Prof. Oldenberg calls it in question. That is really unfortunate.

In vain will he tell us that the community was otherwise aware of not having changed anything in the rules fixed by the Omniscient; for it is too natural, in fact, that it should be persuaded of this, and the decision to abolish nothing, attributed to Kāçyapa, is the only one which could triumph officially in the chronicle and in the ecclesiastical formulary.

It is not without utility that Prof. Oldenberg took up again this question; he has corrected several *lapsus* of Minayeff; he has, above all, brought to it useful material, by expressing his views on the progressive elaboration of orthodoxy, by pointing out the points of agreement between the *Culla* and the *M. P. S.* and several other references. It seems to us that he has not disturbed Minayeff's ruling thought. Without fearing to betray the latter too seriously, we arrive at the following conclusions.

It seems evident that the account of the *Culla*, in that which concerns the Council and its (properly speaking) scriptural deliberations, is not historic. We put aside the idea of a solemn recitation of the Nikāyas and of the Vinaya, without, however, according any value whatsoever to the celebrated argument *a silentio*. On the other hand, the episodes of Channa, and of Purāṇa, the failings of Ānanda, the discussion about the *kṣudrakas*, bear the mark of a high antiquity; and

[77] This number recalls the Chinese *Prātimokṣa* (Dharmaguptas, 250 articles) or the Tibetan *Prātimokṣa* (253 articles); but see Rockhill, *R. H. R.* IX. p. 9. According to M. Kern (*Man.* p. 752) there are 259 articles in *M. Vyut*, of which 106 are quoted; *M. Vyut*, § 263. It seems to be that we must deduct No. 1 of this last list.

[78] See below, the remarks on the Second Council.

[79] "Dieser Argumentation kann ich nicht oder doch nur zum geringen Teil folgen." — *Buddh. Studien*, p. 621; Minayeff, p. 31.

[80] That is too strong. There existed at this time only too great a number of disciplinary "codes."

[81] Or better: in the different conceptions of religious life.

[82] Reply of Prof. Oldenberg, *Buddh. Studien*, p. 622, l. 9, *infra*. "Denn darin liegt doch nichts ungereimtes, dass eine Mönchversammlung zuerst feststellte, was für Anordnungen der Meister getroffen, und denn erwog, ob man — nicht etwa aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit, sondern gestützt auf eine ausdrückliche dahin gehende Autorisation des Buddha — von diesen Anordnungen irgend einen Teil aufheben sollte. . . . Ich bin weit davon entfernt diesen ganzen Vorgang meinerseits für geschichtlich zu hatten. . . . " Nor I, either, but also, I consider it absolutely improbable.

If we take into account the narrative of the episode of Purāṇa, as the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṁghikas give it, and also this detail related in the *Dulva*, that Ānanda had for disciple a certain Vṛjiputra (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 155) we shall be led to establish a close relationship between the events of Rājagṛha, the quarrel about the lesser precepts, and the Vajji-puttakas whom the Council of Vaiçālī will bring forward, great 'overreachers' in small matters of discipline.

without fear of being too credulous we may admit as possible, indeed probable, not only that after the disappearance of Buddha assemblies did take place in which the ecclesiastical power was affirmed by the settling of questions of discipline, — of that we consider ourselves almost certain — but also that the cause of the existence of these assemblies was the discussion of our "episodes."

But the misfortune is that in researches of this kind "to give or to withhold are worth nothing." If we admit the deliberations and the disciplinary discussions, can we gracefully deny the possibility of deliberations and decisions doctrinal or scriptural? Why not accord some belief to the tradition, though it may be late and tendencious? It is impossible for the Sūtras and the Nikāyas to have made themselves, that is, that, like Minerva, having come out of the head of the Omniscient, they should have preserved and grouped themselves spontaneously. The agreement between the different sects — here, a little too soon, we touch upon a subject which it will be necessary to examine in detail — supposes the collective activity whose existence Minayeff has affirmed in the discussion of the points of discipline.

We believe that the account of the First Council has a historic value from a double point of view: as containing an ancient nucleus of authentic tradition, that is, "discussions on points of discipline," which are not necessarily anterior to all canonical codification[83]; and as resuming under the symbolical aspect of a regular Council, of a complete recitation, the work of compilation and arrangement which must have occupied the first centuries, work of which the assembly at Rājagṛha constituted the germ and which tradition places at Rājagṛha, at Pāṭalīputra and in Ceylon (Vaṭṭagāmani).

The scriptural question easily joins on to the question of discipline. Not only because the problems of discipline suppose laws or texts of Vinaya; but also because the question will arise if a certain monk or a certain group should be admitted, or should remain in the communion of the Saṁgha. It will be necessary to know if this monk or this group is not heretical, if it recognises such and such a doctrine, if it believes in the *karman* or if it does not, and the community will be more exacting than was a Saint, who, at will, transformed tīrthikas into Arhats and Jaṭilas, into bhikkhus.[84] They have "sacred words" (*subhāṣitas ityuktakas*), authentic histories (*itivṛttakas*); soon they will class them in *nikāyas* (*āgamas*) and the question of books will be most important: "any one is Mahāyānist," says I-tsing, "when he reads the Mahāyānasūtras." They could not but feel the necessity for drawing up the canon of the approved Sūtras in order to distinguish the true word of Buddha (?) among the apocrypha which abounded: for it was an amusement to pour forth in the classical form, no matter what idea, disciplinary, legendary, or dogmatic. It is much more easy to make a good Sūtra than a bad Upaniṣad. And we must consider this detail, that the questioning of Ānanda bears only on the place and the interrogator of the Sūtra, and that it does not allow, as does the interrogation of Upāli on the Vinaya, precise details of the contents of the work.

Thus we are led to adopt a much more conservative manner of thinking than the one Minayeff seems to have patronised, and this by the simple fact that with him we distinguish in the *Culla* between the elements which are authentic or nearly so, those which represent the Saṁgha as constituted as a "tribunal," elements certainly anterior to the data which give to the Council "the aspect of a conclave, met together with a theological and literary aim"; the latter not being nevertheless, exempt from all value, at least symbolical, and not having necessarily been invented, as Minayeff believes, to establish against the Mahāyānists the authority of the canon of the Hīnayāna, — or, as Prof. Oldenberg thinks, according to the events of the Second Council.

I do not know that the Mahāyānists have ever contested as a whole the authenticity of the Suttantas: their polemic is quite different; and the Second Council is a stranger, according to the tradition, to all questions of Scriptures.[85]

(*To be continued.*)

[83] We deviate from Minayeff. See our remarks on the Second Council.

[84] *M. Vagga*, VI. 31, is remarkable for the contempt Buddha which affects for questions of doctrine. This contempt goes even so far as to become impertinence. "Do you teach." they ask him, "annihilation (*uccheda*) [that is to say, the doctrine of non-survival]?"—"I teach," the Master replies, "the annihilation of desire . ." The same contempt for speculation, *M. P. S.* V. 61 foll., ap. Kern, I. 225-6.

[85] See, however, note 88.

ASOKA NOTES.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH AND F. W. THOMAS.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, p. 251.)

No. IX. — The Third Rock Edict.

WHEN recently visiting the India Office Library, I had the advantage of discussing with Mr. F. W. Thomas the **interpretation of the Third Rock Edict of Asôka,** which gives instructions for the official promulgation of the Law of Piety during the prescribed quinquennial tours. The discussion turned chiefly on the concluding sentence, which is rendered by Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, II, 467) by the words: — 'Moreover, *the teachers and ascetics of all* schools will inculcate *what is* befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit.'

In my book, *Asoka*, p. 117, the passage was translated, with reference to M. Senart's commentary: — 'The clergy will thus instruct the lieges in detail, both according to the letter and the spirit.' Neither of these versions is quite satisfactory, and it seems to be worth while to re-examine the text, and consider the possibility of an improved translation. Bühler's rendering is based on the Shâhbâzgarhî text, but that document has some lacunæ, and it will be convenient to set forth as the basis of discussion Bühler's transliteration of the Girnâr text of the whole edict, which is perfect, as follows: —

Devânaṁ priyo Piyadasi râjâ evaṁ âha[:] *dbâda-*
savâsâbhisitena mayâ idaṁ âñapitaṁ[:1] *sarvata*
vijite mama yutâ cha râjûke cha prâdesike cha
paṁchasu paṁchasu vâsesu anusaṁ-[2]
yânaṁ niyâtu etâyeva athâya imâya
dhaṁmânusastiya yathâ añâ-[3] *ya pi kammâya*[:]
sâdhu mâtari cha pitari cha susrûsâ mitâsaṃstutañâ-
tînaṁ bâmhaṇa-[4] *samaṇânaṁ sâdhu*
dânaṁ prâṇânaṁ sâdhu anâraṁbho
apavyayatâ apabhâṁḍatâ sâdhu[.5] *Parisâ pi*
yute âñapayisati gaṇanâyaṁ hetuto cha
vyaṁjanato cha[.6]

Bühler's English translation of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa texts in *Arch. S. S. I.*, Vol. I, p. 122, is substantially identical with his rendering of the Shâhbâzgarhî text.

In the early part of the edict, Bühler, working on the Shâhbâzgarhî text (*sava.*[5] *vijite yuta rajuko pradeśik*[*e*]), translates 'everywhere in my empire both *my* loyal Rajukas and vassals,' taking *yuta* as an adjective qualifying *Rajuko*. In the Orissan texts the corresponding words are: —

Dhauli — . . (*ta vi*)*jitasi me yut*(*â*) *la*[*j*]*uke* [*cha*] . . . *ike;*
Jaugaḍa — *cha pâ*(*de*)*sike cha.*

The perfect Girnâr text reads, *sarvata vijite mama yutâ cha râjûke cha prâdesike cha.*

The insertion of the word *cha*, 'and,' thrice in the Girnâr text seems to make **Bühler's rendering of yutâ untenable.** That word, (as pointed out in *Asoka*, p. 116, note 4,) clearly must be taken as a substantive. M. Senart, long ago, in accordance with the Girnâr text, had translated 'partout dans mon empire les fidèles, le râjuka et le gouverneur du district.' Using modern Anglo-Indian terms, I followed the French scholar and translated, 'everywhere in my dominions the lieges, and the Commissioners, and the District officers.' This version, I think, might stand; but Mr. Thomas' rendering of *yutâ* as equivalent to *âyuktâ*, meaning '(minor) officials,' is preferable.

The next question of interpretation concerns the word anusaṁyâna, which Senart had no hesitation in translating as 'rendez-vous, assemblée.' *Anusaṁyâna*, according to him (*Inscr. de Piyadasi*, Vol. I, p. 80), 'marquerait bien, par sa constitution étymologique, un vaste *rendez-vous*, une réunion publique, tenue dans certains lieux désignés.'

But Professor Kern seems to be right in translating 'tour of inspection.' The word *anusaṁyâna*, as Mr. Thomas observes, occurs in both Brahmanical and Buddhist Sanskrit. *Saṁyâna*, means 'a tour,' and the force of *anu* is to express the notion of 'to one place after another.'

The main difficulty lies in the last sentence, which is given as follows in the various texts:—

Girnâr — *Parisâ pi yute âñapayisati gaṇanâyaṁ hetuto cha vyaṁjanato cha:*

Shâhbâzgarhî — *Pari*[*pi*] [read *Parisha pi*] *yuta*[*ni ga*]*ṇanasi aṇapeśaṁti hetuto cha vañanato cha:*

Kâlsî — *Palisâ-pi-cha yutâ*[*ni*] *gananasi anapayisaṁti hetuvatâ-châ viyaṁjanat*[*e*] *cha*[.]

Mansehra — *Parisha pi cha yutani gaṇunasi* [*aṇa*]*payiśati hetu*[*te*] *cha viya.*[11] *nate cha*[.]

Dhauli — *Palisâ pi cha . . na*[*s*]*i* (*yu*)[*tâ*](*n*)*i ânapayi*(*sati*) . *tut*(*e*) *cha viyaṁ*(*ja*) . . . [11]

Jaugaḍa — . . . . [12] *hetute cha viyaṁjanate cha*[.13]

The variations, it will be observed, are merely dialectical; the words are the same in the texts.

The Girnâr form, being perfect, is the best to translate. Mr. Thomas suggests an entirely novel rendering, which makes the sentence refer to the audit of monastic expenses. I leave to him the task of explaining and justifying his interpretation of both the concluding sentence and the entire edict; and incidentally, of throwing new light upon the difficult texts of the Minor Rock Edicts.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

THE proposed interpretation to which Mr. Vincent Smith kindly refers is not very pretentious, but it may be submitted for consideration.

I think it may be taken that the words apavyayatâ and apabhâṁḍatâ near the end of the inscription correspond to a Sanskrit *alpavyayatâ*, 'moderation in expenditure,' and *alpabhâṁḍatâ*, 'moderation in possessions (such as furniture).' So far as *alpa* is concerned, this was the view of Burnouf. But M. Senart, who, in his edition of the Edicts (pp. 82-3), has recorded Burnouf's opinion as tenable, prefers to find here, as in *apaphala* (Edict IX) and *apaparisava* (Edict X), the privative use of the preposition *apa*. Bühler, in his translation (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 447 *sqq.*), adheres in all the cases to this view, except that in the Girnâr *text* he prints *appaparisrave*. In spite of the authority of M. Senart and the late Prof. Bühler I venture to adopt the other opinion, — for the following reasons. *In the first place*, analogous compounds with *apa*, are in Sanskrit and Pâli less common than those with *alpa*. *Secondly*, in Edict IX *alpaphala* forms a rather better antithesis than does *apaphala*, to the adjacent *mahâphala*. *Thirdly*, one word in the Edicts, where the interpreters have generally recognised the preposition, certainly contains *alpa*: this is *apâbâdhatâ* in the Bhâbra inscription. That this word corresponds to the *alpâbâdhatâ* of the Buddhist Sanskrit (*Mahâvastu*, I, 254, 16; *Divyâvadâna* 19, 15; 156, 13) and *appâbâdho* of the Pâli, no one will be found to deny.

If, accordingly, we understand Aśôka to be inculcating economy, there can be no justification for ascribing to the gaṇanâyaṁ, which follows, any but its proper arithmetical sense. In Pâli and Sanskrit alike *gaṇanâ* is 'reckoning,' 'calculation'; *gaṇaka* is 'accountant' or

'astrologer.' We find *gaṇanāpati* in the sense of 'finance minister,' a meaning which may perhaps also be assigned also to the *gaṇaka* in the Buddhist Sanskrit compound *gaṇakamahâmâtra* (*Mahâvastu*, III, p. 44, l. 45).

Concerning yuta, Mr. Vincent Smith has written above. The Sanskrit *yukta*, to which it corresponds, has the two meanings of (1) 'suitable,' (2) 'earnest.' 'Earnest men' might suit our present passage. But I feel rather confident that the word, like the Sanskrit *âyukta*, denotes 'officials,' especially subordinate officials, such as police officers and the like. Coupled earlier in the inscription with *râjûkas* and *prâdeśikas*, with whom they make quinquennial rounds, they are likely to be something more than 'the faithful' or 'the laity.'

We have then the following sense: — 'Let the *Parishads* also (*i. e.*, as M. Senart has explained, 'the [local] *sanghas*') appoint officials for reckoning.' What are they to reckon? Plainly the expenditure and stores referred to in the *alpavyayatâ* and *alpabhâṃḍatâ* of the previous sentence. This seems to imply **a suitable meaning for the often-discussed hetuto cha vyañjanato.**

The officials in question[1] should in their audit take account both of the *objects* (*hetuto*) and of actual *documents* or *figures* (*vyañjanato*) of the expenditure (*vyaya*) and supplies (*bhâṁḍa*) required by the *saṁghas*. An alternative, however, may be mentioned. Since the most proper sense of *hetu* lies in the domain of abstract reasoning, where it denotes 'reason' or 'middle term,' (*hetuvidyâ*, 'science of reasons' = 'logic'), while *vyañjana* has been shown (*see* M. Senart's observations, p. 85, and M. Lévi's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1896 (VII, pp. 460 *sqq.*), to refer often to the actual wording of texts, we might be tempted to render the words here by with regard to the dictates of 'reason and the prescriptions of actual texts.'

Vyañjana occurs a second time in the Edicts of Aśôka, namely, in the Sahasrâm-Bairât-Rûpnâth-Siddâpur inscription. It is therefore pardonable if I now, following M. Lévi, proceed to consider that text in connection with the preceding.

It is unnecessary to remind the reader that the record is the famous one containing **the word vyuṭha, vivutha,** which has been by M. Senart explained as referring to missions, by M. Lévi as denoting the courier conveying the edict, and by Bühler and other scholars as a synonym for Buddha.[2] **The much-discussed number included in the text** is by M. Senart regarded as the number of the missions despatched under the orders of Aśôka, by M. Lévi as the approximate number of *aksharas* in the edict, by Bühler and other scholars as the number of years elapsed since either Buddha's *nirvâṇa* or his *abhinishkramaṇa*.

In propounding yet a fourth interpretation of the passage and the figures, which, in its general lines, agrees with those of M. Senart and M. Lévi, I shall be content, as Mr. Vincent Smith has reproduced the text, to call attention to the words which seem to bear upon my conclusions.

(1) Sahasrâm: *se etâye aṭhâye iyaṁ sâvâne.*

Rûpnâth: *etiya aṭhâya cha sâvane kaṭe.* (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 302.)

Siddâpur (Brahmagiri): *e[t]âyaṭhâya iyaṁ sâvaṇe sâvâpite* (in another version *sâvite*). (*Ep. Ind.*, III, 138.)

What is a sâvaṇe and by whom was it kaṭe ('made'), sâvâpite, or sâvite ('proclaimed')? The word *sâvaṇe* denotes 'a making known by hearing,' and in the present passage this sense is enforced by the use of the verb *sâvâpite* or *sâvite*. But, of course, we may find in it the weakened sense of *śruti*, 'an authoritative saying,' and so acquiesce in a supposition that Aśôka is citing some word of Buddha or even a proverb.

[1] ? = the *Vihârasvâmins* of later times?

[2] For a summary of previous views concerning this number 256 and the words *vivutha*, etc., in this Edict we may refer to the article by Dr. J. F. Fleet in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1904, pp. 1 *sqq.*

But, according to one text, the *sâvaṇe* is *kaṭe*, 'made,' and this seems to imply rather a newly composed, than an ancient, precept. The actual tenor of the precept confirms this theory. After celebrating the important results of exertion on the part of small persons no less than of great, results which he has himself experienced, he goes on to say, 'This *sâvaṇe* (*i. e., proclamation*) has been made, namely, "Let small and great exert themselves."' The lesson, therefore, which he would inculcate is a new one, an outcome of a recent personal experience.

This being so, the **author of the precept**, the subject of the verbs *kaṭe*, *sâvâpite*, or *sâvite*, **is Aśôka himself.**

(2) Sahasrâm: *iyaṁ [cha savane] vivuṭhena.*
Rûpnâth: *vyuṭhenâ sâvane kaṭe.*
Siddâpur (Brahmagiri): *iyaṁ cha sâvaṇ[e] sâv[â]p[i]te vyûthena.*

From this passage it appears that the person who composed, or caused to be communicated, the sentiment in question was the *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, or *vyûtha*. What part of speech is this word? Probably all scholars agree that it is a participle corresponding to the Sanskrit *vyushita* and meaning 'gone abroad.' To take it in this passage as a participle agreeing with *mayâ* understood will be in entire harmony with syntax; and this I propose to do. **The proclamation was made and published by Aśôka upon his travels. What travels?**

(3) Sahasrâm: *duve sapaṁnâlâti satâ vivuthâti 256.*
Rûpnâth: *256 satavivâsâ ta.*
Siddâpur (Brahmagiri): *vyûthena 256.*

The *vivuthâ* of Sahasrâm corresponds to *vivâsâ* of Rûpnâth. It is therefore here a noun: but in that there is nothing surprising. A Sanskrit neuter *vyushitâni* would similarly correspond to *vivâsâḥ*; and that a different sense is to be found in the present context (3) from what was found in (2) is proved by the fact that the Rûpnâth text has a distinction of words, here *vivâsâ*, there *vyuṭhena*.

In this connection we ought to advert to the phrase *vivuthe vase*, 'the year having been passed,' which occurs in the Khandagiri inscription. In Sanskrit *vyushṭâ râtrî* meaning 'the night has dawned (into day)' contains the root *vas* 'to shine': but when we say *vyushitaḥ śâśvatîḥ samâḥ* or *tâṃ vyushito râtriṃ*, and perhaps sometimes when we say *sâ vyushṭâ râtri*,[3] we are using the root *vas*, 'to dwell' (see B. and R.). Hence there is no inconsistency in taking *vivutha* as = 'on one's travels' in the passage under discussion, while in the Khandagiri inscription it bears the passive sense of 'having been passed.'

Now the *vivâsas* or 'changes of abode' are 256 in number. What point is there in that?

(4) Rûpnâth: *etinâ cha vayajanenâ yâvataka tu paka ahâle savara vivasetavâyu (ti vyuṭhenâ sâvane kaṭe).*

The new inscription from Sârnâth (*Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, pp. 166 *sqq.*, Dr. Vogel's article, with which, during the correction of the proof of this note, I have been enabled to consult M. Senart's paper, *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie*, 1907, pp. 1*sqq.*, and that of Mr. Venis, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, pp. 1 *sqq.*) definitely proves that the reading here should be *yāvatakam tuphākam āhāre savata vivāsetariya* and that the meaning of the whole phrase is 'with this document (or in accordance with this "signification" = 'command') you must everywhere go abroad so far as your district extends,' where I understand *āhāra*, not with Professor Kern (*see* Dr. Vogel's article) as a new word = *ādhāra*, but as an equivalent of *bhoga* = (1) 'food,' (2) 'source of revenue,' and with Dr. Vogel and M. Senart (p. 10) I regard *vivāsay* as having a non-causal sense.

[3] Whitney, in his list of roots, gives both *ushita* and *ushṭa* to each of the two roots. The expression *râtriṁ vivâsayati*, however, contains, as Professor Kielhorn has shown (*J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 364-5) the root *vas*, 'to shine.'

The fact that in this passage Aśôka brings his own journeyings abroad (*vyuṭhena*) into so close connection with those which he enjoins upon his subordinates, is a reason for believing them to have been of a similar nature: and we are accordingly inclined to the supposition that Aśôka's *vivāsas* or 'goings abroad' (opposed to *āvāsa*) were of a missionary or propagandist character.

(5) Siddâpur (Brahmagiri): *ekaṁ savachharaṁ sâtireke tu kho sa[ṁ]vachhar[a]ṁ yaṁ mayâ saṁghe upayîte bâdhaṁ cha me pakaṁte.*

The other texts are not quoted, being all more or less fragmentary. But this is a matter of no moment, the interpretation being, except in one point, a matter of general agreement. After being for a period an ineffective layman (*upâsaka*), Aśôka had rather more than a year before the issue of this edict joined the *saṁgha* and exerted himself greatly and with remarkable effect. The only difference of opinion concerns the word savacharaṁ which Bühler would take in the sense of 'a period of six years,' *shaḍvatsaram*. This interpretation is based upon the fact that the Rûpnâth version has *chhavachhare*, while at Sahasrâm he reads *saḍvachhale* in place of *saviv̊chhale*. It seems a strong objection to this interpretation that in the previous line the Sahasrâm has *savachala* in the sense of 'year,' and, further, 'year' is not a very early meaning of *vatsara*. The Siddâpur text replaces the former *saṃvatsara* by *varsha*: but this difference seems to me due merely to the fact that in speaking of the single year of his activity Aśôka changes the expression to one (saṃvatsara) which denotes a calendar year, intending to emphasize the fact that he has been one whole year at work.[4] The reading *saviṁchale* is indistinguishable from *saḍvachale*: probably it is for *saṁvichale*. *Chavachare* may be due to the influence of the neighbouring *cha's*. Accordingly, I follow most recent scholars (but *see* Mr. Vincent Smith's *Aśôka*, pp. 139-40) in taking *savachara* to denote 'a year.'

Now if Aśôka, having joined the Saṁgha, adopted a course of activity in the form of constant travel and changed his residence about once every day, 256 would be a probable number of changes — for the rainy season would be excluded.[5]

Regarding satā in satâ vivuthâ and 256 satavîvâsâ, I am inclined, in spite of the tautology in the latter case, to adhere to the view that we have here the equivalent of *śata*. 'a hundred.' But certainly there would be no objection to recognizing in it the Sanskrit *sattra* 'Verpflegungshaus,' 'Hospiz' (B. and R.), in which case *sattravivâsa* would mean 'moving from stage to stage.'

(6) In accordance with the above interpretations we should again have a choice between two alternatives as regards *vyañjana*. For the *etinâ vayajanenâ* of the Rûpnâth text may mean either 'with the text of my instruction' or rather more abstractly 'according to this signification' (or command).

I can only lay these suggestions before the scholars interested in the matter.[6]

F. W. THOMAS.

[4] The difference between *varsha* and *saṁvatsara* corresponds to that between ἔτος and ἐνιαυτός. It may be observed that only in this edict does Aśôka employ the word *saṁvatsara*.

[5] [365 days — 119 = 246; — 109 = 253; 120 or 121 days = 4 months. 'For the Buddhists of India as for the other people of that country the rainy season began on the 16th of the month Ashâdha (the fourth of their year) and continued for four months. This was chiefly for religious purposes, but to the non-Buddhists of India three months of this period formed also their summer.' But 'the full period of Retreat was three months, and Buddha ordained that this period might be counted either from the middle of the fourth or the middle of the fifth month' (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 145). — V. A. S.]

[6] [Future editors of the Siddâpura inscriptions should take note of the very clear facsimiles published by Mr. B. Lewis Rice in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, Bangalore, 1903, p. 162, No. 14; p. 164, No. 21; p. 167, No. 34. — V. A. S.]

IN order to make quite clear what the effect is of the suggested interpretation of **Rock Edict III, we append a free version of that document, as understood by us : —**

'Thus saith His Majesty King Priyadarśin : —

In the thirteenth year of my reign I issued this command : — Everywhere in my dominions the [subordinate] officials and the Commissioners, and the District officers, every five years must go out on circuit, as well for their other duties, as for this special purpose, namely, to proclaim the Law of Piety, to wit, "A good thing is the hearkening to father and mother ; a good thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmans and ascetics ; a good thing it is to spare living creatures[7] ; a good thing it is to spend little and store little."

Let the Fraternities also appoint officials for the reckoning, with regard to both the objects and the accounts.'

F. W. T.
V. A. S.

BOOK-NOTICE.

INDIAN HISTORICAL SERIES, VOL. I. Early History of the Solankis, Part I. By GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJHA. Ajmer: 1907. Vaidik Yantralaya, Rs. 2.

MR. GAURISHANKAR OJHA has long been well known to students of Indian history and epigraphy, and many an important inscription has, during the last years, been made available through his disinterested zeal. The work now under review gives, in a connected form, a summary of the results of his studies of the history of the Chalukyas. He first deals with the western branch of the dynasty, down to its overthrow by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and further, from the re-establishment of their kingdom under Tailapa, down to its termination under Sōmēśvara IV. Then he turns to the Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgī, from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana and down to Rājēndra Chōḷa II, and to the branches of the dynasty established in Piṭṭhāpura, Śrīkūrmam, and Viśākhapaṭṭana.

The work has been numbered Part I, Vol. I, of a Series, and it is much to be hoped that it will be continued. It is a very careful and critical summary of the results obtainable from epigraphical and literary sources. It will be especially important to such Indian scholars as cannot make use of Dr. Fleet's and Dr. Bhandarkar's studies on the same subject. And also to others it will be very useful, because it has been published so recently and has, consequently, benefited from such new materials as have been brought to light after the appearance of the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

The piecing together of the various documents from which the history of India is gradually being built up, is still going on, and so it is only to be expected that some of Mr. Ojha's statements will, in future, have to be modified. I do not think that it is possible to state with certainty that the famous Ajaṇṭā picture actually represents the reception of the embassy sent by Khusrau to Polekēsin II, and there may be some few instances elsewhere, where judgment should be deferred. Thus the statement that the Vakkalērī plate of Kīrttivarman II gives Śaka 679 as the eleventh year of his reign is not quite certain, the number "nine" of the date not being legible in the plate. Another plate of the same king, which will soon be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, distinctly gives Śaka 672 as the ninth year of his reign. I do not mention this in order to find fault with Mr. Ojha's book. The fact only shows how our knowledge of Indian history is incessantly proceeding, and it demonstrates how Mr Ojha's treatise must necessarily add much to the information brought together by his predecessors. And it is impossible not to admire the patient work and the sane criticism to which every page of his book bears testimony.

STEN KONOW.

[7] The word *âlambha* is a good technical (euphemistic) expression in the *Brâhmaṇas* for the laying hands on the animal for sacrifice, and no doubt *anâlambha* in the text is the negative of this and not of the ordinary *ârambha*. — F. W. T. [But, as a friend points out, the Girnâr text given above has *anâraṁbhô*, and it is difficult to suppose that *r* has been changed into *l*, although the converse process is common. Considering the relations between *r* and *l* in Indian dialects (see *e. g.*, Wackernagel's *Grammar*, I, p. 215) this objection does not seem to me important. I may refer to the words *ârambhaṇa* and *anârambhaṇa* in Böhtlingk and Roth and to the roots *rabh* + *â* and *labh* + *â* in Grassman's *Dictionary*. *Ârambha*, which means 'beginning,' etc., is originally 'setting hands (to a work)' (F. W. T.). — V. A. S.].

THE SCYTHIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY.

BY R. D. BANERJI.

AT the time of the departure of Alexander the Great from India in 326 B. C. his Indian dominions were divided into three satrapies —

(1) Paropanisadai, to the west of the Indus. Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was the governor of this province ;

(2) The second satrapy, the Panjāb, including the kingdom of Taxila and those of Porus and Sophytes, together with the territories of the Oxydrakæ and the Malloi, was placed under the military governorship of Philip, son of Machetas, while the civil administration was left in the hands of the native sovereigns ;

(3) Sindh, including the kingdoms of Musikanus, Oxykanus, Sambus, and Mæris of Patalene, formed the third satrapy and was entrusted to Peithon, the son of Agenor.[1]

Philip, the satrap of the Panjāb, was killed in a mutiny shortly before the death of Alexander and was succeeded by Eudamos. This officer, who had no adequate forces at his command, managed to remain in India up to B. C. 317, when he departed to help Eumenes against Antigonos.

At the time of the second partition of the Macedonian empire in B. C. 321, effective control of the Indian princes was impossible, and Peithon, the satrap of Sindh, was obliged to retire to the west of the Indus. The Indian provinces to the east of the Indus were consequently ignored at that partition. These arrangements prove that, within two years of Alexander's death, the Greek power to the east of the Indus had been extinguished, with the slight exception of a small territory, wherever it might have been, which Eudamos managed to hold for some four years longer.[2]

Later on, when Seleukos Nikator tried to recover the lost provinces in B. C. 305, he found Candragupta Maurya too strong for him. He made a humiliating treaty, formally abandoning Greek claims to the provinces east of the Indus, and ceding Kabul, Qandahar, and Hirat to the victor. Candragupta, Bindusāra, and Aśoka kept all intruders outside their dominions. After the death of Aśoka in *circa* B. C. 230, the decline of the Maurya power began, and from the beginning of the second century B. C. up to the year 318 A. D. no date of Indian History can be fixed with absolute certainty. During this period various foreign nations are known from the Puraṇas and other sources to have invaded India and subjugated portions of the country. Among these foreign nations are the Bactrian Greeks, Parthians, and various hordes of Scythians, such as the Se and the Yue-chi. The only available data for the construction of the history of this period are —

(1) Coins which are found in great abundance in Afghanistan and Northern India.

(2) Inscriptions; these are written in two scripts, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi.

(3) Mentions of Indian and Central Asian affairs in foreign annals.

The empire of Seleukos Nikator extended from the Mediterranean to the borders of the Maurya empire, and in this he was succeeded by his son, Antiokos Soter, and his grandson, Antiokos Theos. During the reign of the last named prince two of their easternmost provinces were lost to the Seleukidæ, *viz.*, Bactria and Parthia. Bactria became an independent kingdom under Diodotos, the former satrap. Diodotos was succeeded by his son, Diodotos, surnamed Soter, who was ousted by Euthydemos. Euthydemos was succeeded by his son, Demetrios. About this period the second invasion of India by the Greeks took place. Antiokos the Great, the grandson of Antiokos Soter, invaded India in B. C. 206. He did not succeed in penetrating into India proper, but seems to have

[1] Cunningham's *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, p. 98.

[2] V. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 109.

defeated a border chief, named Sophagasenos or Subhāgasena, and levied a contribution of elephants from him. It was under Demetrios that permanent conquests seem to have been made in India; because Kharoṣṭhi legends appear for the first time on Greek coins during the reign of Demetrios. There is, also, a coin of Demetrios which seems to be the result of a compromise between the Greek and Indian methods of coinage. The regular type of the Greek system is retained, but the coin is of the square Indian form.[3]

When Demetrios was absent in India, Eukratidas, one of his officers whom he most probably left in charge of Bactria, usurped his throne, and all attempts on the part of Demetrios to recover the province were of no avail. At this time, along with the coins of Demetrios, occur those of several other Greek princes, such as Antimakos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, etc. Eukratidas seems to have reigned in Bactria up to 160 B. C. He also conducted several expeditions against Demetrios and seems to have subjugated him in the end. Eukratidas was murdered by one of his sons on return from one of his Indian expeditions. During the later years of Eukratidas, civil strife seems to have been rife in his dominions in which a rival prince, named Plato, seems to have played a prominent part. On one of the coins of Plato, occurs the date 147 of the Seleukidan era, equivalent to B. C. 165. Eukratidas was succeeded by Heliokles in Bactria, who seems to have been the last Greek ruler of that country.

In or about the year 165 B. C., occurred one of the most important events in the history of Asia. At this time, a war broke out between two nomad hordes living on the borders of the Chinese Empire, the Yue-chi and the Hiung-Nu, in which the former were completely defeated and ousted from their territories. The Yue-chi then marched westward with their flocks and herds in search of new lands and pastures. On their way they fell in with another nomad horde, the Wu-sun. In the fight which ensued, the Wu-sun were worsted and their chief, Nan-teou-mi, was killed. After this, the Yue-chi, still marching westward, attacked the Se or Sok, who abandoned their territories to the Yue-chi and migrated into Ki-pin to the south. But in the meantime Kwen-mo, son of the deceased Wu-sun Chief, had grown up under the protection of the Hiung-Nu and attacked the Yue-chi to avenge his father's death. He succeeded in driving the Yue-chi out of their newly-acquired lands into Ta-hia or Bactria. The Chinese historians derived their knowledge of the migration of the Yue-chi chiefly from the reports of Chang-Kien, who visited the Yue-chi in or about B. C. 125.

The next mention of the Yue-chi is in Pan-ku's history of the first Han dynasty. Pan-ku states that the Yue-chi were no longer nomads and that the Yue-chi kingdom had become divided into five principalities, *viz.*—(1) The Hieou-mi; (2) Chouang-mo; (3) *Kouei-chouang*; (4) Hi-thun.; and (5) Kao-fu. To this the history of the second Han dynasty adds that about a hundred years later, the Kouei-chouang prince, Kieou-tsieou-kio, attacked and subjugated the other four principalities and made himself master of a kingdom which was called *Koeichoang*. This prince invaded Parthia and took possession of Kabul. Kiu-tsiu-kio died at the age of eighty, and his son, Yen-kao-chin, ascended the throne. He conquered Tien-tchou (India) and there set up generals who governed in the name of the Yue-chi.[4] Thus it appears, that a few years after the defeat of the Yue-chi by the Hiung-Nu in 165 B. C., Ta-hia or Bactria was over-run by them, while the Se or Sok poured into Afghanistan and the Panjāb. From this period onward, the scanty notices of the classical historians, which were of some use to Cunningham and other scholars in their attempt to re-construct the history of the Eastern Greeks, become scantier still and then ceased altogether.

[3] E. J. Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 5.

[4] The above account is taken from Mr. V. A. Smith's admirable summary of the notices of the Chinese historians in his "Kushān period of Indian History," *J. R. A. S.*, 1903.

Numerous coins of this period (B. C. 165 to 318 A. D.) are available and are our chief sources of information about its history. These coins inform us of the existence of a large number of princes among whom are to be found later Greeks, Parthian and Scythians. The later Greek princes are about twenty in number and the most important among them are Menander and Apollodotos mentioned by classical historians as conquerors of India.[5] Besides the Greeks, the princes of three other foreign lines are known to us chiefly through their coins. These are: —

(1) The Se or Sok, such as Maues, Vonones, Azes, Azilises, and the satraps Liaka, Patika, Rājūvula, Śoḍasa, Kharahostes, Jihuniā, etc.

(2) The Parthians, such as, Gondophernes, Abdagases, Arsakes, Pakores, and Sanabares.

(3) The Kushān family: Kozoulo Kadphises, Vima Kadphises, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva.

There are several inscriptions of the Se or Sok, both in Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhi, but only one inscription of the Parthian dynasty has been discovered up to date, whereas the inscriptions of Kushān family are fairly numerous.

The notices of the Chinese historians are confined chiefly to the fortunes of the Yue-chi.

Among these princes, the name of Kaniṣka stands pre-eminent as the patron of Buddhism and a mighty conqueror. Among the inscriptions of this period many are dated and the large majority of the dated inscriptions belong to the Kushān dynasty. One of the chief difficulties in the construction of a chronology of this period lies in the fact that the inscriptions do not refer themselves to any particular era. The inscriptions of the Kushān period are dated in years from 3 to 99 of an unknown era. The single Parthian inscription is dated in the year 103 and two of the Sok inscriptions are dated.

Various theories have been put forward by various scholars about the interpretation of these dates and the chronology of this period. They are eleven in number and carry the initial year of the era in which the Kushān inscriptions are dated over a period of more than 325 years, ranging from B. C. 57 to A. D. 278. These theories may be classified as follows: —

I. — Theories which maintain that the dates in the Kushān inscriptions should be referred to an era of which the hundreds are omitted: —

(*a*) The theory put forth by Mr. V. A. Smith that the Kushān inscriptions are dated in the Laukika era with thirty-two hundreds omitted.

(*b*) Mr. Devadatta R. Bhāndārkar's theory that the Kushān inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era with two hundred omitted.

(*c*) General Cunningham's second theory that the Kushān inscriptions are dated according to the Seleukidan era with four hundred omitted.

(*d*) The theory that these inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama era with one hundred omitted.

II. — Theories which maintain that the Kushān inscriptions are dated in an era founded by Kaniṣka: —

(*a*) Cunningham's first theory which is still maintained by Dr. Fleet that Kaniṣka founded the Vikrama era.

(*b*) Ferguson and Oldenberg's theory that Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era.

(*c*) The theory that Kaniṣka founded an era of which the initial year still remains to be ascertained.

[5] Trogus, p. 41.

III. — Theories which arrive at a conclusion from the point of view of the Chinese historians : —

(*a*) M. Sylvain Levi's theory that the coronation of Kaniṣka took place in B. C. 5.

(*b*) M. Boyer's theory that the coronation of Kaniṣka must be placed later than 90 A. D.

(*c*) Dr. Francke's theory that Kaniṣka preceded Kujula Kadphises and Hima Kadphises, and that his coronation is to be placed about B. C. 2.

(*d*) Mr. V. A. Smith's older theory that the coronation of Kaniṣka took place in 65 A. D.

Out of these theories I. (*d*) seems never to have been worked out in detail and III. (*d*) has been withdrawn by the author,[6] while II. (*c*) is a bare statement and gives us no clue to its solution.

As the dates on the Kushān inscriptions range from the year 3 to the year 99 it is certain that either Kaniṣka founded a special era of his own or that he used an older one with the hundreds omitted, since it is improbable that another reign of two or three years preceded that of Kaniṣka. The first of the theories enumerated above is that of Mr. Vincent A. Smith in which the author tries to prove that the Kushān inscriptions are dated according to the Laukika era. Mr. Smith's paper is a long one and deserves detailed consideration. Mr. Vincent Smith states: " Two relevant numismatic facts are absolutely certain, namely, that Kadphises I. struck copper coins on which the king's head is a copy of the head on the coins either of the later years of Augustus or of his successor Tiberius and that Kadphises II. issued a gold coinage agreeing in weight with the Aurei of the early Roman empire. " In a footnote Mr. Smith adds that Mr. E. J. Rapson informs him that the portraits on the copper coins of Kadphises I. most closely resemble those on the coins of Caius and Lucius, the grandsons of Augustus, who died respectively in B. C. 4 and A. D. 2.[7] This is admissible and does not stand in the way of the thesis which this paper puts forth.

Mr. Vincent Smith refers the dates in the Kushān inscriptions to the Laukika era. The arguments which he adduces in favour of his theory are, that the years in the inscriptions which can be referred to one of the three kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva with absolute certainty are all below one hundred, and that the use of the Laukika era goes back to very early times, as both Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala refer to the description of it given by Vṛddha Garga. Alberuni states that the era was in ordinary use among the common people in North-Western India in 1000 A. D. Mr. Smith then proceeds to explain the Laukika era and observes : "In practice the Laukika dates are written in tens and units, only the hundreds and thousands being omitted." This in fact is the case, but Mr. Smith is led after this to make some peculiar remarks contradicting himself. Alberuni states that " the common people in India date by the years of a centenium . . . . if a centenium is finished they drop it and simply begin to date a new one." [8] On which Cunningham said, "the omission of the hundreds was a common practice in India in reckoning the *Sapt Rishi Kal*," that is, the Laukika era. This evidently means that in practice only the hundreds of this era were omitted, the thousands being retained. Mr. Smith is quite right in remarking that " no such mode or practice ever existed." But a few pages below he says, " it seems, however, to be quite possible that exceptionally the thousands of a Laukika date may be omitted and the hundreds expressed,"[9] an assumption with which I do not agree. If in a date the hundreds are mentioned, it is absolutely certain that it cannot be referred to the Laukika era. Mr. Smith had fully recognised the value of this fact and has attempted to prove that the dates in three figures in inscriptions of this period cannot be referred to the same era as the main body of Kushān dates, but to some other era, such as the Vikrama or Gupta Samvats. Inscriptions with dates above hundred, which can be referred to this period with certainty, are written in two

6 *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 4, footnote.

7 *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, pp. 5 and 30, footnote 1.

8 Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I., p. 8.

9 *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 16.

scripts, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi. Mr. Smith mentions three Brāhmī records with dates above one hundred. They are —

(1) Mathura inscription of the year 135.[10]

(2) Mathura inscription of the year 230.[11]

(3) Mathura inscription of the year 299.[12]

It will be seen later on that out of these three inscriptions the third does not fall within the Kushān period, as its characters are much earlier. The other two inscriptions have been referred by Dr. Fleet to the Gupta era and Mr. Smith supports this view. During a recent visit to Allahabad I examined the inscriptions of the year 135 in the Public Library of that place and it struck me that the characters of the inscription are of a much earlier period than that to which it is now supposed to belong. If referred to the Gupta era the date of the inscription would be equivalent to 135 + 318/9 = 453-4 A. D. This date is too late for the inscription. The case of the inscription of the year 230 is similar to this. There is another dated inscription from Mathura, the date of which must be referred to the Gupta era because it mentions the name of Kumāra Gupta. The date on that inscription is the year 113.[13] A comparison of the characters of the two inscriptions shows that they cannot both be referred to the same era; in fact, the inscription of the year 135 is much earlier. The comparison reveals the following facts: —

(1) The *Ja* of the inscription of the year 135 is cursive in form, whereas in the other inscription it is angular. The cursive *Ja* is one of the peculiarities of the characters of the Kuṣana period.

(2) The lower part of the *Ra* of the inscription of the year 135 is curved to the left, a characteristic to be found only among Kuṣana inscriptions and nowhere else among later inscriptions from Northern India. (The lower part of the *Ra* was changed into an angular projection to the left. It is to be noticed that it is not a curve. *Cf.* Bühler, *Indische Palæographie,* Tafel III.)

(3) The palatal *Sa* in the inscription of the year 135 has the lower part of its left vertical line curved to the left, but in the inscription of the year 114 it is not so. The form of *Sa* is ordinarily found in Kuṣana inscriptions, but very rarely met with in those of the Gupta period.

Again the date of the inscription of the year 230, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes 230 + 319 = 549, which is quite inadmissible. A glance at Dr. Fleet's facsimile will bear out this statement. The other arguments of Mr. Smith in favour of the Gupta era are not of so much importance. The language of the two inscriptions is Sanskrit and in both of them the formula *Sarvasattvānāṅ cānuttarajñānāptaye* or *jñānāvāptaye* has been used. This formula has been chiefly found in the inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era. But inscriptions of the 3rd and 4th centuries are scarce and so it cannot be said that the formula was not in common use during that period. As to the language, with the rise of Mahāyāna Sanskrit became the canonical language of the sect, and so it is not at all surprising to find some Buddhist inscriptions after Kaniṣka in that language. Hence, it is evident that these two dates cannot be referred to the Gupta era. As the characters betray a marked affinity to those of the Kuṣana inscriptions, the dates of these two inscriptions can be definitely referred to the same era as that of the inscriptions of the kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva. The numerical symbols, Mr. Smith says, are those of the Gupta period. The only remarkable symbol is that for 200, and Dr. Bühler's[14] tables show that the symbols used in those two inscriptions show transition forms between the Maurya and Gupta symbols for the same number.

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[10] Dowson, *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. V., p. 184, No. 8; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 36, No. 22; and Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III., p. 262, pl. XXXIX-A.

[11] Dowson, *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. V., p. 185, No. 9; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. III., p. 37, No. 23; and Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III., p. 273, pl. XL-D.

[12] Bühler, *W. Z. K. M.* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*), Vol. X., p. 171.

[13] *E. I.*, Vol. II., No. XXXIX., p. 210, and plate.

[14] *Indische Palæographie,* Tafel IX, columns II and XI.

Mr. Smith mentions five Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions with dates above one hundred. They are —

(1) The Takht-i-Bahāi inscription of Gondophernes or Guduphara, the year 103.[15]

(2) Dr. Waddell's Kaldara inscription, the year 113.[16]

(3) The Panjtar inscription, the year 122.[17]

(4) Mr. Caddy's Loriyan Tangai inscription, the year 318.[18]

(5) The Hashtnagar pedestal inscription, the year 384.[19]

Mr. Smith speaks of another inscription of the year 113 from Kaladara Nadi, which mentions a Kuṣana king, but I have failed to find it. Probably it is still in site. Mr. Smith does not mention it in his list of dated inscriptions. The last two inscriptions of the five above should be omitted as Dr. Vogel has proved that they refer to an era the initial year of which must be in the 4th century before the Christian era.

Mr. Smith refers these dates to the Vikrama era. The first inscription will be dealt later on. The date of the second inscription, if referred to the Vikrama era, becomes 113 + 56 A. D. which is too early. Dr. Bühler, in editing this inscription, made the following remarks :—

"The letters which vary between 1 and 2 inches in height and have been cut deeply and boldly show the type of the Śaka period which is known from the Taxila copper-plate of *Patika* and the inscription of his contemporary *Suḍāsa* or *Śoḍāsa* on the Mathurā Lion Capital." In his *Indische Palaeographie* Dr. Bühler divides the Kharoṣṭhi documents into four chief varieties —

(1) The archaic one of the fourth or third centuries B. C. found in the Aśoka edicts.

(2) The variety of the second and first centuries B. C. on the coins of Indo-Grecian kings.

(3) The variety of the Śaka period, first century B. C. to first century A. D., found on —

(*a*) The Taxila copper-plate of Patika.

(*b*) The Mathura Lion Capital inscription.

(*c*) The Kaldara inscription.

(4) The strongly cursive script of the first and second centuries A. D. which begins with the Takht-i-Bāhāi inscription of Gondopherres and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kuṣana kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka as found on —

(1) The Zeda inscription, the year 11.

(2) The Manikyala inscription, the year 18.

(3) The Suë Vihār copper-plate, the year 11.

(4) The Wardak vase, the year 51.[20]

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[15] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. V., p. 58, pl. XVI., fig. 3, and Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 8e série, tom. XV, p. 114, et planche.

[16] Bühler, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, pp. 55 and 327, and Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 9e série, tom. XIII, p. 526, et planche.

[17] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. V, p. 61, and pl. XVI., fig. 4.

[18] Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 9e série, tom. XIII, p. 526, et planche, and Vogel, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* (New Series), 1903-4, p. 253, and pl. LXX, fig. 4.

[19] Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 9e série, tom. XIII, pp. 526—37, and Vogel, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* (New Series), p. 251.

[20] Taxila copper-plate of Patika, *E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 56, and plate. The Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions edited by Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 525, but no facsimile has yet been published. The Zeda inscription, Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 8e série, tom. XV, p. 135, et planche. The Manikyala inscription, Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 9e série, tom. VII, p. 1, et planche. The Suë Vihar plate, Hoernle, *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 324, and plate.

Only one inscription, the Suë Vihār copper-plate of the fourth variety, has been completely interpreted and this fact has led Dr. Bühler to adopt its letters as the characters representing the fourth variety. But this is questionable. The inscriptions of this last variety have been found on two classes of materials — (1) stone and (2) metal, and it is evident to the most casual observer that the inscriptions on stone are clearly cut and archaic in form, but those on metal are strongly cursive in form. Thus the Zeda and Suë Vihār inscriptions both mention the name of Kaniṣka and are dated in the year 11, but the characters of the Zeda inscription are much earlier in form. Unfortunately the Zeda inscription is too far gone to allow of complete interpretation. But there is the Manikyala inscription which is neatly incised and the form of the characters of which are not cursive and may be taken to represent the fourth variety. The characters of this inscription are quite different from those of the Suë Vihār, Wardak, and Bimaran inscriptions. There is another objection against the Suë Vihār inscription being taken as the prototype of the fourth variety, which is, that the inscription has been very carelessly incised.[21] If the characters of the Manikyala inscriptions are taken as the representatives of the fourth variety, one important fact follows. Most of the differences between the Śaka and Kuṣana varieties of Karoṣṭhi, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler disappear. But it is certain that the Taxila copper-plate and the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions belong to an earlier period. Now, if the Kaldara inscription is compared with the Manikyala inscription, it becomes evident that the characters of the former inscription are much later than those of the latter. The *ka* of Kaldara in *Pukaraṇi* and *Karavita* is certainly later than that of Manikyala in *Kaṇiṣka*; at the same time the affinity between the characters of the two inscriptions is clearly marked. The dental *sa* is not of the Śaka period, but of the Kuṣana period. So it becomes clear that this inscription also must be referred to the same era as the other Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi Kuṣana inscriptions, since it belongs to the same period, and other eras, such as the Vikrama and the Seleukidan, are not applicable to it.[22]

Similarly, the date in the Panjtar inscription is to be referred to the same era as the other dated Kuṣana records. Compare *ka* in l. 2 and *da* in l. 1 and the dental *sa* throughout.[23] It is certain that this inscription is much later than the Manikyala inscription. There are several other Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions with dates above hundred which have been omitted by Mr. Smith, such as the Mount Banj inscriptions of the year 102[24] and the Skaradheri image inscription of the year 179[25] and the Dewai inscription of the year 200.[26] To these I have added a fourth from the Lahore Museum, which is dated in the year 111 and is edited probably for the first time at the end of this paper.

Bhāndārkar and Bühler were quite right in bringing the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions with dates exceeding hundred in a line with those dated from 3 to 99. Mr. Smith, in attempting to bring the Mathura inscription of the year 299 in a line with those of the years from 3 to 99, has said that exceptionally the thousands of a Laukika date may be omitted, but the hundreds expressed. But instances of this have never been met with, and, as will be seen later on, the inscription of the year 299 does not belong to the Kus̲h̲ān group of inscriptions at all. In Laukika date only the tens and units should be mentioned. The mention of the hundreds or thousands clearly proves that the date is not a Laukika one. Now, if all the Kus̲h̲ān dates from 3 to 99 are to be referred to the same era, then the cognate dated inscriptions, with dates above hundred, should be in a line with the earlier inscriptions and refer to the same era. So it is clear that the dates in the Kus̲h̲ān inscriptions do not refer to the Laukika era.

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21 The operator does not follow the original dotted lines. *Cf.* Hoernle, *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 325.

22 I publish a facsimile of the Kaldara inscription, as I found M. Senart's facsimile to be very indistinct and too difficult to work with. The inscription is now in the Lahore Museum (No. I, p. 77).

23 *Cf. A. S. R.*, Vol. V, pl. XVI, fig. 4.

24 Senart, *J. A.*, 9e série, tom. IV, p. 510, No. 35, pl. V.

25 Stratton, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 1, and Vogel, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 903-4, p. 255, and pl. LXX, fig. 9.

26 Senart, *J. A.*, 9e série, tom. IV, p. 510, No. 34, pl. V.

The earliest Laukika date is that of the Baijnath Praśasti, year 80 and Śaka 1126, *i. e.*, 1204-5. The mere mention in astronomical works of the imaginary motion of the seven Ṛṣis (the Great Bear) does not prove that the era was in use at that time. There is no proof that the Saptarṣi era or Loka Kāla was in use before the Gupta period. Alberuni's statements do not in any way interfere with the above statement.

Mr. Smith then proceeds to deal with the notices of Chinese historians enumerated above and tries to adapt their statements to his theory. After the final defeat of the Yue-chi in 165 B. C. they migrated to the west and on their way met the Wu-Sun. In the fight which followed the Wu-Sun were worsted. This may have taken place in B. C. 163. The Yue-chi, though they defeated the Wu-Sun, were not able to appropriate their lands and passed on westwards. They next came into conflict with the Se or the Sok, who were also defeated, and, abandoning their lands, migrated southwards. This probably took place about the year 160 B. C., but the Yue-chi were not allowed to remain in peaceful possession of the conquered lands. The son of slain Wu-Sun chieftain, who had grown to manhood under the protection of the Hiung-Nu, attacked them to avenge the death of his father and drove them further west. Mr. Smith places this event in B. C. 140 on the ground that at least twenty years are necessary for an infant to grow into manhood. This is not admissible. The age of an infant may be anything from a month to eight or ten years. Assuming that at the time of his father's death, Kwen-Mo was four or five years of age we find that an interval of ten or twelve years is quite sufficient to allow him to be of fighting age, for, in the north, they begin to fight early. Babar ascended the throne when he was in his teens and Akbar fought the second battle of Panipat long before he was twenty. It is quite possible that Kwen-Mo drove the Yue-chi out of the lands of the Sok in or about the year 150 B. C. The Yue-chi then migrated towards Tāhia. According to Mr. Smith, the Yue-chi arrived in Tāhia in the year 138 B. C., but, as we have seen, the year 148 B. C. would be somewhere nearer the mark. Mr. Smith for some unknown reason maintains that the Yue-chi remained to the north of the Oxus up to the year 115 B. C. Chang-Kian died in the year 115 B. C., and the messengers he sent to other countries are said to have returned at the same time. This seems to be the only reason in favour of Mr. Smith's statement. Chang-Kian returned to China in the year 122 B. C., and up to that time only authentic information about the position of the Yue-chi was available. Mr. Smith and M. Boyer distinguish two stages in the conquest of Tāhia or Bactria by the Yue-chi. The first is that the Yue-chi occupied the ancient Persian province of Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus, while they exercised supreme influence over the weak rulers of Bactrian cities, and the next is that they crossed the river and destroyed the remains of Greek sovereignty in that province. But is it at all necessary to do this? A nomad people driven forward by an enemy would not pause at a distance to exercise overlordship over a weak people, but would, on the other hand, try to place themselves at a greater distance from their enemies without the slightest regard for the people whom they supplant and destroy. The Chinese description of the state of Bactria fully supports this, for we find that the people of Tāhia had no unity and were peace-loving. Moreover, the Greek kingdom was, at this time, convulsed by an internal struggle, probably led by the brothers, Heliokles and Apollodotos, after the demise of their father, Eukratidas. Chinese annals sufficiently prove that the Bactrian Greeks were unable to offer any resistance to the nomad hordes.

Mr. Smith places the deposition of Heliocles in 130 B.C. which is possible. The next mention of Yue-chi is in Panku's annals of the first Han dynasty. It is related there that the Yue-chi had lost their nomad habits and had divided themselves into five groups or principalities. Mr. Smith assumes that three generations must have elapsed before the Yue-chi lost their nomadic habits, but parallel cases are not rare in history, and actual experience has found that the time required by a nomadic people for the losing of their roving habits need not be so long. In fact, one generation of twenty-five or thirty years is quite sufficient for this purpose, and it is quite possible that the Yue-chi had lost their nomad habits and divided themselves into five kingdoms by the year 100 B. C. Mughals, who had fought under Bairam Khan at Panipat in 1556, were peacefully settled in Bengal and Behār

by the year 1598 A. D. The next mention of the Yue-chi in the Chinese history is in the annals of the second Hun dynasty. There it is related that a hundred years after the division of the Yue-chi into five groups, Kiu-tsiu-kio, king of the Koei-chouang which was one of the five principalities, attacked and subjugated the other four divisions. This Kiu-tsiu-kio has been identified with the Kozoulo-Kadphises or Kuzulo-Kara-Kadaphes of the coins which seems to be certain. Mr. Smith, following his own line of argument, places the accession of Kadphises I in 45 A. D. But even if the Chinese text is taken to mean more than one hundred years by the phrase "about a hundred years," the accession of Kadphises I may be placed in 10 or 15 A. D. The fact, that the bust on some copper coins of Kadphises I resembles those on the coins of Caius and Lucius, grandsons of Augustus, who died in B. C. 4 and A. D. 2, respectively, in no way interferes with the truth of the above statement. In order to adapt his Laukika theory to the statements of the Chinese historians, Mr. Smith was obliged to add these extra 45 years to the true date, since it is impossible to place the accession of Kaniṣka in the earlier years of the first century A. D. Mr. Smith was therefore obliged to place him in the earlier portion of the second century. If we assume that Kadphises I reigned for forty years, then the accession of his successor, Yen-Kao-Ching, falls in the year 55 A. D. This prince has been identified with the *Ooemo Kadphises* or Hima Kadphises of the coins. If a reign of thirty-five years is allowed to Hima Kadphises, then the accession of Kaniṣka falls in or about 80 A. D. Years ago Prof. Oldenberg put forth the statement that Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era, and this theory has been generally accepted by the majority of Oriental scholars. But recently serious objections have been raised against it, and some scholars now regard it as an exploded theory. The principal objections against the theory that Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era were raised by General Cunningham and Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar.

This brings us to the second theory of the first group. Mr. Bhāndārkar's theory that the dates of the Kusana inscriptions should be referred to the Śaka era with two hundred omitted is based on a Jaina inscription discovered by Dr. Führer in the Kankāli-tilā at Mathura in the year 1895-96. This inscription should be fully dealt with before we proceed to examine the theory based on it.

Mathurā inscription of the year 299; Plate III *(see opposite page 66)*.

The inscription was discovered during Dr. Führer's last excavations at Mathura during the working season of the year 1895-96. It is mentioned in his *Progress Report*[27] for that year. It is also mentioned in the *Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum*,[28] where it was deposited along with the other finds of the excavations. It is further mentioned in Mr. V. A. Smith's *Jaina Stûpa of Mathura and other Antiquities*, in which the author professes his ignorance as to the present locality of the inscription.[29] It was published by Dr. Bühler in a short note in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. X, p. 171. After the publication of his paper on the Kuṣana or Indo-Scythian periods of Indian History, Mr. V. A. Smith tried to obtain facsimiles of all dated Kuṣana inscriptions, and for this purpose Mr. Smith carried on a lengthy correspondence with Mr. Gaṅgādhara Gāṅguly, the Curator of Lucknow Provincial Museum. But Mr. Smith could not obtain a copy of this inscription of the year 299.[30] During a recent visit to the Lucknow Museum I found it lying close to the Mathura inscriptions of the year 33.[31] Dr. Bühler published it very hastily without any facsimile. He read it as follows: —

(1) *Nama Svarvasidhanā Arahāntanā Mahārājasya Rājatirājasya svarvacchara-svate d(ū)* . . . .

(2) 200, 90, 9 (?) *hemaṁta Māse* 2 *divase* 1 *arahāto Mahāvirasya prātim (ā).*

(3) . . . . *sya Okhārikāye vitu Ujhatikāye ca Okhāye svāvikābhaginiy(e)* . . . .

(4) . . . . *sirikasya Śivadināsya ca eteḥ ārāhītāyatāne Sthāpit(ā)* . . . .

(5) . . . . *devakulaṁ ca.*

27 *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, N.-W. Provinces*, 1895-96, p. 2.

28 *Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum*, 1895-96, p. 3.

29 *A Jaina Stûpa at Mathura and other Antiquities*, p. 4, footnote 3.

30 *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 151.

31 Growse, *I. A.*, Vol. VI, p. 217, and Dr. Bloch, *E. I.*, Vol. VIII., p. 181, and plate.

Dr. Bühler then corrected *Namas Sarva* for *Nama Svarva, Saṁvaccharasate* for *Svarvacchara-svate, Dhītu* for *Vitu, Śrāvikā* for *Svāvikā* and *etaiḥ* for *eteḥ.*

I now edit the inscription from the actual stone —

(1) Nama Sarva śīdhanaṁ Ārahātanaṁ māhārājasya rājatirājasya saṁvacchara — sate (du) . . . .

(2) 200, 90, 9 Hamata māsa 2 divasa 1 Ārāhāto Mahāvirāsya prātim(ā).

(3) . . . . sya Okhārikāye Vitu Ujhatikāye ca Okhāye Sāvikā-bhaginiy(e).

(4) . . . . Śirikāsya Śivadināsya ca ete Ārāhātāyatāne sthāpīt(o).

(5) . . . . devakulaṁ ca.

The only corrections that are needed are *Namas Sarva* for *Nama Sarva, Hemanta* for *Hamata,* and *etaiḥ* for *ete.*

Notes.

(1) In the first line the Anusvara is clear and distinct after the final *na* in *Sarva-śīdhanam* and also after the final *na* in *Ārahātanaṁ.*

(2) The third word is *māhārajasya* instead of *mahārājasya.*

(3) The dental *sa* appears in three distinct forms in this inscription —

(*a*) The *sa* in *sarva* in the first line. (Here the letter looks like the Saṁyuktākaṣra *sva,* the subscript *va* being triangular in form.)

(*b*) The *sa* in *saṁvaccharasate* and again in *sāvikā.* (Here also it looks like the compound letter *sva,* the subscript *va* being spherical in form.)

In these two cases it is natural to read *sa* as *sva,* but a little consideration shows that such forms would be meaningless. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel suggests that these may be abnormal forms of the letter, due to the caprice of the mason. The *ta* in Ārahātanaṁ must also similarly be regarded as abnormal.

(*c*) The normal *sa* in *māsa* and *divasa.*

(4) The third numerical symbol is certainly 9. It resembles the symbol for no other numeral. To some extent it resembles the symbol for 9 in the Mathura inscription of the year 19.[32]

The only difference between this symbol and others for the same number is that in this the curve is to the right, whereas in the others the curve is to the left.[33] This may be the earlier symbol for 9.

(5) In the fourth line the fourth word is *ete* instead of *eteḥ,* as the two short horizontal strokes which appear after it are probably interpunctuation marks. The inscription at this point descends from a higher to a lower level. Two similar horizontal strokes appear in the second line after the symbol for 9, and these would, if taken otherwise, be inexplicable.

Dr. Bühler has remarked that the type of the characters of this inscription fully agrees with that of the numerous votive inscriptions from Mathurā, and it preserves, in the broad-backed *śa* with the slanting central stroke and in the tripartite subscript *ya,* two archaic forms which, during this period,

[32] *E. I.,* Vol. I, p. 382, No. III.

[33] See *E. I.,* Vol. I, p. 385, No. VI; Vol. II, p. 204, No. XX; Vol. I, p. 392, No. XXII; and *A. S. R.,* Vol. III, p. 32, plate XIV, No. 9.

occur only occasionally for the later *śa* with the horizontal cross-bar and the tripartite *ya*.[34] The following table shows the archaic forms to be found in Kuṣana inscriptions discovered up to date :—

List of Brāhmī Kuṣana inscriptions showing archaic forms occurring in them.

No.	Year.	Reference.	Religious Sect.	REMARKS.
1	3	*E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 173, and pl. iii-*a* ...	Buddhist ...	Tripartite subscript *ya* throughout. Neatly incised characters. Lingual *ṣa* square and archaic. Palatal *śa* does not occur.
2	...	*J. A. S. B.*, 1898, p. 274, and *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 179.	„ ...	Archaic *śa* — subscript *ya* bipartite only once. In all other cases it is tripartite.
3	4	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 201, No. 11 ; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 33, No. 1.	Jaina ...	No archaic forms.
4	5	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 381, No. 1 ; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 34, No. 4.	„ ...	„ „
5	5	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 201, No. 12; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 33, No. 2.	„ ...	„ „
6	5	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 30, No. 2; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 35, No. 5.	„ ...	„ „
7	5	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 31, No. 3	„ ...	„ „
8	7	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 391, No. 19	„ ...	„ „
9	9	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 31, No. 4 ; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 37, No. 6.	„ ...	„ „
10	15	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 382, No. 2	„ ...	„ „
11	18	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 202, No. 13	„ ...	„ „
12	18	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 202, No. 14 ; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 33, No. 3.	Doubtful ...	„ „
13	19	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 383, No. 3	Jaina ...	„ „
14	20	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 395, No. 28 ; *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 31, No. 6.	„ ...	„ „
15	20	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 383, No. 4...	„ ...	„ „
16	22	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 395, No. 25	„ ...	„ „
17	22	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 391, No. 20	„ ...	„ „
18	25	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 384, No. 5 ; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 37, No. 5.	„ ...	„ „
19	...	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 31, No. 5; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149, No. 25.	Doubtful ...	Archaic *śa*, but bipartite *ya*.
20	28	*I. A.*, Vol. VI, p. 217, and Vol. XXXIII, p. 38, No. 8.	„ ...	No archaic forms.
21	29	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 385, No. 6	Jaina ..	Archaic *śa* occurs once. *Sa* with horizontal cross-bar is also used. *Ya* bipartite.
22	29	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 206, No. 26	„ ...	Archaic *śa*, subscript *ya* once tripartite.

[34] *W. Z. K. M.*, V. X, p. 173.

List of Brāhmī Kuṣana inscriptions showing archaic forms occurring in them—(*contd.*).

No.	Year.	Reference.	Religious Sect.	Remarks.
23	31	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 203, No. 15	Jaina ...	No archaic forms.
24	32	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 203, No. 16	" ...	" "
25	33	*I. A.*, Vol. VI, p. 217, No. 2; *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 181; and *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 39, No. 9.	Buddhist ...	Out of six instances of subscript *ya*, only two are tripartite.
26	35	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 385, No. 7	Jaina ..	No archaic forms.
27	38	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 32, No. 9; *J. A. S. B.*, 1898, p. 276, footnote; and *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 40, No. 10.	" ...	Subscript *ya* is tripartite once out of four instances. Archaic *śa* occurs along with later forms.
28	40	*E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171, pl. i-*e*	Buddhist ...	Subscript *ya* tripartite. *Śa* archaic as in some of the Asoka edicts.
29	40	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 387, No. 11; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 103, No. 15.	Jaina ...	No archaic forms.
30	44	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 381, No. 9...	" ...	" "
31	45	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 387, No. 10	" ...	" "
32	47	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 33, No. 10; *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 30.	" ..	Archaic *śa*, but bipartite subscript *ya*.
33	47	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 33, No. 11	" ...	No archaic forms.
34	47	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 33, No. 12; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 101, No. 11.	Buddhist ..	*Śa* archaic, but subscript *ya* bipartite.
35	47	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 34, No. 13; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 13, p. 102.	" ...	No archaic forms.
36	47	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 34, No. 14	Doubtful ...	" "
37	47	*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, p. 130, No. 18; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 101, No. 12.	Buddhist ...	Unreliable facsimile. No archaic forms in the present one.
38	48	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 34, No. 15; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 103, No. 14.	Jaina ...	Archaic *śa*, but bipartite subscript *ya*.
39	50	*I. A.*, Vol. VI, p. 219, No. 11; Growse's *Mathura*, 3rd Edition, p. 165.	Buddhist ...	No archaic forms.
40	50	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 203, No. 27	Jaina ...	" "
41	50	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 209, No. 36	" ...	" "
42	52	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 203, No. 18; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 104, No. 16.	" ...	" "
43	54	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 391, No. 21; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 104, No. 17.	" ..	" "
44	60	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 386, No. 8; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 105, No. 9.	" ...	Archaic *śa*, but subscript *ya* bipartite.
45	62	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 204, No. 19	" ...	No archaic forms.
46	62	*A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 37, pl. v, No. 6; *W. Z. K. M.*, p. 171; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 105, No. 9.	" ...	" "

List of Brāhmī Kuṣana inscriptions showing archaic forms occurring in them — (*contd.*).

No.	Year.	Reference.	Religious Sect.	REMARKS.
47	74	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 32, No. 8; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 106, No. 20.	Doubtful ...	Archaic *śa*, but subscript *ya* bipartite.
48	74	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 212, No. 42	Buddhist ...	,, ,, ,,
49	78	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 370	,, ...	No archaic forms.
50	79	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 204, No. 20	Jaina ...	Archaic *śa*, but subscript *ya* bipartite.
51	80	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 392, No. 24	,, ...	No archaic forms.
52	81	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 204, No. 21	Doubtful ...	,, ,,
53	83	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 34, No. 16	Jaina ...	,, ,,
54	83	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 34, No. 17	Buddhist ...	,, ,,
55	86	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 388, No. 12	Jaina ...	,, ,,
56	87	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 35, No. 18	,, ...	,, ,,
57	87	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 388, No. 13	,, ...	,, ,,
58	90	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 205, No. 22; *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 35, No. 19.	,, ...	Archaic *śa*, but subscript *ya* bipartite.
59	93	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 205, No. 23	,, ...	,, ,, ,,
60	98	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 205, No. 24	,, ...	No archaic forms.
61	98	*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 35, No. 19	,, ...	,, ,,
62	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 387, No. 11	,, ...	,, ,,
63	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 389, No. 14	,, ...	,, ,,
64	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 389, No. 15	,, ...	,, ,,
65	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 389, No. 16	,, ...	,, ,,
66	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 390, No. 17	,, ...	*Archaic Class.*
67	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 390, No. 18	Doubtful ...	No archaic forms.
68	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 392, No. 23	Jaina ...	,, ,,
69	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 392, No. 25	Doubtful ...	,, ,,
70	...	*E. I.*, Vol I, p. 393, No. 26	Jaina ...	,, ,,
71	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 393, No. 27	,, ..	,, ,,
72	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33	,, ...	*Archaic Class.*
73	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 397, No. 34	,, ...	No archaic forms.
74	...	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 397, No. 35	Doubtful ..	*Archaic Class.*

List of Brāhmī Kuṣana inscriptions showing archaic forms occurring in them—(*concld.*).

No.	Year.	Reference.	Religious Sect.	REMARKS.
75	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 206, No. 27	Jaina ...	Archaic *śa*, but bipartite subscript *ya*.
76	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 206, No. 28	" ..	No archaic forms.
77	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 207, No. 29	" ...	*Archaic Class.*
78	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 207, No. 30	" ...	"
79	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 207, No. 31	" ...	"
80	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 207, No. 32	" ...	"
81	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 208, No. 33	" ...	No archaic forms.
82	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 208, No. 34	" ..	" "
83	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 208, No. 35	" ...	" "
84	...	*E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 209, No. 37	" ...	" "

I have been obliged to omit the following inscriptions from Mr. Smith's list of dated inscription for reasons stated against them :—

Year.	Reference.	Reason.
18	Führer's *Progress Report*, 1891-92 ...	These inscriptions have not been as yet properly edited. In a few cases only mere mention of the years have been made. According to Dr. Führer they are at present at the Lucknow Museum.
31	" " " ..	
74	" " " ...	
76	" " 1895-96 ...	
51	Growse's *Mathura*, third edition, p. 116 ..	The first three inscriptions were discovered at Ramnagar (*Ahichatra*) in the Bareilly District. The last two came from Mathura.

The inscription of the year 45, which has been published by Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX., has also been omitted from the above list for the want of a facsimile. The inscription of the year 57[35] has been referred by Dr. Bühler to the Gupta era on perfectly secure palæographic ground; but in his list Mr. Smith remarks, "Bühler, I think, is mistaken in referring this inscription to the Gupta era" for reasons which are not obvious. The characters of the inscription resemble those of the inscriptions of the year 114 of the reign of Kumāra Gupta rather than any of the Kuṣana inscriptions. I have examined the inscription very carefully in the Mathura Municipal Museum, and I am convinced that Bühler was perfectly right. The mere fact that an inscription contains a season date is not sufficient to refer it to any particular era. The inscription of the year 114 is a compromise between season dates and lunar month dates, because it mentions both the season *Hemaṁta* and the lunar month *Kārttika*. I believe that Mr. Smith is also wrong in referring the Bodh Gayā image inscription of the year 64 to the same era as has been used in the Kuṣana inscriptions. The only

[35] Growse, *I. A.*, Vol. VI, p. 219, and Bühler, *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 38.

cause of this seems to be that "the impression of a coin or medal of Huviṣka was found under the throne." The throne referred to here is a square slab of red sandstone, along the four sides of which there is an inscription.[36] The connection between the throne and the statue, on the base of which the above inscription occurs, is that both of them are of the same variety of sandstone, and that there is a certain similarity between the characters of the two inscriptions. General Cunningham has published a photograph of this inscription and it will be seen below that the resemblance between the characters is not very marked.[37]

The characters of the inscriptions of the year 64 resemble those of the early Gupta period as found on the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudra Gupta.[38] The *ha* in the first line in *Maharajasya* and in the second line *Siṁharathe*, also in *Arthadharmasahāye* in the third line and the *la* in the first line in *Tukamalasya*, are peculiar forms of these letters which are to be found, so far as I know, only on the Allahabad Praśasti of Harisena. Dr. Bühler was of opinion that the year 64 found in this inscription should be referred to the Gupta era.[39] Dr. Bloch thinks that the inscription is of the fourth century A. D.[40] Recently Dr. Lüders of Rostock has opposed this view,[41] but the above examination should clear all doubts about it. The reason for referring this date to the Gupta era is not only the looped *sa* as Dr. Luders observes, but the palæography of the whole inscription. If the date is referred to the Gupta era it becomes equivalent to 64 + 318/9 = 382/3 A. D., which is quite satisfactory.

The list given above shows that among the inscriptions of the Kuṣaṇa period there is not a single instance where the tripartite *ya* occurs throughout the inscription, except in the two Sārnath inscriptions (Nos. 1 and 28 of the above list). Whenever the subscript *ya* is tripartite, the bipartite form occurs along with it. But in the inscription of the year 299, in all cases of subscript *ya*, the *ya* is fully expressed, *i.e.*, it is tripartite. The palatal *śa* is expressed throughout in its archaic form, but in the above list, with the exception of the Sārnath inscriptions, it will be seen that there is not a single inscription in which all cases the *śa* is archaic and the subscript *ya* tripartite. In most cases the archaic *śa* occurs along with the bipartite form of the subscript *ya*. In the two Sārnath inscriptions, the palatal *śa* is absent in the first inscription, but it occurs in a more archaic form in the second one (No. 28 of the list). This is the wedge-shaped form of this letter which occurs in the Kālsi and Siddāpur edicts of Asoka[42] and the cave inscription at Rāmgarh Hill[43] in the Sirguja State. In both inscriptions the subscript *ya* has always been fully expressed. The only later forms to be found in this inscription is the letter *na*. In the first line the base line of the *na* in *Nama* is slightly curved, as in the earliest inscription from Mathura.[44] In other cases the base line of the *Na* is certainly a curve, the most pronounced being that of the *na* in *Ayatāne* in the fourth line. But as Mr. Bhāndārkar observes, this form of the *na* is to be found in the inscriptions of Soḍāsa.[45] Compare the *na* in *Brāhmaṇena*[46] and again in *Vṛṣṇenā*.[47]

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[36] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 20, pl. x, No. 11.

[37] *Ibid*, pp. 7 and 21, pl. xxv.

[38] *Cf. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III., pl. 1.

[39] Translation of Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 46, note 10.

[40] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII, Pt. I, p. 282, footnote 1.

[41] *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 40.

[42] Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel II, p. 37, II., III. and XI.

[43] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey*, 1903-4, p. 128, pl. xliii-*b*.

[44] *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 198, No. 1; the *na* in *Torana*.

[45] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 275.

[46] *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. V, p. 188, No. 29. Cunningham has also published this inscription in *A. S. R.* Vol. III. p. 30, pl. xiii., No. 1, but Dr. Lüders observes that his facsimile is not fully trustworthy (*I. A.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 149, footnote 79).

[47] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 49, pl. v., No. 4. I do not know where this inscription is at present. The above inscription is, I believe, in the Lucknow Museum. I have written to Mr. G. D. Ganguly for an impression of this inscription, and I hope to publish it as soon as I receive the impression. I have since been informed that this inscription cannot be traced out.

If we compare the *ya* of this inscription (year 299) with those in the Sārnath inscriptions we find that the *ya* in the Mathura inscription is much older and quite different from those of the Sārnath inscription. The *ya* in the Mathura inscription resembles those of the inscriptions of *Soḍāsa*[48] and of the earlier inscriptions from Mathura,[49] some of which have been included in the above list and marked as archaic, although they certainly do not belong to the Kuṣana period. The main difference between the forms of *ya* of these inscriptions is that in the Sārnath inscriptions the *ya* has a loop to the left which is a characteristic of the Kuṣana period while the right limb is angular, but in the Mathura inscription neither the left limb is looped nor the right one is angular. This form of *ya* is not to be found in any of the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period.[50] This detailed examination clearly proves that the inscription from Mathura of the year 299 does not belong to the Kuṣana period. And likewise its date cannot be referred to the same era in which the Kuṣana inscriptions are dated. Then the question arises as to which era the date in the inscription is to be referred. The inscription was incised in the reign of a king who bore the titles Mahāraja and Rājātirāja in the year 299 of an unknown era. Dr. Bühler says that though nine kings of the Scythic period are known to have borne these two titles, *viz.*, Azes, Azilises, Gondophernes, Pakores, Kadphises I and II, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, only the last three can be here intended, because, as far as is known at present, none of the first six ruled over Mathura. But the above examination shows that this inscription of the year 299 cannot belong to the periods of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva. There may be three causes which led to the omission of the name of this Mahārāja Rājātirāja —

(1) That the title belongs to the founder of the era used in the inscription whose name was forgotten at the time of the incision of the record. This is extremely improbable, as the genitive case ending cannot be interpreted in a similar way in other instances.

(2) That the titles are those of the reigning prince of the time whose name was too well-known to require mention.

(3) That the name has been omitted through the carelessness of the mason.

The last cause is probably the best one as there are many signs of the mason's carelessness on this stone. The principal sign of this is that the right half of the inscription is on a lower level than the left half. Evidently the mason has not taken the trouble of reducing all portions of the face of the pedestal to the same plane. Thus the *sya* in *Māhārājasya* in the first line, the numerical symbol for 1 in the second line, the *ye* in *Ujhatikāye* in the third line and the *te* in *ete* in the fourth line, are more than inch higher than *rā* in *Rājatirājasya*, the *Ā* in Ārāhāto, the *ca* and the *Ā* in *Ārāhātāyatāne* in the first, second, third, and fourth line, respectively.

Whatever may be the cause of the omission of the prince's name, it is certain that the date 299 must be referred to an era, the initial point of which lies in the third or fourth centuries before the Christian era. Only two such eras are known to have been in actual use in India. The first is the Maurya era which probably was counted from the coronation of Candragupta in or about B. C. 321. This era has been found only in one inscription up to date, *viz.*, the Udayagiri inscription of Khāravela.[51] The other is the era founded by Seleukos Nikator in B. C. 312. Three instances of the use of the Seleucidan era have been brought to notice up to date, *viz.* —

(1) On the coin of the Bactrian king Plato, the year 147.
(2) On the Hashtnagar pedestal inscription, the year 384.
(3) On the Loriyan Tāngāi image inscription, the year 318.[52]

[48] *Cf. A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 30, pl. xiii., No. 1, and *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. V, p. 188; *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 199, No. 2.
[49] *E. I.*, pp. 198—200, Nos. 1—10.
[50] *Cf.* the remarks of Bühler in his *Indian Paleography, I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 41, and Tafel III (31, III, IV, and V).
[51] Edited by Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Actes du sixième Congres orientalistes*, Tome III, pp. 174—7.
[52] The arguments of Dr. Vogel leave no doubt as to the early date of these two inscriptions. I think Dr. Vogel is quite right in referring these two dates to an era, the initial year of which lies either in the 3rd or 4th century B. C. But they may also be referred to the Maurya era.

If referred to the Maurya era, the year 299 is equivalent to 321—299=22 B. C., and if referred to the Seleukidan era it becomes equal to 312—299=13 B. C. This detailed examination proves that the date in this inscription cannot be referred to the era used in the Kuṣana inscriptions and so it may be said with certainty that any conclusions as to the chronology of the Kuṣana period based on this inscription cannot be regarded as valid.

Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar begins his paper with arguments against the theory of Messrs. Fergusson and Oldenberg that Kaniṣka founded the Saka era and that the dates in the Kuṣana inscriptions should be referred to that era. Fergusson stated[53] that—

(1) Coins of the Roman consular period (43 B. C.) are found in conjunction with those of Kaniṣka in the Mānikyāla tope. This certainly proves nothing beyond the fact that the Stūpa was built after 43 B. C., not even that Kaniṣka is to be placed after 43 B. C.

(2) In the Ahinposh Stūpa near Jallalabad, coins of Kadphises, Kaniṣka and Huviṣka were obtained together with the Roman coins of Domitian, Trajan, and the Empress Sabina, wife of Hadrian. This again only proves that the Stūpa was built after 120 A. D. and nothing else, not even what Mr. Bhāndārkar holds,—that Huviṣka reigned after 120 A. D.

Prof. Oldenberg[54] read the Greek legend on a coin of the Scythian prince Hiaus or Miaus as containing the combined name *Saka Kushan.* This, he held, proved that the Sakas and Kuṣanas were not different people and Kaniṣka therefore was a Śaka. But objections were raised against this reading and it was finally proved that the word in the coin legend was not *Saka.*

Mr. Bhāndārkar then proceeds to prove that Kaniṣka was not a Saka and so it cannot be held that he was the originator of the Saka era. His arguments against the Saka origin of Kaniṣka are as follows :—

(1) The *Rājatāraṅginī* (I, 170) speaks of Kaniṣka as sprung from a Turuṣka race.

(2) Alberuni (*Sachau*, II, 11) tells us a legend which makes Kaniṣka the descendant of the Tūrkī family called Shāhiya whom he describes as wearing Turkish dress, *viz.*, a short tunic, open in front, a high hat, boots, and arms. Mr. Bhāndārkar finds a confirmation of the above two statements on the coins of Kadphises and Kaniṣka in which the king's effigy is somewhat similarly dressed.

The distinction between a Saka and a Kuṣana was made for the first time by Cunningham.[55] Mr. Bhāndārkar has since added to this distinction. It may be that the Se or Sok were of a quite different race than the Kuṣanas who were a portion of Yue-chi. But this statement cannot be put forth as an argument against the use of the Saka era in Kuṣana inscriptions. Scholars up to date have taken the Saka conquerors of India to belong to the tribe who were dispossessed of their pasture lands by the Yue-chi about 160 B. C., and this assumption has led to the present chaotic state of the Scythian period of Indian history. The word Saka as used in India is a generic term and not specific as it has been taken to be by Mr. Bhāndārkar, and the European scholars. Herodotos has recorded that the Persians used the word Σάκαι to denote all Σκύθοι.[56] Recently much light has been thrown on this distinction through the researches of Mr. F. W. Thomas.[57] "The statement of Herodotus that the Persians gave the name *Saka* to all *Scythians* seems to be confirmed by the usage of Darius who applies it both to European Scythians (*Sakā Taradarayā*, the Sakas beyond the sea) and to his eastern subjects, the *Sakā Tigrakhaudā* (Sakas with pointed caps) and *Sakā Haumavarkā.*"[58] Mr. Thomas adds two other valuable statements to this, *viz.*, "No one any longer doubts that the Scythians of Europe and Asia were merely the outer uncivilised belt of the Iranian family," and "the feature by which the Greeks, and no doubt the Persians also, distinguished tribes as

53 *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.), 1880, pp. 261—7. 54 *I. A.*, Vol. X., pp. 214-5. 55 N. C., 1892, pp. 42-43.

56 Herodotus, Bk. VII, Chap. 64. (*Cf.* Rawlinson's Edition, Vol. IV, p. 62.)

57 See his papers on *Sakstana.* *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, pp. 181 and 460. 58 *Ibid*, p. 86.

Scythian or Saka was their manner of living as Nomads, and this may have been peculiarity in virtue of which Darius applies the name Saka, if we have rendered, he did so, to the neighbour of the Makas."[59]

The Sanskrit language no doubt has taken the word Śaka from its neighbour the Persians. But in it its denotation has increased and so we find in the *Mahābhārata* that *Śakadvīpa* was twice the size of Jambudvīpa.[60] In fact, the Sanskrit word Śaka means all nations to the west of India, including even the *Pārasīkas* or Persians, as we find in the verses cited above that the four castes existed there also and that the *Brāhmaṇs* are called *Magas* (*i. e.*, the Magi). Another work confirms this statement—

"Jamvudvīpāt paraṁ yasmāc Chākadvīpam iti smṛtaṁ."[61]

Again, the Kuṣanas were a branch of the Yue-chi and the word Kuṣana was the name of a particular family or clan and not of a race. The adjective *Guṣanavasasaṁvardhaka* applied to Kaniṣka in the Mānikyala inscription leaves no doubt as to this. The Chinese annalists also state that the Kuṣanas (Koei-Chouang) were one of the five tribes into which the Yue-chi had divided themselves. No distinction can be drawn between a genus and a species: a clan or a family and a race. To the main body of the Indian people the Kuṣana Kaniṣka, the Parthian Gondophernes, and the Sok Moas were Śaka princes coming from beyond the limits of civilisation. Again, the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period occur both in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi, but the name Kuṣana or Guṣana occurs only on Kharoṣṭhi records, such as the Mānikyala stūpa inscription, the Panjtar inscription, and, according to Mr. Vincent Smith, the newly discovered inscription from Kaladaranadi. Up to this day no Brāhmī record has been discovered in which Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva has been styled a Kuṣana. The most obvious explanation is that Indians knew very little about the particular family to which the king belonged. The conqueror came from the *Śakadvīpa* and so was a Śaka. They cared very little whether he was a Parthian, Sok, or Kushān. Indeed, there was very little temptation at that time to go about searching for the antecedents of a foreign conqueror who lived in their midst and had abjured the religion, the manners, customs, and probably even the language of his ancestors and adopted those of their own. No reliable conclusion can be drawn from Alberuni's description of Shāhiya kings and from the portraits of the Kuṣanas on their coins. "The first mention of the Turuṣka in Sanskrit literature is to be found in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* and the *Rājatāraṅginī*. Nor should we expect early references to a people who first acquired importance (and perhaps a common designation) not earlier than the 6th century A. D."[62] Indeed, so much reliance cannot be placed on the Kāśmīrian chronicle regarding matters relating to the earlier centuries of the Christian era. Too much reliance has been placed on a story which Alberuni himself styles a "legend." As Mr. Thomas says, "we must put aside the Kāśmīrian belief that Kaniṣka and Huṣka and Juṣka were Turuṣkas, as this is precluded by their dates."

(3) Mr. Bhāndārkar's third argument is that "In the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, among the foreign powers with whom that prince entered into alliance, are the *Daivaputra ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi-śaka-muruṇḍai.* There is some difference of opinion with respect to the first three words of this compound. Cunningham takes them all as a single compound title referring to a Kuṣana king. Dr. Fleet and Mr. Smith take them separately, each designating a different king. But whatever may be the explanation of the first three components of this compound, it remains incontrovertible that the Śakas are distinguished from the Devaputra kings of whom Kaniṣka was one. The only proper view of this compound has been taken by Messrs. Fleet and Smith, who consider that each component of this compound designates a different king. When Samudra Gupta began his career of conquest about the middle of the 4th century A. D. the Great Scythian Empire was no longer under the sway of a single monarch, but was divided in its decline like all other oriental empires among a host of minor princelings, each holding different title. If in

[59] *Ibid*, p. 198.

[60] *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvva, XI, 9.

[61] *Bhavīṣayāpurāṇa*, 139, pp. 73—77.

[62] *J. R. A S.*, 1906, p. 204.

this compound a Devaputra king is distinguished from a Śaka king, then a Ṣāhi king is also distinguished from a Śaka one. But the Jaina work *Kālikācārya-Kathānaka*[63] states that the kings of the Śakas were called *Ṣāhi*. Again Kaniṣka also is called a Ṣāhi in at least one of his inscriptions.[64] So it is evident that no exact discrimination is possible, based on the words of the above compound.

Mr. Bhāndārkar proceeds to prove that the characters of the inscriptions of Soḍāsa are later than those of the inscriptions of Nahapāna. This certainly is the case, but the characters of the inscriptions of Nahapāna are earlier than those of the inscriptions of those princes who, at the present moment, are regarded to be his contemporaries. Most of the inscriptions of Nahapāna's reign are the records of the donations of his son-in-law Uṣavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta). In one of these inscriptions Uṣavadāta has been called a Śaka. Again, the name of Nahapāna is certainly non-Indian and hence it has been assumed that the dates in his inscriptions, the years 41, 42, 45, and 46 are Śaka years. It is held that after the year 46, Nahapāna was defeated and driven out of his dominions by Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi, an Andhra prince. But in the year 72, which in all probability is a Śaka year, we find another prince named Rudradāma ruling over these territories, who had already been preceded by his father Jayadāma and his grandfather Caṣṭana. So we find that 26 years has been allotted for the overthrow of Nahapāna and the occupation of his territories for a certain period at least by the Andhra princes and then their recovering by Caṣṭana and the completion of his reign and that of his son, Jayadāma, and the accession of his grandson, Rudradāma. It is evident that this period is too short for such a long list of events. If we consider the statement of Dr. Bühler about the palæography of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions that the character of his inscriptions are certainly older than those of the Andhras who are regarded as the contemporaries of his father-in-law, Nahapāna, we are led to the conclusion that Nahapāna reigned at a period which is much earlier than that to which his reign is usually assigned.[65] The mere mention that Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi extinguished the Khakharāta family[66] does not imply that he defeated Nahapāna himself. He might have defeated a weak descendant of that prince. Again, the argument that the absence of inscriptions and coins imply that none of Nahapāna's family succeeded him on his throne is not a conclusive one. The fate of his successors might have been the same as that of the sons of Raṇajit Siṁha of the Panjāb. The omission of Uṣavadāta's titles in another Andhra inscription[67] does not prove either that much time had not elapsed since his decease or that he was living at that time. It is extremely probable that as Nahapāna is prior to Soḍāsa, the dates in his inscriptions refer to the era in which the dates in the inscriptions of the Northern satraps are dated. The arguments adduced by Mr. Bhāndārkar against the theories that Nahapāna or Caṣṭana founded the Śaka era are, I think, conclusive. Both of them were satraps or provincial governors, and the Sārnath inscription of Kaniṣka (No. 1 of the above list) proves that the title *Mahākṣatrapa* does not imply that the holders of it were independent sovereigns. It is impossible to hold that local governors founded or established eras of their own.

The only remaining portions of Mr. Bhāndārkar's paper which require consideration are his arguments against the theory which holds that Kaniṣka was the founder of a new era. The first of these is that Kaniṣka is not the first king who established the independence of the Kuṣaṇas. In reply it may be said that it is not absolutely necessary for the founder of an era to be the establisher of the independence of his dynasty. Harṣavardhana did not establish the independence of the Ṭhāṇesar dynasty, yet he was the founder of an era. The next argument is that Kaniṣka was not a great conqueror who extended the dominions inherited by him. This statement is quite contrary to the statements of other historians. Chinese annalists affirm that Kaniṣka attacked Pāṭaliputra,[68] and Mr. V. A. Smith holds that he was the conqueror of Kāśmīra. It is also possible that he

63 *Z. D. M. G.*, 1880, Vol. XXXIV, p. 254.

64 *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 391, No. 19.

65 *Cf.* the translation of Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, p. 42.

66 Nāsik inscription, No. 18; Senart, *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60, No. 2, and plate.

67 *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 71, No. 4, plate ii.

68 V. A. Smith's *Early History*, p. 227, footnote 2.

conquered the provinces between Mathurā and Benares, as the co-existence of the coins of Hima-Kadphisa with those of Kaniṣka is not a conclusive proof of the conquest of the whole tract in which these coins are found by the former. Then again Yuan-Chuang or Hiuen Thsang has related that Kaniṣka conquered Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. Though it is very hard to rely on this statement, it will be seen later on that fresh discoveries confirm them. In conclusion I may be allowed to state that Kaniṣka might have founded a new era.

Mr. Bhāndārkar then assumes that the Kuṣāna king referred to in the Panjtar inscription is Kozoulo Kadphises. Mr. V. A. Smith has also supported this identification. The terms *Mahārāya* and *Mahārāja* are convertible terms in Prākrit, and the fact that a certain king is called *Mahārāya* on his coins does not prove that he was not a *Mahārāja* like the modern tributary chieftains of British India. As we have seen, the inscription is much later than the Manikyala inscription of Kaniṣka, and so it must be admitted that the *Maharaya Guṣana* referred to in the former inscription cannot be identified with Kozoulo Kadphises, the predecessor of Kaniṣka. Mr. Bhāndārkar places three other princes, *viz.*, Kujula-Kara-Kadphisa, the nameless king, and Wema-Kadphises before Kaniṣka, and, with an average allotment of twenty years for each reign, arrives at the year 200 of the Śaka era as the date of the accession of Kaniṣka. But it is well known that Kozoulo-Kadphises, Kujula-Kara-Kadphisa, and Kozoulo-Kadphises are variations of one and the same name,[69] and that the coins of the nameless king were issued by the satraps of Hima-Kadphisa.[70] Mr. Bhāndārkar finds a confirmation of his assignation of dates in the Mathurā inscription of the year 299, which he assumes should be referred to the Śaka era. On this Mr. Bhāndārkar assumes that the Kuṣaṇa dates should be referred to the Śaka era with 200 omitted. This would mean that at this time in the use of the Śaka era the hundreds were both omitted and expressed, which is a contradiction in itself, but it has been shown that the Mathurā inscription does not belong to the Kuṣāṇa period, and so further examination of Mr. Bhāndārkar's arguments is unnecessary. It is also futile to refer this inscription to the nine kings mentioned by Bühler simply because we find the title *Mahārāja-Rājātirāja* on their coins. The title is common among princes who aspired to over-lordship.

The third theory of the last group is the outcome of the ripe judgment of Sir Alexander Cunningham who maintains that the Kuṣana dates should be referred to the Seleucidan era with four hundreds omitted. The author finds that the coins of some of the Greek princes bear dates and cites two or three instances of this. These dates probably referred to the Seleucidan era. But with the exception of the unique tetradrachm of Plato, which bears the date 147, the occurrence of dates on other Greco-Indian coins are less certain.[71] Recently it has been found that two Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions contain dates which may, with certainty, be referred to the Seleucidan era. The author proceeds to say that the use of Greek month names in Indo-Scythian inscriptions proves that the era used was also Greek, so probably Seleucidan. But it is to be observed that all three dates contain the hundreds, and if the Seleucidan era had really been used in the Kuṣana inscriptions we would have expected to see the hundreds expressed instead of being omitted, since there is absolutely nothing to prove the omission of the hundred.[72]

The first theory of the second group was first of all put forth by Cunningham[73] but was afterwards abandoned by him. It has since found an eminent advocate in Dr. J. F. Fleet. But Dr. Fleet has not yet published his promised paper on this period of Indian history, and I have been obliged to collect his arguments from among his scattered notes published in the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society for the past four years.[74] In all of his papers Dr. Fleet maintains that the Mālava-Vikrama era is the historic era of Northern India, and that Kaniṣka was its founder. In support of his view Dr. Fleet quotes one of Dr. Kielhorn's papers on that era, but I must admit that I have

[69] Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 17.

[70] V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 222, 242, and 243, footnote 1.

[71] Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 5.

[72] For Cunningham's theory see his *Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 41-42.

[73] *A. S. R.*, Vol. II, p. 68, note, and Vol. III, p. 30.

[74] *J. R. A. S.*, 1903-4-5-6.

not been able to find out precisely the passage referred to, where Dr. Kielhorn states it to be the historic era.[75] On the other hand, Dr. Kielhorn's conclusions raise unsurpassable objections against Dr. Fleet's theory. After a detailed examination the highest authority on the subject of Indian eras is led to the following conclusions:—

(1) " . . . . Speaking generally down to about A. D. 1300 the use of the (Mālava-Vikrama) era was confined to that comparatively small portion of India which would be included by straight lines drawn from the mouth of the Narmadā to Gayā, from Gayā to Delhi, from Delhi to the Runn of Cutch and the line of the Coast from the Runn of Cutch down to the mouth of the Narmadā."[76] This observation shows that from the earliest time downwards the connection of this era with Northern India has been very scanty and that it was practically confined to Central and Western India.

(2) "The era was neither established by, nor designedly invented in memory of, a king Vikramāditya. Had it been founded by a king Vikramāditya in 58 B. C., or had there existed any tradition to that effect, it would be indeed more than strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years.[77]

(3) " The Vikrama-kāla of the dates originally was nothing else than the poet's 'war-time' from autumn transferred to the year."[78]

Dr. Fleet's view of the origin of the Mālava-Vikrama era is — " The Mālava-Vikrama era was founded by Kaniṣka in the sense that the opening years of it were the years of his reign. It was actually set going as an era by his successor, who, instead of breaking the reckoning, so started, by introducing another according to his own regnal years, continued that same reckoning. It was accepted and propagated as an era by the Mālava people . . . . it thus derived from the Mālavas its earliest known appellation.'[79]

To arrive at this conclusion two things have been assumed—

(1) That Kaniṣka founded the Vikrama era, and

(2) That it was adopted and perpetuated by the Malavas.

But these assumptions are not based on anything which has any resemblance to facts, and as Mr. V. A. Smith puts it, " such *ex-cathedra* assertions . . . . do not carry immediate conviction."[80]

In his latest paper Dr. Fleet has brought to his aid a new thing, an assertion of Dr. Kielhorn, that "the wording of the dates of the dated records of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva is radically opposed to the wording of the Śaka dates. On the other hand it is identical with the wording of the dates in the so-called Mālava-Vikrama era."[81] This statement was made by Dr. Kielhorn in his paper " The Dates of the Śaka Era in Inscriptions."[82] Dr. Kielhorn states that in the majority of Saka dates the term " year " is rendered by the word *Varṣa*. In the dates of the inscriptions of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva the word for year everywhere is *Saṁvatsara*, *Savatsara* or *Saṁ*; and in those of the Sātavāhana or Andhrabhṛtya family we have *Saṁvacchare*, *Savacchare* or *Sava* throughout. In a footnote it is added that another difference between these dates and those of the Western Kṣatrapas is this that the former (with the exception of one date which quotes a Macedonian month) are all season dates, whereas the later all quote the ordinary lunar months.[83] In the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas . . . . the word for "year" everywhere is *Varsa*, and this circumstance seems to me to connect these dates in unmistakable manner with the dates which are distinctly referred to the Śaka era in which the word *Varṣa* decidedly predominates."

75 *I. A.*, Vol. XX, p. 402, quoted in *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 232.
76 *Ibid*, p. 404.
77 *Ibid*, p. 407.
78 *Ibid*, p. 409.
79 *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 233.
80 *J. R. A. S.*, October, 1906, p. 1006.
81 *Ibid*, p. 992.
82 *I. A.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 153.
83 *Ibid*, footnote 40.

These two things seem to be in favour of Dr. Fleet's theory that the Kuṣana inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama era. But the first observation of Dr. Kielhorn that in the Kuṣana inscriptions, the term year is always rendered either by *Saṁ* or *Saṁvatsara*, can be met with at once. Dr. Kielhorn himself has said on a previous occasion: "But in reality *saṁvat* and *saṁ* may be used of the years of any era, and only in quite modern times are those terms by the Hindus themselves employed to distinguish the Vikrama from Śaka years."[84] In fact the words *Varṣa* and *Saṁvatsara* are synonymous and such differentiation can hardly be exact. Again, there are some Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions in which the term "year" has been rendered by the word *Varṣa* or its Prākrit equivalent, and these are so intimately connected with the Kuṣāna group of Indian inscriptions through palæographical similarity that it is impossible to assert that the dates in them can be referred to any era other than that used in the Kuṣāna inscription themselves. These are —

(1) An inscription found in a *Huzra* in Muchai in Yusufzai and referred to in the Report of the exploration by the 10th Sappers, under Captain Maxwell, in 1882. The date is the year 81. This inscription, as far as I know, has not been edited before, so I have edited it at the end of this paper.

(2) The Skarradheri image inscription, the year 179.[85]

(3) The Kāldarra inscription of the year 113.

As to Dr. Kielhorn's second observation, that the Kuṣāna dates, with one exception which mentions a Macedonian month, are all season dates, while the dates of the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas, all quote ordinary lunar months, it must be admitted that all Brāhmī inscriptions belonging to the reigns of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva contain season dates. But the dates in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of these princes contain ordinary solar months —

(1) Zeda .. .. Saṁ 11, 28th day of Asaḍa (Āṣāḍha).
(2) Manikyala... ... ... Saṁ 18, 20th day of Kartiya (Kārttika).
(3) Ara (edited at the end of this paper). Saṁ 41, 5th day of Poṭhavada (Prauṣṭhapada).

To this may be added two others which do not contain the names of any princes —

(4) Ohind ... ... Saṁ 61, 8th day of Cetra (Caitra).
(5) Fateh Jang ... ... Saṁ 68, 16th day of Poṭhavada (Prauṣṭhapada).

The dates, with years above one hundred, should also be taken in a line with these —

(6) Takht-i-Bahaī ... ... Saṁ 103, 5th day of Veśakha (Vaiśākha).
(7) Pājā ... ... Saṁ 111, 15th day of Śravana (Śrāvana).
(8) Kaldarra ... ... Saṁ 113, 20th day of Śravana (Śrāvana).
(9) Panjtar .. .. Saṁ 122, 1st day of Śravana (Śrāvana).
(10) Skarradheri ... ... Saṁ 179, 10th day of Aṣaḍa (Āṣāḍha).
(11) Dewai ... ... Saṁ 200, 8th day of Veśakha (Vaiśākha).

The Brāhmī inscription of the year 135 mentions the month and day as "Puṣyamāse divase viṁśe di 20," which seems to be a compromise between solar month dates and season dates. Similarly, also, in the Mathurā Jaina image inscription of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I of the year 113 we find that the month and the day has been put in a manner which also seems to be a compromise between solar month dates and season dates, "Vijayarājya saṁ (100, 10) 3 Ka(rttika Hema) uta mā(sa 3) di(va) sa 20, asyapurvvāyām" etc. According to Dr. Kielhorn himself, the solar month is also used in Śaka dates. But this use of solar months in Śaka dates appears for the first time so late as in the year 944 = 1022 A. D. But the months mentioned above are undoubtedly solar months, and in these we see that beginning with the year 11 up to the year 200 the months used in Kuṣāna dates are solar months. With the exception of some of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions all Western Kṣatrapa

[84] *I. A.*, Vol. XX, p. 404.

[85] Stratton, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 1, and plates; and Vogel, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 255, and plate lxx., No. 9.

dates are Brahmanical records. May it not be that the Buddhists of the earlier centuries of the Christian era used solar months in the reckonings, while the Brāhmaṇs used the lunar month, as their religious ceremonies and festivals are always connected with *Tithis* and *Pakṣas*. Dr. Kielhorn holds that in the majority of Śaka dates with solar months the *Tithis* and *Pakṣas* are also quoted. But this may have been the effect of the long residence of the era in Southern India where "the solar reckoning, notwithstanding the nominal use of solar months, is of little practical importance" (*I. A.*, Vol. XXV, p. 270). It may be that the use of the lunar month dates in Śaka era is the result of its long residence in Southern India and that the use of the solar month names is the result of its northern and civil origin. The Śaka era is undoubtedly of civil origin and during its earlier portion the omission of lunar months, *Pakṣas* and *Tithis*, in it does not seem irregular. In any way it can hardly be maintained now "that the wording of the dates of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva are radically opposed to the wording of the Śaka dates."

Dr. Fleet finds a confirmation of his theory in the Takht-i-Bahaī inscription of Gondophernes which is dated in the year 103 and in the 26th year of the reign of Gondophernes. The coins of Gondophernes indicate, according to Cunningham, that he must be placed "later than those of the dynasties of Vonones and Azas and earlier than those of Kaniṣka.[86] The Christian legends make Gondophernes a contemporary of the Apostle Thomas. If the date of this inscription is referred to the Mālava-Vikrama era, then only a satisfactory result is obtainable. Because in that case the accession of Gondophernes falls in the year 21 A. D. In the Christian legends the name of Gondophernes is associated with another Indian prince named Mazdai or Misdeos, and M. Sylvain Lèvi identifies this prince with the ΒΑΖΔΗΟ or ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ of the coins and the Vāsudeva of the inscriptions. The earliest inscription of Vāsudeva is dated in the year 74, and so if this date is referred to the Vikrama era it becomes equivalent to 18 A. D., which makes him a contemporary of Gondophernes. This result, according to Dr. Fleet, clearly shows that the dates in the Kuṣāna inscriptions must be referred to the Mālava-Vikrama era, because in this case only a satisfactory solution of the problem is brought about conjointly by three separate lines of evidence, the palæographic, the numismatic, and the historic. These three separate lines of evidence tend to prove that the reign of Gondophernes is to be placed in the first half of the first century A. D. Dr. Bühler placed the Takht-i-Bahaī inscription of Gondophernes in the fourth group of his classification of Kharoṣṭhi records, "which begins with the Takht-i-Bāhāi inscription of Godopherres and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kuṣana kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka." [87] But we have seen already that Dr. Bühler, throughout his work, has taken the characters of the Suë-Vihār inscription as representing the characters of the Kuṣāna inscriptions, because that inscription is the only one of which a complete and intelligible interpretation has been given. But it has also been shown that the characters of the Suë-Vihār plate cannot be taken to represent Kharoṣṭhi characters of the Kuṣana period. If we compare the Takht-i-Bahaī inscription with that of Manikyala or that from Zeda, then the following conclusions follow:—

(1) The *Ka*, both in the Manikyala and Zeda inscriptions, is archaic, while that in the fifth line of the Takht-i-Bahaī inscription is later, as it shows a slight curve on the top as found also in the Panjtar and Kāldarra inscriptions.

(2) The characters resemble those of the Panjtar and Kāldarra inscriptions rather than those of Manikyala or Zeda.

(3) The symbol for 100 is exactly like those found in the Panjtar and Mount Banj[88] inscriptions.

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[86] Cunningham's *Coins of the Sakas* (reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*), p. 15.

[87] *Indian Palæography* (ed. Fleet), p. 25. [88] Senart's No. 35 in *J. A.*, 9e série, tom. IV, p. 514, pl. v.

The above conclusions show that from the palæographic standpoint Kaniṣka cannot be placed later than Gondophernes as proposed by Dr. Bühler, General Cunningham, Mr. V. A. Smith, and others;[89] on the other hand the palæographical evidence clearly proves that Gondophernes reigned after the Kuṣana group. The historic evidence is chiefly based on the Christian chroniclers. According to the Acts of St. Thomas, that apostle came to the Court of an Indian king named Gondopherres. These Acts also relate the visit of St. Thomas to another Indian king named Mazdai or Misdeus who is thus made the contemporary of Gudnaphar or Gondophernes. These Acts occur in various languages, and in most cases the version of the story is the same.[90] Dr. Wright, who edited these Acts, places the date of their composition not later than the 4th century, while Mr. Burkitt places the date before the middle of the 3rd century A D.[91] No author takes the date of the composition of these Acts to the first and second centuries of the Christian era, and no confidence can be placed on chroniclers who wrote two centuries after the actual occurrence. St. Thomas may have visited India, but the statement that he was a contemporary of the kings Gondophernes and Misdaios is extremely unreliable. "That the stories in the Acts of St. Thomas have little or no historical basis is indeed almost self-evident."[92] Mazdai may be another form of Vāsudeva, but it cannot be said with absolute certainty that it is so. The numismatic evidence seems to fix the position of Gondophernes in the first half of the first century of the Christian era. But this happens only when the coins of this prince are compared with those of other Indian princes, but one important consideration has been lost sight of by the numismatists. This is that one class of coins of this prince on which the legend is only in Greek, the Kharoṣṭhi one being absent, are undoubtedly of the Parthian type. And that they should be compared with the coinage of Parthian monarchs and not with those of the Indian princes. The date of Gondophernes, if it is to be obtained from numismatic evidence only, should be deduced by comparing his coins with those of the Arsakidæ. Thus we see that of the three separate lines of evidence which tend to place Gondophernes in or about the middle of the first century A. D., the first and second are uncertain, while the third is unreliable.

The Takht-i-Bahaī inscriptions of Gondophernes is dated in the year 103, and the question arises to what particular era this date is to be referred. Three eras have been mentioned up to date —

(1) Dr. Fleet's theory that the date should be referred to the Mālava-Vikrama era.[93]

(2) Mr. V. A. Smith's theory that the inscription is dated in the Cæsarean era of Antioch.[94]

(3) The theory put forth by Messrs. Bhāndārkar that the inscription is dated in the Śaka era.[95]

The improbability of the use of the Mālava-Vikrama era in the Panjāb in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era is evident from the remarks of Dr. Kielhorn. Mr. V. A. Smith has also clearly shown that the use of that era in this inscription is impossible.[96]

The arguments put forth by Dr. Fleet against the use of Cæsarean era of Antioch in India are decisive and leave no doubt.[97]

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89 V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 202.

90 For further particulars, see Lèvi, *J. A.*, July-December, 1896, pp. 444—84, and January-June, 1897, pp. 27—42; also W. R. Philip, *I. A.*, 1903, pp. 1 and 145, and Dr. Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 203.

91 *I. A.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 2.

92 Prof. Burkitt, quoted by Mr. J. Kennedy in his review of Bishop Medlycott's "India and Apostle Thomas," *J. R. A. S.*, October, 1906, p. 1020.

93 *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 231.

94 *Z. D. M. G.*, 1903, p. 71.

95 *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 382, and *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1906, p. 706.

96 *J. R. A. S.*, October, 1906, p. 1006.

97 *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1906, p. 706.

The third theory has been objected to by Dr. Fleet on the ground that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of Northern India above Kāṭhiāwāḍ, and the southern and western parts of the territory now known as Mālwā."[98] Up to date two inscriptions have been discovered in Northern India which contains the word Śaka. These are —

(1) The inscription P. on the Mathura Lion Capital.[99]

(2) A Jaina inscription from Mathura.[100]

The first inscription is in Kharoṣṭhī, and runs as follows : —

Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.

This was translated by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji as — 'In honour of the whole of Sakastana, *i. e.*, Śakasthāna or the land of the Śakas.' Dr. Fleet proves that in this inscription the word *Saka* is equal to Svaka, *i. e.*, 'own,' and so he takes the inscription to mean — "In honour of his own home."[1] But Dr. Hultzsch corrects him that evidently *Sarvasa* is the name of the donor in the genitive case. Dr. Fleet then translates it as follows: — (The gift of) Śarva in honour of his own home.[2]

It is plain that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's translation is quite natural, while Dr. Fleet's version is rather strained. In other votive inscriptions it is generally said that such and such things have been erected in honour of one's father and mother or other relations or one's gods, but the erection of anything in honour of a land is novel. But again the erection of something in honour of one's homestead is absolutely incompatible with Indian ideas. An Indian honours his father and mother, his spiritual teacher, and it may be also that he honours his other relations; he honours his own god, be it a Buddha or an Arhat; he may also erect something in honour of his country : but he never erects anything either in honour of his own self or his own homestead. Of course, it is possible to take these Prākrit words to mean many things at the same time, but there is always a limit beyond which these meanings, even when possible, should not be stretched. This interpretation of the word *Saka* as equivalent to *Svaka* takes the meaning beyond that limit. Dr. Fleet's other argument that the word *Sthāna* in Sanskrit, does not mean a country is admissible, but Mr. Thomas' researches show that the word is foreign and probably of Persian origin, and it is sure that it has been used by one who was a non-Indian and probably a Persian. The Sakastana of the inscription P. of the Mathura Lion Capital is undoubtedly the Sakastene of Isidorus of Charax.[3]

The second inscription runs as follows :—

(1) (Na)mo Arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasa Poṭhaya-Śaka-kālavāḷasa.

(2) . . . . Kōsikiye Śimitrāye Āyāgapaṭo p(r)a(ti).

The word *Śaka* in this inscription has been interpreted in two ways. Dr. Bühler took it to mean the Scythians and tranlated the inscription as follows: — "Reverence to the Arhat Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage (was set up) by Śrimitrā, the Kośiki (wife) of Gotiputrawho is (or was) a black serpent to Poṭhayas and Śakas." But Dr. Fleet takes this word *Śaka* to mean a Buddhist and it is quite possible. The word *Śaka* in Prākrit may mean both a Scythian and a Śākya or Buddhist. To Dr. Fleet's list of instances in which the word *Śaka* means a Śākya, I may add one more. During the working season of 1905-06 some excavations were made at Rājgir by Mr. J. H. Marshall and Dr. T. Bloch, during which a piece of inscribed red sand-stone was discovered. Only some boughs of trees are discernible on this stone, and below this are the words *Śaka Muni* in Northern Kṣatrapa characters and this undoubtedly becomes in Sanskrit Śākya Muni, *i. e.*, Buddha. But it cannot be maintained that in the Prākrit of this period the word *Śaka* or *Saka* means only a Buddhist and not a Scythian.

98 *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 230.

99 *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 540.

100 *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33.

1 *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 703.

2 *J. R.A. S.*, 1905, p. 154.

3 *J. R. A. S.*, January, 1906, p. 192.

There is another evidence, which shows independently of numismatics, that the Śakas ruled in India before the Kuṣāna family, but this has been altogether ignored by Dr. Fleet. He has repeatedly stated that Rājūvula and his son Śoḍāsa were contemporaries of Vāsudeva and that they kept him out of Mathurā[4] but this statement is not supported by a single fact :—On the other hand the characters of the three inscriptions of Śoḍāsa are decidedly archaic and earlier than those of the inscriptions of the Kuṣānas. These inscriptions constitute a special group in Indian palæography which shows the transition between the earliest inscriptions from Mathurā and the inscriptions of the Kuṣāna period.[5] Dr. Bühler has taken the characters of these inscriptions as the Northern types of Kṣatrapa characters and has devoted a separate section to them. His remarks in the second volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* leave no doubt as to this :— "Though the precise date assigned to Śoḍasa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurā in the first century B. C., before the time of Kaniṣka and his successor." And again "the Mahākṣatrapas of Mathurā must have passed away before the Kuṣānas reigned there."[6]

These three inscriptions prove that there was a line of foreign rulers in Northern India before the Kuṣanas. Then again numismatics prove the existence of several other rulers who were also foreigners. They may be of Persian origin as Mr. Thomas takes them, but even then to the main body of the Indian people they were Śakas. The only other statement of Dr. Fleet which seems to me to be peculiar is that Kozoulo-Kadphises and Hima-Kadphises were preceded by Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, and that they belong to quite a different dynasty. Dr. Fleet has found a supporter of this view in Dr. Otto Francke.[7] There is no doubt about the fact that Kozoulo-Kadphises and Wema-Kadphises were Kuṣanas, as on their coin legends they are expressly called so. Then the types of the coins of these princes are decidedly earlier, and at the same time connected by a symbol to those of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva. These two facts prove that Kozoulo-Kadphises and Wema-Kadphises belong to the same group as Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, and that former two princes preceded the later three. On the data at present available the exact relationship between Kozoulo and Hema-Kadphises and Kaniṣka cannot be determined. Indian numismatics has vastly improved since the days of James Prinsep, and his suggestion that the Kadphises belonged to a separate group can hardly be relied on at the present date. With regard to the latest argument of Dr. Fleet, adduced in favour of his theory, it may be said that the remarks of Hiuen Thsang himself makes it impossible to place any reliance on them. The traditional date of Kaniṣka,[8] which places him four hundred years after the death of Gautama Buddha, is a mere tradition. The exact date of Buddha's death still remains to be ascertained, and Dr. Fleet's assumption that Buddha died in 482 B. C. is a mere theory. Hiuen Thsang himself states that "As regards the period since Buddha's nirvāna the schools are of very diverse views. Some say it dates back over twelve hundred years, others over thirteen hundred years, a third section over fifteen hundred years, others again over nine hundred. Yet none say thousand."[9] On this the statement of Dr. Francke, "The Tang-Annals and the Sui-Annals each get different dates from these, so that it is impossible to fix the accession of Kaniṣka by this data," seems to be conclusive.[10]

The second theory of the second group is that put forth by Messrs. Fergusson and Oldenberg. It holds that Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era and that the dates in the Kuṣana inscriptions should be referred to that era. It has already been shown that this theory was based upon insufficient grounds and so it is untenable. But in spite of that we find eminent scholars still maintaining that the Kuṣana inscriptions should be referred to the Śaka era. Dr. Bühler never clearly expressed any opinion on this point, but the general tenor of his writings express that the

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 706.

[5] Dr. Bloch has fully dealt with these inscriptions in his paper "An Inscribed Buddhist Statue from Śrāvasti." *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII, Part I, 1898, p. 274.

[6] *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 196.

[7] I. *A.*, February, 1906, p. 47.

[8] *J. R. A. S.*, October, 1906, p. 979.

[9] Beal's *Buddhist Record of the Western Words*, Vol. II, p. 33.

[10] *I. A.*, February, 1906, p. 48.

Kuṣana dates should be referred to the Śaka era. Though General Cunningham had put forth two theories on Kuṣana dates, yet in his last work we find that he places the Śaka era by the side of the Seleucidan era in the interpretation of Kuṣana dates.[11] Mr. Rapson, in his *Indian Coins*, says 'the Śaka era has unusually been supposed to date from the *abhiṣika* of Kaniṣka at Mathurā.[12] Last of all Mr. V. A. Smith, before he undertook to prove the use of the Laukika era in Kuṣana inscriptions, was of opinion that the date of the accession of Kaniṣka lies between B. C. 57 and 78 A. D., and probably took place in the year 65 A. D.[13] Later on, when he published his paper on the chronology of the Kushān period, he makes the following objections to the use of the Śaka era in the Kuṣana inscriptions: —

(1) The current belief that Kaniṣka ascended the throne in 78 A. D. adds half a century to the gap between the Kuṣanas and the Guptas and is less easily reconcilable with palæographic facts.

(2) The Śaka or Sālivāhana era originated in Western India and did not come even into partial use in Northern India until a late period.

(3) The theories of Oldenberg and Bhāndārkar, which agree in doctrine that the Kuṣana inscriptions are dated according to the Śaka era, require us, contrary to all probability, to assume that the Śaka reckoning was adopted for a century in Northern India and then dropped.

The arguments of Mr. Bhāndārkar have already been dealt with above and we have seen that—

(1) Kaniṣka was a Śaka;

(2) The Kuṣana inscriptions are not dated in any era with the hundreds omitted; and

(3) It is possible to place the accession of Kaniṣka about the year 78 A. D.

If Kaniṣka was a Śaka, and his accession took place in or about 78 A. D., the natural tendency is to connect him with the Indian era, whose initial year falls in 78-9 A. D. and which is known by the name of Śaka era. But serious obstacles mentioned above have been raised against the use of this era in Northern India. The first objection is that the use of the Śaka era adds half a century more to the gap between the Kuṣanas and the Guptas than does the Laukika theory, and so is less reconcilable with palæographical facts. As regards the palæography of the Kuṣana inscriptions, Mr. Smith says:— "It is not always easy by mere inspection to distinguish an inscription of the Kuṣana from one of the Gupta period. Many alphabetical forms specially characteristic of the Gupta inscriptions are found sporadically in Kuṣana records, while on the other hand Gupta documents often exhibit archaic forms specially characteristic of the Kuṣana age."[14] The above statement is only partially true, because a number of Kuṣana records do not at all exhibit later forms, but on the other hand exhibit many archaic forms.

The study of Kuṣana and cognate inscriptions leads one to the following conclusions:—

(1) The inscriptions which are marked as archaic in the list on pages 37, 38 above do not belong to the Kuṣana period proper but to an earlier one.

(2) The majority of Buddhist inscriptions exhibit archaic forms. Compare Nos. 1, 2, and 29 of the list.

(3) Archaic forms are absent from the majority of the Jaina inscriptions. Thus, out of 57 inscriptions in the list which are undoubtedly Jaina and belong to the Kuṣana period, only 10 inscriptions exhibit archaic forms.

(4) The characters of the Buddhist inscriptions are angular, neatly incised, and pleasing to the eye. Compare Nos. 1, 2, 29, 34, 39, and 48 of the list.

(5) The characters of the Jaina inscriptions are extremely cursive, in most cases incorrect and ugly.

11 The date referred to here is the year 64 on the Bodh Gayā image inscription which Cunningham believed to be a Kuṣana date, but it has been proved above that this is really a Gupta date. See Cunningham's *Mahabodhi*, pp. 7 and 21.

12 *Indian Coins*, p. 18.

13 V. A. Smith's *Jaina Stūpa of Mathurā and other Antiquities*, pp. 4-5.

14 *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 35.

Thus, if a comparison is made between two inscriptions, one of which is Jaina and the other Buddhist, and which mention the name of the same king and contain dates near enough to allow of comparison, then the difference in the form of the characters would be instantly recognised. The characters of the Jaina inscription would appear to be very late modifications of those of the Buddhist one. If the Sarnāth inscription of the year 3 (No. 1), which is Buddhist, is compared with the Mathurā inscription of the year 4, a Jaina record, the above statement would at once be evident. In fact, it is very difficult to distinguish between Jaina inscriptions of the Kuṣana period and those of the Gupta period, but not between Buddhist inscriptions of the Kuṣana period. The only cause of this is that the Jaina inscriptions of Mathura are in a script which was very much in advance even of the current script of the period. It is very well known that the current script used in every-day lift of a period is very much more in advance of the script exhibited on epigraphical records. Dr. Bühler has already noticed the influence of the current hand of the period on Indo-Scythian inscriptions. Most of the Jaina inscriptions mention the particular Gaṇa, Kula, and Śākhā to which the donor, belonged, and in particular cases mention is made that the donor was either a Śresṭhin or Sārthavāha[15] so it is extremely probable that these donors of the Indo-Scythian period, like their descendants at the present day, were merchants or traders. Now it is well known that Indian merchants and traders use an extremely cursive script in their daily transactions. The Baniās and Modis and the clerks of merchants and big traders at the present day use a script which is very much in advance of the current hand and still more so of that used in print. It is also extremely probable that the Jaina merchants and traders of the Indo-Scythian period, in recording their religious donations, used the same script as in their business transactions. This in fact is the only explanation for the presence of later forms in inscriptions of the first and the second century A. D. In this case a difference of 40 or 60 years would not matter very much, and it cannot be held that, if the date of the accession of Kaniṣka is placed 47 years earlier, it would be less easily reconcilable with palæographical facts, because the later forms which occur in these inscriptions become common two centuries later. If we exclude the Jaina inscriptions we find that the characters of the other inscriptions of this period do not show any marked affinity to those of the inscriptions of the Gupta period. The Jaina records of the Kuṣana period form a unique series of Indian epigraphs showing very advanced forms of characters, the parallel of which has not as yet been found in India.

I may note here that one at least of the inscriptions of this period is official. This is No. 29 of the list. Nos. 1 and 2 may also be taken as official. No. 1 is decidedly official, as it mentions the name of the two satraps, probably father and son, the Mahākṣatrapa Kharapāllana and the Kṣatrapa Vanaṣpara, while the second may also be taken to be an official inscription because the friars Bala and Puṣyavuddhi were undoubtedly personages who possessed great influence at the Royal Court; for governors of provinces, however devout they may be, do not take so strong an interest in the gifts of ordinary monks as these two do. I may also note that I cannot agree with Dr. Vogel's interpretation of the relation between the satraps and the monks. Dr. Vogel says: -- "The question has been raised how mendicants who have to beg for their food and are not allowed worldly possessions could make donations which would necessarily involve considerable expenditure. Perhaps the Sārnāth inscriptions afford an explanation. We may suppose that the two satraps supplied the necessary funds, but the gift was carried on under the supervision of the friar Bala, who thus was fully justified in calling the gift his own."[16]

One of the main points of discussion which necessitated the making of a second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī, was whether the monks were to receive gold or silver as gifts or not. Mention is made of monks of Vaiśālī who actually received gold and silver as gifts.[17] This proves that the Buddhist monks were not above accepting gold and silver as gifts. Moreover, the inscriptions on the pedestal expressly states: —

(1) Bhikṣusya Balasya Trepiṭakasya Bodhisatvo pratiṣṭhāpito

(2) mahākṣatrapena Kharapallānena sahā kṣatrapena Vanaṣparena.

[15] *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 373. [16] *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 173. [17] Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 173.

That is, the Bodhisattva image of the Bhikṣu Bala, who was well versed in the three *piṭakas*, was set up by the great satrap Kharapallāna and the satrap Vanaṣpara. They may have placed the money at the disposal of the satrap and then left Benares to some other holy place, while the satraps superintended the carving and the erection of the statue. The text of the inscription on the umbrella shaft: —

Line (3) . . . . . . Bhikṣusya Balasya Trepiṭakasya

„ (4) Bodhisattvo . . . . . . pratiṣthāpito

. . . .

Line (8) sahā kṣatrapena Vanasparena Kharapalla-

„ (9) nena ca . . . . . .

In the way expressed above means accordingly that the satraps also acquired merit by their labour of superintendence.

The second and third objections to the use of the Śaka era in Northern India in the Kuṣāna period may be answered together. There is no direct proof that the Śaka era originated in Western India. On the other hand, the researches of Mr. Bhāndārkar clearly prove that the era was originally founded in Northern India, and that Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were Northerners, and most probably were merely provincial governors. There is no need to assume that the Śaka reckoning was adopted for a century in Northern India and then dropped. If we take the Śaka era to have begun from the date of the accession of Kaniṣka, then we find that it was in use in Mathurā up to the year 308-9 A. D. Thus the Śaka reckoning was not merely adopted for a century but for two centuries or more. Then the invasions of later Kuṣanas from the North-Western provinces and the rise of the Gupta empire gradually drove it out of Northern India, but it remained in use in the South-Western provinces of the Kuṣana empire. The use of the Gupta era affords a parallel case. It originated in Northern India in A. D. 318-19. It remained there in use for three centuries (if we exclude the dates from Nepal, then the latest date is the year 300 on the Gañjām plate of Śaśāñka — *E. I.*, Vol. VI, p. 143), then it was driven out of Northern India by the Harṣa and Mālava-Vikrama eras. It is possible that if the successors of Harsavardhana had been able and powerful rulers like those of Candra Gupta I, the Gupta era could hardly have remained in use in Nepal for two more centuries. But it is known that the Gupta era was current in Western India up to the 12th or 13th centuries A. D., and that in its later days it was known as the Valabhī Saṁvat. So it is evident that it is also possible for the Śaka era to have originated in Northern India, and after three hundred years to have been driven out of it and to have remained current in one single part of its original area for several centuries longer. It is also probable that the name of the era was given to it long after its formation. The inscriptions of the Western satraps do not mention its name, though it is certain that their dates should be referred to the Śaka era. The earliest inscription in which the name is mentioned is the Bādāmi cave inscription of the Cālukya Mangalīśa.[18] The name Śālivāhana was applied to it for the first time in the year 1194 of this era, *i. e.*, 1272 A. D.[19] Thus we find that all serious obstacles to the use of the Śaka era in Northern India and in the Kuṣāna inscriptions disappear. But we must admit that there is no direct evidence to show that Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era, and it is doubtful whether any such evidence will ever be found. But it is possible, as Dr. Fleet says, that this era is one of those eras that originated in an extension of regnal or dynastic years.[20] It was actually set going as an era by the successor who did not break the reckoning so started by introducing another according to his own regnal years. But between the accession of Kaniṣka in 78 A. D. and the death of Eukratidas in B. C. 156,[21] we find a host of princes ruling the country between Bactria and the Panjāb, whose position and sequence require to be settled before we proceed to deal with the events of the reigns of Kaniṣka and his

[18] *I. A.*, Vol. II, p. 305; Vol. VI, p. 363; and Vol. X, p. 58; and *E. I.*, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 2, No. 3.

[19] Kielhorn in *I. A.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 150.

[20] Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 143.

[21] V. A. Smith's *Early History*, p. 217.

successors. Most of these princes are known to us only through their coins. They are, as we have seen, divisible into three classes — (a) The Scythians; (b) the later Greeks; and (c) the Parthians. It will be shown later on that it is impossible to place a Parthian dynasty ruling over Seistan and Gandhāra in the first century of the Christian era. There remain only the Greeks and the Scythians. The most important of the Greek princes were Menander and Apollodotos, who are mentioned by the classical historians as the conquerors of India.[22] It is hardly possible to lay down the exact chronological sequence of the other Greek princes. The last of them is Hermaios, who probably ruled in the Kabul valley in the opening year of the Christian era and was to some extent the contemporary of Kiutsiu-kio or Kozoulo-Kadphises. There are some coins on which the Greek legend bears the name of Hermaios, while the Kharoṣthi one bears that of Kadphises I. It may be that Kadphises I acknowledged the over-lordship of Hermaios before he united the five Yue-chī principalities under his sway. It is certain that Kadphises I swept away the Greek rule from Afghanistan. The Scythian princes, who preceded Kaniṣka, are also known to us chiefly from their coins, but they have also left several inscriptions. The earliest of them, according to the numismatists, is Maues or Moas, but his coins are found only in the Panjāb, and Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar accordingly takes him to be the last of the Scythian princes. Vonones, whose coins are found in Kandahar, Ghazni, and Seistan, was probably the first prince of these early Scythian conquerors. He was succeeded by his nephew, Spalirises, who, with his father, Spalahores, and his brother, Spalagadames, were his tributaries. After Spalirises, a prince named Azes or Aya seems to have ascended the throne. Azes was at first subordinate both to Vonones and Spalirises. Azes was succeeded by Azilises, after whom the dynasty seems to have been reduced to a subordinate position. According to the authority of Mr. Rapson, Vonones seems to have come to the throne at the beginning of the first century B. C. His coins are fairly numerous, and we may safely assign to him a reign of 25 years. He seems to have lived in the West, probably in Seistan, while his deputies ruled Afghanistan and the Panjāb in his name.

On the above assumption the accession of his nephew, Spalirises, may be placed in the year 70 B. C. Both Azes and his nephew, Spalagadames, were the tributaries of this prince. His coins are not so very numerous, and a reign of 15 years is quite sufficient for him. After Spalirises this dynasty comes to an end, and Azes, who was a tributary prince both under Vonones and Spalirises, makes himself independent in the Panjāb. Afghanistan seems to have passed into the sway of the Yue-chi chieftains. The coins of Azes are not obtainable in Afghanistan, but they are fairly numerous in the Panjāb, and a reign of 15 years may be allowed to him, as he is known to have reigned for a long time as subordinate to Vonones and Spalarises. He was succeeded by Azilises, whose exact relationship to Azes cannot be ascertained. At this time a prince of the Koei-Chaouang or the Kuṣanas or Heräus, who is most probably the In-mo-fu of the Chinese historians, conquered Ki-pin (Kapiśā). The existence of Hermaios at the beginning of the Christian era shows, that a number of Greek principalities still remained in the hilly fastnesses of Afghanistan and the Western Panjāb in a subordinate position to the Scythian monarchs. After the demise or overthrow of Azilises, the Scythian provincial governors made themselves independent. They were known by the Persian title satrap (Sanskrit *Kṣatrapa*), and probably recognised the nominal supremacy of the descendants or successors of Azilises, such as Azes II, Maues, and others. But there is much difference of opinion as to the exact chronological position of the Scythian satraps. Two of these satrap dynasties are well known. These are the dynasties of Taxila or Takṣaśilā and that of Mathurā, while coins bearing the names of other satraps are not wanting, such as Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa, Zeionises or Jihuniā, son of Manigul, and others. The following are the different opinions expressed about the chronological positions of these satraps :—

(1) Mr. V. A. Smith argues that the hemidrachms of Rājūvula imitate and are found with those of Strato II, who was the son of Strato I, who was a contemporary of Heliokles, the last Greek king who ruled north of the Hindu Kush. Heliokles is certainly the son and successor of Eukratides

[22] Trogus, p. 41.

who died about B. C. 150. Inasmuch as Heliokles, the son and successor of Eukratides, was contemporary with Strato I, the father of Strato II, who was approximately contemporary with Rājūvula, the Śaka satrap of Mathurā, the accession of the last named prince must be very close to B. C. 120.

The fact that the coins of Rājūvula imitate those of Strato II shows that Rājūvula must be placed after Strato II and not before him, and nothing more than this can be said to be an accurate deduction. Numismatics is of importance only when epigraphy is absent. It may also aid epigraphy, but numismatics can hardly be relied on against deductions based on epigraphy and palæography. These two satrap dynasties possess several inscriptions, and it will be seen later on that the characters of the inscriptions of these satraps preclude any possibility of their being placed 200 hundred years before the accession of Kaniṣka. One of the highest authorities on Indian numismatics places the Śaka satraps in the middle of the 1st century B. C.[23]

(2) Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar places Śoḍāsa, the son of Rājūvula, in the Śaka year 72 = 150 A. D., and Patika of Taxila in the Śaka year 78 = 156 A. D., while the accession of Kaniṣka is placed in the year 278 A. D.

(3) Dr. Fleet takes Śoḍāsa and Rājūvula to be nearly contemporaries of Vāsudeva.

The inscriptions of the Scythian satraps occur both in Brāhmi and in Kharoṣṭhi. They are as follows :—

(1) The Taxila copperplate of Patika, the son of Liaka Kusulaka. The record is dated in the year 78 of the (reign of the) Maharaja Moga.[24]

(2) The Mathurā Lion Pillar Capital incriptions, recording the various donations of the two satrap families of Taxila and Mathurā. This record establishes that Śoḍāsa was a contemporary of Patika and consequently Rājūvula of Liaka.[25]

The records mentioned above are in Kharoṣṭhi, while the others given below are in Brāhmi—

(3) A Jaina record of the year 72 of the reign of the great satrap Śoḍāsa.[26]

(4) A Brahmanical record of the reign of the great satrap Soḍāsa.[27]

(5) An inscription found on a well at Mora, seven miles from Mathurā.[28]

The Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions mentioned above form the third variety of Dr. Bühler's division of Kharoṣṭhi records. But as has been shown above, if the characters of the Manikyala inscription are taken as representing the fourth variety instead of the Suë-Vihār inscription, the difference between the forms of the characters of these two varieties diminish. The characters of the third variety show that they immediately preceded those of the fourth variety. The Taxila copperplate cannot be placed two hundred years before the Manikyala inscription. The palæography of the Brāhmi inscriptions also supports the above conclusion. When Dr. Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* was published, it was supposed that the difference between the Kṣatrapa and Kuṣāna periods was considerable. But recent discoveries have shown that this difference cannot be much. The excavations of Sārnāth have yielded three records to the list of dated Kuṣāna inscriptions. Two of these are from Sārnāth, and the third is from Set-Māhet and was discovered more than forty years ago. The first line of the Śrāvasti inscription is much damaged and consequently the name of the reigning monarch and the date is lost. When Dr. Bloch published this inscription in 1898[29] he was led by the palæography of the

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[23] Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 8.

[24] *A. S. R.*, Vol II, p. 133, and plate lix.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 551; and *E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 54, and plate.

[25] *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 525. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji edited these inscriptions without any facsimile. A fresh edition with a facsimile is much needed, but this inscription is out of the reach of Indians as it is in the British Museum.

[26] *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 199, No. 2.

[27] *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 30, No. 1; and *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149, No. 24.

[28] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 49, plate v, No. 4.

[29] *J. A. S. B.*, 1898, Part I, p. 274.

inscription to place it in the period which included the reigns of Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa. But the Sārnath inscription of the year 3 of the reign of Mahārāja Kaniṣka shows that the donors of the two statues are the same. There are also reasons to make us believe that the Śrāvasti inscription was incised after the Sārnath record. The subscript *ya*, which is always tripartite in the Sārnath inscriptions, is once bipartite in the Śrāvasti inscription (at the end of the second line in *Pusya*). This clearly indicates that the difference between the reigns of Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa and Kaniṣka cannot be 200 years. In editing the inscriptions from Sārnāth, Dr. Vogel says, that "the similarity between the scripts of the Mathurā satraps and that of the earliest of Kaniṣka is so striking that the two can hardly be separated by more than one century. If the former are to be placed in the 1st century B. C., palæographic evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kaniṣka's reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A. D."[30]

It is evident then that the satraps of Mathurā cannot be placed in B. C. 120. Dr. Fleet's statement as to the position of the satraps has been dealt with before, and it is also evident that the statement that Śoḍāsa was nearly the contemporary of Vāsudeva is arbitrary. Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar also places Kaniṣka 200 years after Śoḍāsa and makes the latter a contemporary of the Western satrap Rudradāma. But the characters of the Junagadh inscriptions of Rudradāma are later than those of the Sārnāth inscription of Kaniṣka, and so much later than those of the inscriptions of Śoḍāsa. The date of Kaniṣka certainly falls before Rudradāma, and so it is not possible that Rudradāma was a contemporary of Śoḍāsa.[31]

The Sārnath inscription also shows that the title Mahākṣatrapa does not imply that the holder of it was an independant sovereign. Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa were probably the governors of Mathurā under Azes II and Maues, who may thus be the king Moga of the Taxila copperplate inscription. Śoḍāsa was probably succeeded by Kharahostes and Kalni.[32]

The reign of the earlier Scythian princes and satraps was brought to an end by the conquest of Northern India by Wema-Kadphises about the year 60 A. D. It is also probable, as Dr. Vogel remarks, that the satraps Kharapallāna and Vanaṣpara were the descendants of the early Scythian satraps of Mathurā.[33] The fact that the coins of Wema-Kadphises are found as far as Ghazipur does not prove that Kadphises II conquered the whole of Northern India as far as Benares. The rupee bearing the bust and name of William IV of England, issued in 1835, is current up to the present day in the Panjāb and the North-Western Frontier provinces. Is this a sufficient proof of the British occupation of the Panjāb before 1848 A. D.? On the other hand, the Sārnāth inscription of Kaniṣka leaves no doubt as to the fact that Benares and the adjoining territory to some extent was included in the dominions of Kaniṣka. It is usual to find the coins of a previous reign current in provinces conquered years later. Numerous instances may be cited of this. We may safely assume, on the authority of the Chinese historians that Yeu-kao-ching or Wema-Kadphises conquered India. But it is impossible to state the extent of his conquests from numismatical evidence. Certain degree of probability may be imputed to the fact that he conquered only the Panjāb and the country as far east as Mathurā. But it is absolutely certain that Kaniṣka ruled as far as Benares. It may be that Kaniṣka extended the empire up to Benares. It is not at all necessary to place the accession of Kaniṣka in B. C. 5[34] or in B. C. 2[35] simply because the *Compendium of the Wei* states that a Chinaman named King-lu received Buddhist books from the Yue-chi at that time. The unification of the Yue-chi might not have taken place before the initial

[30] *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 175.

[31] The truth of these remarks can at once be proved by comparing the characters of the Junagadh inscription (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 36) with those of the Sārnath inscription. The characters show that Rudradāma must have reigned at least 50 years after the incision of the Sārnath record.

[32] *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, pp. 533 and 549.

[33] *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 173.

[34] Philipps' translation of M. Lévi's "Notes Sur les Indo-Scythes" in *I. A.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 417.

[35] Miss Nicholson's translation of Dr. Franke's "The Sok and Kaniṣka" in *I. A.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 33.

year of the Christian era. King-lu might have received the Buddhist books from any other king of the five Yue-chi principalities. The coins of Kadphises I and II show that they favoured no particular religion. There is nothing to prevent us from supposing that King-lu received his Buddhist books before the conquest of the other Yue-chi principalities by Kiutsiu-Kio of the Koei-Chouang or that he received them from a private person at the command of the king. According to a lost Sanskrit work named Śrī-Dharma-piṭaka-sampradāya-nidāna, translated into Chinese in the year 472 A. D., and quoted by M. Lévi in his "Notes," Kaniṣka is said to have conquered India as far as Pāṭaliputra and carried off the Buddhist saint Aśvaghoṣa.[36] There is nothing in the shape of a direct evidence to show that Kaniṣka conquered Kāsmīra, but it is certain that he founded there a town called after him Kaniṣkapura, which is now known as Kanispor.[37] So Kāsmīra must have been included in his empire. His capital, as Mr. V. A. Smith holds, was probably Puruṣapura, *i. e.*, modern Peshawar. According to the Chinese translation quoted above, Kaniṣka engaged in a successful war with Pārthia. The most glorious exploit of Kaniṣka was his conquest of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. It has been objected to by some scholars that the accession of Kaniṣka cannot be placed in 78 A. D., because a king of the Yue-chi at this time is known to have been defeated by the famous Chinese General Pan-Chao. M. Lévi says, " if, as is generally done, we take the coronation of Kaniṣka as the starting point of the Śaka era, we meet with an insurmountable difficulty. Pan-Chao's victorious campaign, pursued for thirty years (73—102 A. D.) without interruption, at this very time restored Si-Yu (the Western provinces) to the empire and carried Chinese arms beyond the regions explored by Chang-Kian as far as the confines of the Greco-Roman world. By 73 A. D. the king of Khotan had made his submission, and several other kings of that country followed his example and gave their eldest sons as hostages for their fidelity. Kashgar immediately after returned to obedience. The two passes by which the way to the South debouches into India were in the hands of the Chinese. The submission in the year 94, after a long resistance of Kharashar and the Kou-tche, secured to China also the route to the North. The Yue-chi had not renounced their previous supremacy without a struggle. In the year 90 the king of the Yue-chi sent an ambassador to demand a Chinese princess in marriage. Pan-Chao deemed the request insolent, stopped the ambassador and sent him back. The king of the Yue-chi raised an army of 70,000 horsemen under the orders of the Viceroy Sie. Pan Chao's troops were much frightened by this numerous army and his General had great trouble to reassure them ; however, he made them see that the enemy, worn out by a long march and by the fatigues endured in crossing the Tsung-ling mountains, was not in a condition to attack them with advantage. Sie was vanquished and the king of the Yue-chi did not fail to send in every year the tribute imposed on him. It was not Kaniṣka at the apogee of his reign and power who consented to such a humiliation."[38] Now tradition affirms that Kaniṣka was a great conqueror and conquered Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. Palæography clearly places the accession of Kaniṣka in the year 78 A. D. The only possible conclusion that we can draw from all these *data* is that he was the king who was defeated and humiliated by Pan-Chao in A. D. 90, for it is certain that Kaniṣka was living in the year 96 A. D.[39] To avoid this seeming discrepancy, Mr. V. A. Smith, as a further corroboration of his theory of Kuṣāna chronology, holds that Kaniṣka conquered Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan about the year 130 A. D., thus accomplishing what Wema-Kadphises, according to him, failed to do 40 years earlier. It is not the purpose of this paper to deny that Kaniṣka did not conquer Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan or that Pan-Chao did not defeat a Yue-chi king in 90 A. D., but to utilise fresh materials to render previous statements explicit and unite them into a homogeneous whole.

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[36] V. A. Smith's *Early History*, p. 227, footnote 2.

[37] Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Book I, pp. 168—72.

[38] *I. A.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 421-22.

[39] The Manikyala inscription of the year 18 = 96 A. D.

In a Kharoṣṭhi inscription, which is at present in the Lahore Museum, we find there a confirmation of two things —

(1) That Kaniṣka was possibly the Yue-chi king defeated by Pan-Chao ; and

(2) That Kaniṣka probably recovered Kashgar, Khotan, and Yarkand after the death of Pan-Chao in 102 A. D. The inscription itself contains no such thing, but the data which it supplies is sufficient to warrant such a conclusion. The inscription supplies us with two important informations. The first is that Wema-Kadphises was not the father of Kaniṣka, and that he was still reigning in the year 41 of his era. This inscription was discovered in an ancient well in a *nala* known as Ara, two miles from Bāgnilāb, and was presented to the Lahore Museum, by Dr. M. A. Stein. It has been mentioned above as the Ara inscription (Lahore Museum, No. I, 133). The inscription is a small piece of stone measuring 1 ft. 8 ins. by 9 ins. and consists of six lines. The surface of the stone is extremely rough and uneven. The mason has not taken the trouble of planing the surface.

I read the inscription as follows: —

Ara inscription of the year 41; Plate I.

(1) Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa pa(?)thadharasa . . . .

(2) Vasiṣpaputrasa Kaṇiṣkasa samvatsaraë eka catari(śe) . . . .

(3) saṁ XX, XX, I, Cetasa māsasa diva 4, | atra divasami Namikha . . . .

(4) . . . . na puṣa puria pumana mabarathi Ratakhaputa . . . .

(5) atmanasa sabharya putrasa anugatyarthae savya . . . .

(6) . . . . rae himacala. Khipama . . . .

Notes.

(1) Some portions of the inscribed surface have peeled off, leaving holes, thus the upper portion of the second *ja* in *Rajatirajasa* is missing. The first line seems to have ended with a word which must have been an adjective, such as *Devaputrasa*, etc. The possessive case ending is clear and distinct. The ending words of all other lines, except the first, seems to be missing. There is a big hole after the letter *va* in *diva* in the third line.

(2) The stroke in *Devaputrasa* is unusual. It has been attached to the nethermost part of the vertical line instead of the top of the horizontal loop.

(3) The second letter of Kaniṣka's father's name is indistinct. It does not resemble any known Kharoṣṭhi single or compound letter. At first I took it to be *dra*, but now I find that *dra* has a quite different form in the Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript of the Dhammapada and on the coins of Menander and Epander. Dr. Vogel suggests that it is *Si*, and I accept it as the most probable solution.

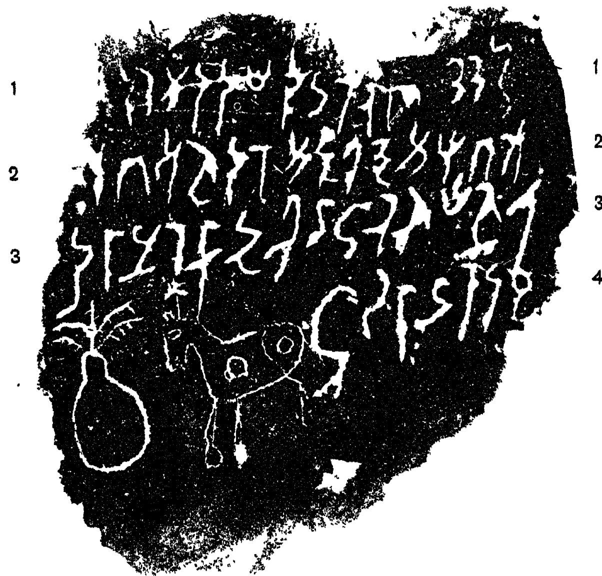
(4) The compound *tsa* in *Samvatsarae* in the second line is new (*cf.* the inscription of the year 111 at the end of this paper, Lahore Museum, No. 1, 47, where *tsa* has a similar form).

(5) In the fifth line the second letter *tma* is different from the form in which it appears in Dr. Bühler's Tables.

(6) The subscript *ya* is expressed here by a complete loop as also in the Suë-Vihar copper-plate inscription. Compare *rya* in *Bharya* and *tya* in *Anugatyarthae*.

(7) The compound letter *arthae* has never been met with, and, as such, the reading is open to correction.

Shakardarra inscription: the year 40.



SCALE ·30

Ara inscription: the year 41.



SCALE ·30

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LIT

I have been able to translate fully only the first three lines of this inscription. The fifth line only out of the last three lines is to some extent intelligible. I translate only the first three lines here. While at Lahore I heard that impressions of this inscription have already been forwarded to Dr. Lüders of Rostock, and we may confidently look forward to him for a complete rendering of this important inscription.

Translation.

"In the year forty-one, 41, on the fifth day of the month of Caitra in the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kaniṣka, the son of Vasiṣpa . . . ."

On the coins of the Western satraps such forms as *Ghsamotika putrasa Casṭanasa* are frequent. Though the inscription has not been fully deciphered, its more important parts are certain. It supplies us with two important facts. It is now certain that Wema-Kadphises was not the father of Kaniṣka, though the latter certainly succeeded the former. Such forms of the mention of a king's father's name is found on the coins of the Western satraps with Caṣṭana,[40] also on the coins of some of the Northern satraps, such as Śoḍāsa, Jihuniā, and Kharahostes.[41] The name *Vasiṣpa* has a distinctly Iranian sound, but that does not prevent him from being a Śaka to Indians. Moreover, ethnological speculations on such grounds are not possible.

The more important part of the inscription is the date, which is certainly the year 41, and this leads us to certain irresistible conclusions. Heretofore the latest available date of Kaniṣka was the year 18, found on the Manikyala inscription, and the earliest date of Huviṣka is the year 33 on the Mathurā Buddhist inscription (No. 25 of the list on page 36 above). But, as Dr. Lüders has suggested, the Mathurā inscriptions of the year 28 and 29 also perhaps belong to the reign of Huviṣka.[42] Then Kaniṣka was in the later years of his reign a contemporary of Huviṣka. Was Huviṣka a rival of Kaniṣka? We can hardly assume that. Had he been his rival he would never have prolonged the regnal years of Kaniṣka and set them going as an era. The coin types, as with the titles of Huviṣka, show that he was closely connected to Kaniṣka, and it may be that he was Kaniṣka's son. The latest Brāhmi inscription of Kaniṣka is the Mathurā inscription of the year 9 (No. 9 of the list). Is it not possible that after a period of ten or fifteen years spent in campaigning in Eastern and Central India, that Kaniṣka might have left the government of India in the hands of his eldest son and crossed the Indus to attend to pressing affairs on his Northern and North-Western frontiers? Panchao began his career of conquest in the last decade of the first century A. D. So we may safely assume that Kaniṣka's relations with China were strained from the tenth year of his reign. He demanded a Chinese princess in marriage, but his envoy was not allowed to proceed to the court of Heaven. In the 12th year of his reign he had sent an army across the Tsung-ling range under his viceroy Sie, but it was crushed by the genius of Panchao. The defeat was probably followed by a series of rebellions in Northern provinces; the Chinese were also pressing forward and the outlying provinces were soon lost. Within ten years all provinces to the north of the Hindu Kush were probably lost to the Kuṣana empire. So we see that Kaniṣka was probably very busy beyond the Indus after the 20th year of his reign. The only explanation of the synchronism of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, who, up to date, are known as predecessors and successors, is that, after the first ten years of Kaniṣka's reign, Huviṣka was left in charge of Indian affairs with full imperial titles, while the former attended to the long war in the frontier and in trying to reclaim the lost provinces. Pauchao died in 102 A. D., and all further enterprise on the part of the Chinese died away with him. It is extremely probable that then Kaniṣka set out to reclaim his lost provinces, but accomplished more than this and added Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan to his empire. If this view be adopted, the truth of the tradition at once

[40] *J. R. A. S.* 1890, p. 643. [41] *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 547. [42] *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 38-9, No. 8.

becomes evident, and the necessity of dragging Kaniṣka away from the Śaka era, passes away. Moreover, Kaniṣka is known to Hiuen-Thsang or, as he is now called, Yuan-Chwang, as the king of Gāndhāra,[43] which was probably the result of his long residence in Afghanistan. So as Kaniṣka was alive in the year 41 of the Saka era, *i. e.*, 119 A. D., a reign of 45 years may safely be allowed to him. The tradition current about Kaniṣka's death proves that his life was a career of long warfare. He is said to have conquered three-quarters of the world, presumably India, Parthia, and China, and wanted to conquer the fourth which was the North. But his generals and ministers were already dissatisfied and loath to go on a campaign in far distant and unknown countries and so they smothered the aged king with a quilt.[44] The most important event in Kaniṣka's reign was the convocation of the fourth Buddhist Council (Mahāsaṅgha or Mahāsaṅgīti), the chief authority for this is Yuan-Chwang,[45] but the exact date or place of occurrence or the nature of business transacted in it cannot be determined.[46] Coins of Kaniṣka show that he was a Buddhist, but he also respected Zoroastrian and Greek divinities. The stories of the devoutness as a Buddhist of a man who spent the whole of his life in bloody warfare must be accepted with limitation.

The details of Huviṣka's reign cannot be ascertained, but he is known to us from a large number of coins and inscriptions. After his predecessor or father's death he became the master of a vast empire which included Kabul, Kāśmīra, and the whole of Northern India as far as Benares. An inscription on the Sarnāth pillar of Aśôka records the gift of something, the name of which has been lost, in the year 40 = 118 A. D., in the reign of Aśvaghoṣa, but this prince is only mentioned as a *Rājan*, and most probably was a feudatory chief ruling under Huviṣka. Behar also was probably included in the Kuṣāna empire at this time, as the impression of a medal of Huviṣka was found under the Vajrāsana throne inside the temple at Bodh Gayā. The four sides of this throne were originally inscribed with characters of the Kuṣāṇa period, but it is too far gone to allow of decipherment.[47] This throne is at present under the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gayā, where it was placed by General Cunningham after the completion of the restoration of the great temple. Huviṣka is also said to have founded a town in Kāśmīra, which was called after him Huskapura, and is now known as Huskur.[48] According to Cunningham a large monastery existed at Mathurā, which bore the name of Huviṣka Vihāra. This monastery probably owed its existence to the munificence of this king.[49] During the reign of Huviṣka, Caṣṭana, who was probably his governor at Ajmer, seems to have conquered Mālwā and established himself at Ujjayinī. Probably, it was this exploit which raised him to the rank of a Mahakṣatrapa. The reason for this assumption is that the coins of Caṣṭana are trilingual, the legend being in Greek, Brāhmi, and Kharoṣṭhi. The Kharoṣṭhi legend and the title Kṣatrapa proves that he was the subordinate officer of a king who ruled in a northern country where both Greek and Kharoṣṭhi coin-legends were current. As Rudradāman, the son's son of Caṣṭana, was a contemporary of Vāsudeva, we may safely assume that this northern prince was Huviṣka. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji places his tenure of office between the years 33 and 58 of the Saka era (111 — 136 A. D.), which is admissible.[50] Caṣṭana was succeeded by his son, Jayadāma, in his governorship of Rajputana and Malwa. The only Kharoṣṭhi inscription of Huviṣka was found at Wardak, near Kabul, which was inscribed in the year 51 = 129 A. D. The latest inscription of the

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43 See Beal's *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, and Watters' *On Yuan-Chwang*. The mentions of "Kaniṣka rājā of Gāndhāra" are innumerable.

44 See Mr. Philipps' translation of M. Lévi's "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes" in *I. A.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 388.

45 Beal's *Buddhist Record*, pp. 117 and 151.

46 For further particulars, see V. A. Smith's *Early History*, pp. 233-4.

47 *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVI, p. iv, *N. C.*, 1892, p. 49; and Cunningham's *Mahā Bodhi*, p. 58, plate x, fig. 11.

48 Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Book, I, p. 168, and Vol. II, p. 483. Hiuen Thsang is said to have passed several days in the monastery of Huṣkapura (Beal's *Life of Hiuen Thsang*, p. 68).

49 *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 238.

50 *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, pp. 643—5.

reign of Huviṣka is dated the year 60. So we may safely assume that he was associated with his father in the empire from the year 10 to the year 45 (c. 88 — 123 A. D.) and ascended the throne after his father's death and enjoyed a reign of at least 15 years. We may safely place the year of his death in the Saka era 62 = 140 A. D. At the time of his death the age of Huviṣka could not have been less than 80, for his reign extended over the long period of 52 years, one of the longest reigns in the history of India. The name Huviṣka is found in several forms, such as Huviṣka, Huvaṣka, Huṣka and Hukṣa in the Brāhmi inscriptions.

Huviṣka was succeeded by Vāsuṣka or Vāsudeva, whose earliest recorded date is the year 68, found on an inscription from Sāñci in Bhopal. Dr. Fleet has based a theory on this inscription. He says that this Sāñci record mentions the name Vāsuṣka, which is also to be found in the Mathurā inscription of the year 76, mentioned in Dr. Führer's *Progress Report* for the year 1895-96, also in the Mathurā inscription of the year 74.[51] Inscriptions which were dated the year 80 and after mention the name of Vāsudeva. So the successor of Huviṣka was Vāsuṣka, and Vāsuṣka and Vāsudeva are not the same person. This reasoning possesses a seeming validity, as the transliteration of foreign names into the Indian language was as difficult then as it is at the present day. It was impossible for the Indians of the Scythian period to pronounce the name of a Scythian barbarian, and it was still more difficult for him to write it in his own language. As a result of this we find Rājūvula and Rajula as variations of the name of one and the same person. If Vāsuṣka and Vāsudeva are taken to be different personages, then Huviṣka, Huṣka, and Hukṣa would also have to be taken as designating three different princes. The original name of this prince seems to have been Vāsudeva, and this adoption of an Indian name by a foreign prince was the result of a long residence in India. The variation Vāsuṣka may have been made by some ignorant person in order to harmonise it with the names Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. Nothing is known about the name of Vāsudeva but that he also enjoyed a long reign and was alive in the year 99 = 177 A. D. The great Kuṣāna empire came to an end after Vāsudeva. His dominions included the Panjāb, the provinces around Mathurā, and the portion of Central India as far south as Bhopal. It was during the earlier years of the reign of Vāsudeva that Rudradāman, the Satrap of Rajputana and Malwa, conquered Cutch and Surat and the adjoining countries. The fact that he himself assumed the title of Mahā-Kṣatrapa shows that he did not wait for his paramount sovereign to bestow it on him. It is possible that Rudradāman, like the later Moghul governors, virtually became an independent monarch, but did not assume royal titles: Aliverdi Khān and Sa'ādat Khān were practically independent sovereigns. Vāsudeva was a feeble sovereign, and the Trans-Indus provinces were probably lost to the Kuṣana empire during his reign. Vāsudeva enjoyed a long reign of 36 years from the year 62 to the year 99 of the Saka era (140—177 A. D.). During the later years of this reign, the Panjāb gradually slipped out of his hands. A new conqueror appeared at this time on the North-Western borders of India. The last years of the second century witnessed the decadence of the powers of three great Asiatic monarchies, *viz.*, the Parthian empire, the Kuṣana empire, and the Andhra empire. It was an evil time for Rome also, for at this time the reign of her good emperors was drawing to a close, and after the death of Commodus, the Great Oriental Empire was convulsed by a scramble for the purple in which all the great generals of the Roman Empire took part. For Parthia it was the third period of decline, as Rawlinson puts it, as the whole of the reign of Volageses III is a blank but for the occasional notices of Roman campaigns. In India, after the decease or deposition of Vāsudeva, we find a Parthian king reigning over the province to the east of the Indus in the year 103. This is the date of the Takht-i-Bahaī inscription of Gondophernes, which, as we have seen above, is closely allied by its palæography to the Panjtar, Kaldarra, and

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51 *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 32, No. 8 (No. 47 of the list), and *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 106, No. 20.

Mount Bauj inscriptions, which are dated in the era used in the Kuṣana inscriptions, *i. e.*, the Saka era. But two objections have been raised against this —

(1) Gondophernes is the contemporary of the Apostle Thomas, and

(2) The coins of Gondophernes resemble those of Azes and Soter Megas (the nameless king), which fact places his reign in the first half of the first century A. D. As to the first Gondophernes contemporaneity with St. Thomas is doubtful. The first mention of the names of the two kings Mazdai and Gondophernes is to be found in the Acts of St. Thomas which were compiled in the first half of the third century A. D. and so cannot be trustworthy sources of historical fact. The probable cause of the mention of their names is that they were contemporaries whose names were still fresh for some reasons in the minds of Western sailors and that the chronologist connected their names by mere chance with the mission of the Apostle. As to the second it cannot be denied that numismatic evidence is of value only when epigraphy and palæography are absent and to aid and supplement the conclusions derived from them. The resemblance of coin-type and standards cannot be relied on against palæographic evidence. The accession of Gondophernes must have taken place in A. D. 155 or in the Saka era 77. The palæography of the Greek legends on his coins supports this. The square *omega* and the square *omikron* also occur on the coins of Volageses III of Parthia,[52] who was a contemporary of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and most probably also of Gondophernes and Vāsudeva. The history of Parthia also compels us to place Gondophernes in the last half of the second century A. D. For if Gondophernes is placed in the first half of the first century A. D., then he becomes a contemporary either of Phraataces, Orodes II, Vonones I or Artabanus III. The Parthian empire was even then too powerful to allow of the establishment of a powerful rival monarchy on their frontiers. Gondophernes was, no doubt, a Parthian. The establishment of an empire consisting of Seistan, Kabul, Kandahar, and the Western Panjāb is only possible when the Parthian empire was too feeble to lift its arms in self-defence. According to Rawlinson, Parthia reached this stage of decline in the reign of Valāgeses III and IV.[53] Thus it is extremely probable that the accession of Gondophernes took place in the year 77 of Saka era and the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahaī inscription is equivalent to 181 A. D. The conquest of the Western Panjāb must have been taken place somewhat earlier, say, in 170 A. D. But Parthian domination in the Panjāb must have been very short-lived, for 19 years after the Takht-i-Bahaī record we find a Kuṣāna prince once more ruling over the country bordering on the Indus. The kingdom of the successors of Gondophernes lay towards Kandahar and Seistan. They were probably deprived of their dominions by the earlier Sassanians. In India the remnants of the Kuṣāna empire were divided into several small monarchies which continued to exist up to the middle of the fourth century until Samudragupta and Candragupta II made an end of them. Inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era are very rare in Northern India and the coins of the later Kuṣānas are of no help, as they are mere copies of the coins of Vāsudeva. Some of these coins are imitations of those of Sapor I and Hormuzd II.[54] The latter prince is said to have married the daughter of a Kuṣāna king of Kabul. Further mentions in Persian history show that the later Kuṣānas continued to exist for a century or two longer until they were displaced by the Kidāra-Kuṣānas or swept away by the White Huns. The latest date among Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions is the year 200 = 278 A. D. We may assume that the Kharoṣṭhi script was current up to this date, after which it was supplanted by the Brāhmi as found on the coins of the Kidāra-Kuṣānas.[55] The characters of the Dewai inscription of the year 200 fully bear out the above conclusion. They are a degenerate form of Kharoṣṭhi, later than the characters of the Skarradheri inscription. The

[52] *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Parthia, by Warwick Wroth, p. 224.

[53] Rawlinson's *Six Oriental Monarchy*, p. 330.

[54] V. A. Smith's *Early History*, p. 239, and Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 19. See my "Notes on Indo-Scythia Coinage," *Journal and Proc. A. S. B.*, March 1908, for the coinage and history of the later Kuṣanas.

[55] Rapson's *Indian Coins*, plate ii, No. 16.

characters are so bad that when I saw it for the first time, in the Lahore Museum, I took it to be one of Col. Deane's novel inscriptions.[56]

It will be observed that nothing has been said about three dated inscriptions —

(1) The years 41, 42, and 45 in the Nasik inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and the year 46 in the Junnār inscription of Ayama, all of which fall in the reign of Nahapāna.[57]

(2) The year 72 on the Jaina inscription from Mathurā.[58]

(3) The year 78 of the Taxila copperplate of Patika, son of Liaka.[59] The year 72 of the Mathurā inscription falls in the reign of Mahā-Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, and we have seen that it cannot be placed in a line with the Kuṣāṇa dates and so referred to the Śaka era. It is impossible to refer it either to the Laukika, the Mālava-Vikrama or the Cæsarean eras, since there are reasons to believe that the first two eras were never current in Northern India during the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era or before, and that the third was never heard of on this side of the Euphrates in those days. It is also impossible to refer this to the Seleukidan era or the Maurya era, since palæographical evidence proves that Śoḍāsa must be placed within one hundred years of the accession of Kaniṣka, *i.e.*, between B. C. 30 and A. D. 78. It is also impossible to imagine that any era was in use in Northern India before the Gupta period in which the hundreds were omitted. The year 72 probably refers to an era long forgotten which was established by the earlier Scythian conquerors of Northern India.

The case of the date in the Taxila copperplate inscription is also similar. The inscriptions on Dr. Bhagwanlal's Mathurā Lion Capital prove that the Kṣatrapas Śoḍāsa and Patika were, to some extent, contemporaries ; and on this ground it may be assumed with safety that the year 72 refer to the same era. It is not at all necessary to refer these to any Indian era which is still current or the name of which has been discovered up to date. Many eras were established in India which have fallen into oblivion. Some new discovery may furnish the clue to solve the problem which seems too difficult to solve with the scanty materials at present at our disposal. The dates of the Mahā-Kṣatrapa Nahapāna should be referred to the same era as that used in the Mathurā and Taxila inscriptions. We have seen above that it is hardly possible that Nahapāna established an era of his own. His connection with a Northern monarch is proved by the presence of the Kharoṣṭhi legends on his coins. The characters of his inscriptions are earlier than those of the inscriptions who are now held to be his contemporaries, and so much earlier than those of the Junāgaḍh inscription that it is impossible to place Rudradāman 26 years after Nahapāna. The fact that the characters of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions are earlier than those of the inscriptions of Śoḍāsa preclude any possibility of the use of the Śaka era in these inscriptions. Moreover, Uṣavadāta or Ṛṣabhadatta is a very good Indian name, and simply because he has been called a Śaka it cannot be assumed that he was a foreigner, and, further, that his father-in-law used the Śaka era.[60] Nahapāna is a good old Persian name as Mr. Thomas had shown,[61] and may it not be that the Śākya Ṛṣabhadatta married his daughter Dakṣamitrā to improve his own position. The Prakrit word *Saka* is equivalent to two Sanskrit words — (1) *Śaka*, signifying a foreigner ; (2) *Śākya*, signifying either a Buddhist or a descendant of the tribesmen to which the Buddha Gautama himself belonged.

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[56] Voyez, *J. A.*, 9e série, tom. 4e, p. 510, pl. 34.

[57] *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82, and plate v, and *Reports of the Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, p. 103, and plate liv, No. 11.

[58] *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 199, No. 2.

[59] *E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 54, and plate.

[60] Uṣavadāta has been called a Śaka in a mutilated Nasik inscription. *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 85, No. 14-A, plate vi.

[61] *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 211, No. 17.

APPENDIX I.

New Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from the Lahore Museum.

Including the Ara inscription (page 58 above), I edit four new Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on this occasion. I have styled these inscriptions "new" because I have not come across them in any book or journal dealing with Indian epigraphy. Most of the inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhi characters were discovered in the new Frontier provinces and are now deposited in the Lahore Museum. The Kaldarra inscription has been edited before by Messrs. Bühler and Senart, but I have here reproduced it again because M. Senart's facsimile is too indistinct.

Muchai inscription of the year 81; Plate II.

I. — Dr. Stein's *Catalogue of Inscriptions* in the Lahore Museum mentions that this inscription was found in a *Hujra* in Muchai in Yusufzai. I am not certain as to the meaning of the word *Huira*, but Muchai is the name of the place at which the inscription was discovered. The Lahore Museum Number of this inscription is I, 46. The inscription is incised on a big slab of bad sandstone or kankar and the inscribed surface measures 2 feet by 10 inches. The inscription is in two lines, and the characters are on the average 2 to 3 inches in height and have been clearly incised. Judging from the characters, the inscription can be safely classed with the Kuṣana group of Indian inscriptions, and consequently the date in it should be referred to the Śaka era. The date of the inscription, the year 81, falls in the reign of Vāsudeva. The only other Kharoṣṭhi inscription of this prince's reign is the Fateh Jang inscription of the year 68. Beyond the year, the inscription gives no details of the date, such as the day and the month.

Text.

(1) Vaṣe ekaśitimaye XX, XX, XX, XX, I.

(2) Sahayatena kae Vaṣiśugena.

Translation.

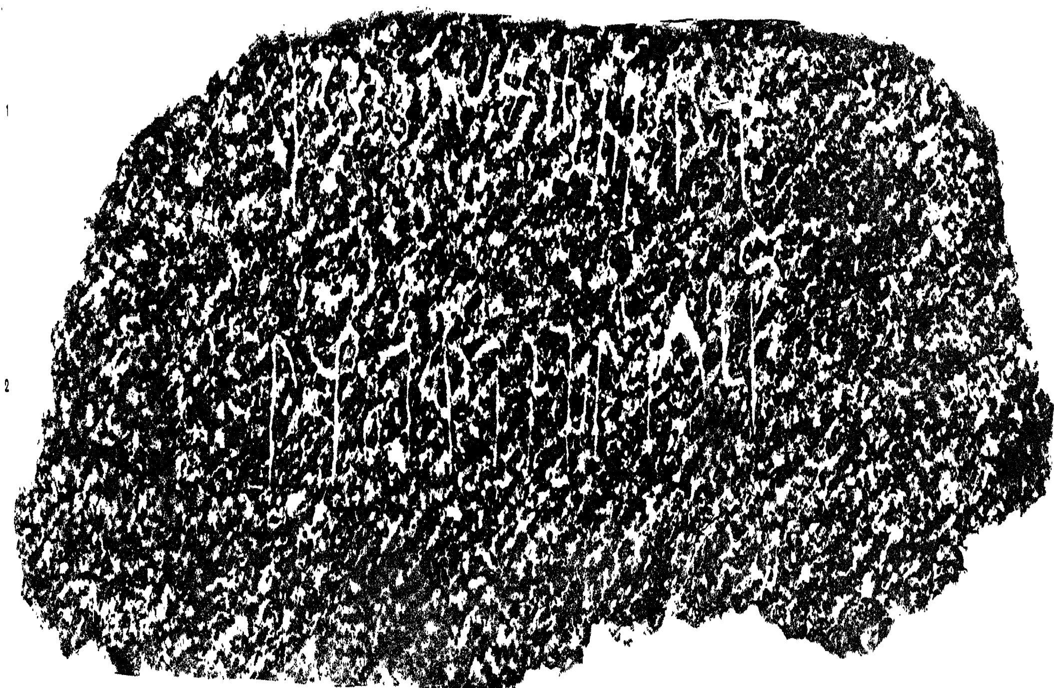
"In the year eighty-one, 81, (this) was done by Sahayata (and) Vaṣiśuga:" or "In the year eighty-one, 81 (this) was done with assistance by Vaṣiśuga."

I am not quite sure of the two words *Sahayatena* and *Vaṣiśugena*. They may also mean something also, but I have adopted Dr. Bloch's suggestion that both of them are proper names. *Kae* is equal to *Kṛtam* in Sanskrit. *Sahayatena* may also mean "by assistance (received from others). *Vaṣiśuga* is undoubtedly a proper name. I find in the Lahore Museum *Catalogue* that this inscription has been referred to in the *Report* of the explorations of the 10th Sappers under Captain Maxwell in 1882. If I am right in referring the Kuṣana dates to the Saka era, then the date of this inscription is 81+78=159 A. D.

Paja inscription of the year 111; Plate II.

II. — This inscription was discovered at Paja in Yusufzai and was presented by Major (now Sir H. A.) Deane to the Lahore Museum. The inscription has been incised on a big boulder and the inscribed surface is 4 feet by 1 foot. The characters of the inscription belong to the Kuṣana group of Kharoṣṭhi characters, the only archaic form being the dental *sa* in

Muchai inscription: the year 81.



SCALE ·30

Paja inscription: the year 111.

SCALE ·30

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

New Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from the Lahore Museum—(*contd.*).

which there is a small vertical line in prolongation of the tail which seems to be the later form of the Maurya *sa* in which the left side of the head of the later is connected by a straight line with the tail. This form of *sa* is also found on the Hastnagar pedastal inscription and also in No. I above, where it occurs only once. But in this inscription the archaic variety occurs side by side with the later or Kuṣana variety. The inscription is dated both in words and in numerical symbols in the year 111 (189-90 A. D.) on the 15th day of the month of Śravana (Śrāvaṇa) and records some deed, probably the erection of a building and the excavation of a well by Saṁgamitra, son of Ananda. The votive formula at the end of the second line proves that the donor was a Buddhist. The formula is *Mata pitae puyae savasatana hida-suhae.* If we compare with this the formula used in the Sarnāth inscription of Bhikṣu Bala, *Sarvasatvānāṁ hita sukhārtthaṁ,* we at once come to the above conclusion. This formula is not altogether absent from Jaina inscriptions and also occurs on some Jaina inscriptions from Mathura [62] though there it is rare. There is one word in this inscription which offers some difficulty. This is the second word in the 1st line, *ekada-śatimaye,* which is rather a curious form, evidently an *apabhraṁśa* of *Ekadaśādhika-śatamaye*. Fortunately the numerical symbols are quite distinct and verify the above conclusion. The word *Kue* occurs in the second line, and is undoubtedly the *apabhraṁśa* form of *kūpa, i. e.,* a well. The next word after *kue* is *katite,* which, as Dr. Bloch suggests, is the *apabhraṁśa* form of *kaititaṁ,* meaning cut or excavated. I do not know what this refers to. It may refer both to the excavation of a tank or *kuṇḍa* or to the quarrying of the block itself. The word *Saṁgamiṭra* is probably the Northern Prākrit form of *Saṅghamitra,* but it may also be *Saṅgamitra,* while *Aṇaṁda* is undoubtedly the *apabhraṁśa* form of *Ānanda.*

Text.

(1) Saṁvatsaraye ekadaśatimaye, I, C. XI, Śravanasa masasa di (va) se pacadase 10, 4, 1.

(2) Aṇaṁda putrena Saṁgamitrena kue katite mata pitae puyae sava satana hida suhae.

Notes.

(1) The top of the word *ku* in *kue* in the second line is a little curved.

(2) The symbol for one hundred is like that in the Kaldarra and Takht-i-Bahaī inscriptions.

(3) The last but one word *Divase* in the first line is incomplete, as the second letter *va* has been omitted, apparently through carelessness.

(4) The letters *ra* and *ta* are easily distinguishable, as the former has a short vertical line, while in the latter it is usually long. Compare the *ra* in *Samvatsaraye* and *ta* in *Mata pitae.*

(5) The letters are neatly incised, but the stone has suffered much from erosion, the last words of the second line having suffered most.

Translation.

"In the year one hundred and eleven, 111, on the fifteenth, 15, day of the month of Śravana (Śrāvaṇa), this well was excavated by Saṁgamitra, the son of Ānanda, in honour of his father and mother (and) and for the well-being and happiness of all beings."

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[62] *E. I.*, Vol. 2, p. 203, No. XVIII.

New Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from the Lahore Museum—(concld.).

Shakardarra inscription of the year 40; Plate I (see opposite page 58).

III. — This inscription was discovered in an old well in Shakardarra near Campbellpur, and was presented by F. S. Talbot, C. S., to the Lahore Museum (No. I, 142). It is a very small inscription, being equal in size to the Mount Bauj inscription of the year 200. It is dated in the year 40 on the twentieth day of Prauṣṭhapada, and consequently falls within the reign of Kaniṣka. The name of the month is *Poṭhavada* and not *Proṭhavaḷa* as Dr. Vogel observes, the right hand stroke of the subscript *ra* being absent at the end of the left vertical.[63] I have been able to understand only the two first two lines of the inscription, the rest containing a strong mixture of some foreign dialect and consequently being unintelligible to me. My reading of the last two lines is consequently tentative and requires and admits of considerable improvement. At the end of the 4th line a horse and a pear or guava has been drawn on the stone, most probably by the sculptor himself.

Text.

(1) Saṁ XX, XX, Poṭhavadasa masasa divas(e).

(2) Viśamiti, 20 atra divasa *kale* -*

(3) *Ekameka Vokhada otro niva-nasa.*

(4) . . . . Danamukho.

The words in italics are uncertain. In the second line I have read the last but one word *kale*, because the first letter is almost like the *ka* in the Suë-Vihar copperplate. The second letter *le* is certain. The rest of the characters of the inscription belong to the fourth variety of Dr. Bühler's classification of Kharoṣṭhi. No full translation of the inscription is possible at present, and so I have attempted the two first two lines only.

Translation.

"In the year 40 on the 20th day of the month of Proṭhavaḷa (Prauṣṭhapada) on the above mentioned day and year . . . ."

Kaldarra inscription of the year 113; Plate III.

IV. — This inscription was discovered by Dr. Waddell in the Kaldarra or Kaladara Nadi near Dargai in the North-West Frontier provinces and was presented to the Lahore Museum by Major (now Sir H. A.) Deane. It has been edited before by Dr. Bühler in a short note to the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. X, p. 55, and by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1899, Part I, p. 533.

Text.

(1) Datiaputrena Thaidorena puka

(2) rani kaṛavita savva sapana puyae

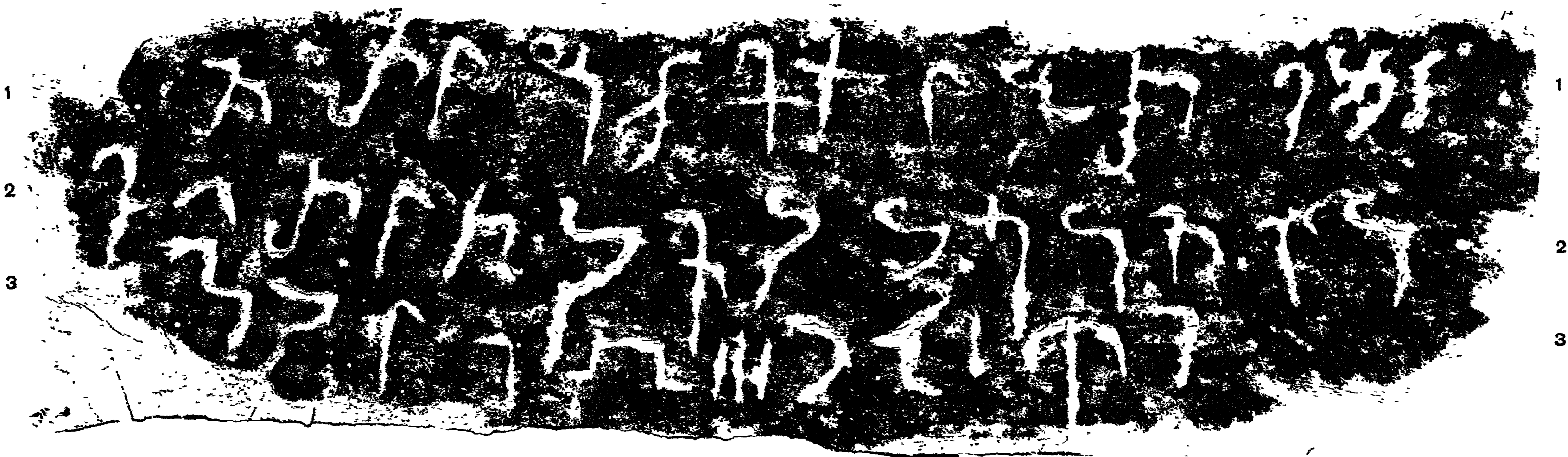
(3) Vaṣa I, C, X, III, Śravanasa 20.

Translation.

"By the son of Dati, Thaidora, a tank was caused to be excavated for the worship of all snakes (in) the year 113 on the 20th (day) of (the month of) Śravaṇa."

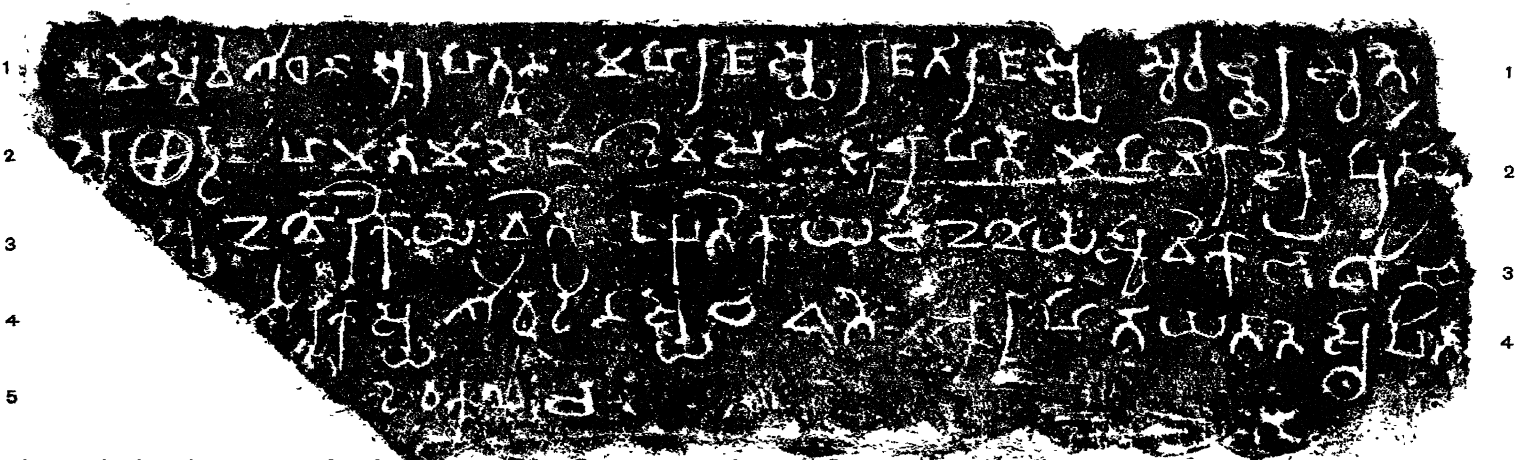
[63] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 251.

Kaldarra inscription: the year 113.



SCALE ·30

Mathura inscription: the year 299.



APPENDIX II.

List of dated Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.

No.	Year.	Era.	Reference.	Locality.	REMARKS.
1	78	Unknown, probably founded by Vonones in B. C. 100.	*E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 54, and plate.	Shadheri (Taxila).	This is in the Library of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland.
2	318	Maurya ...	*J. A.*, 9e série, tom. 13, 1899, Part 1, p. 528, et la planche, and *Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-4, pp. 251—53, plate lxx, fig. 4.	Loriyan Tangai (Svat Valley).	Indian Museum.
3	384	" ...	*I. A.*, Vol. XX, p. 394.	Hashtnagar (near Rajar in the Panjāb).	British Museum.
4	11	Śaka ...	*J. A.*, 8e série, tom. 15, 1890, Part 1, p. 136, et la planche.	Zeda	Lahore Museum, No. I, 2.
5	11	" ...	*I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 324, and Vol. XI, p. 128.	Suē-Vihar (Bahawalpore Estate).	Library of the A. S. of Bengal.
6	18	" ..	*J. A.*, 9e série, tom. 7, p. 1, planches 1 et 2.	Manikyala (Mankialla Station, near Rawalpindi, N.-W. Ry.).	Paris, probably in the Bibliothēque nationale. A worthless cast is in the Indian Museum.
7	40	" ...	Edited in this paper by the author.	Shakardarrah, near Campbellpore.	Lahore Museum, No. I, 142.
8	41	"	" " ...	Ara, near Baghonilab.	" " No. I, 133.
9	51	" ...	*J. R. A. S.* (Old series), Vol. XX, p. 255, plate x., and *J. A. S. B.*, 1861, p. 337; and plate.	Wardak, near Kabul.	British Museum.

List of dated Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions—(*concld.*).

No.	Year.	Era.	Reference.	Locality.	REMARKS.
10	61	Saka ..	*A. S. R.*, Vol. V, p. 58, plate xvi, No. 2.	Jhind on the Indus.	Lost.
11	68	,, ..	*J. A.*, 8e série, tom. 15, 1890, Part 1, p. 130, et la planche.	Fatehjang, near Chasa.	Lahore Museum, No. I, 3.
12	81	,, ...	Edited in this paper by the author.	Muchai in Yusufzai.	,, ,, No. I, 46.
13	102	,, ...	*J. A.*, 9e serie, tom 4, 1894, Part 2, p. 514, et la planche v, No. 35.	Mount Bauj ...	,, ,, No. I, 42.
14	103	,, ...	*J. A.*, 8e série, tom. 15, 1890, Part 1, p. 119, et la planche.	Takht-i-Bahai (now a station on the Nowshera-Darghai Section of the N.-W. Ry.).	,, ,, No. I, 1.
15	111	,, ..	Edited by the author in this paper.	Pāja in Yusufzai.	,, ,, No. I, 47.
16	113	,, ...	*J. A.*, 9e série, tom. 13, p. 533, et la planche; re-edited by the author in this paper.	Kaldarra, near Dargh	,, ,, No. I, 77.
17	122	,, ...	*A. S. R.*, Vol. V, p. 16, and plate xvi, no. 4.	Panjtar on the Indus.	Lost.
18	179	,, ..	*J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 1, and *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 255, plates lxix and lxx, No. 9.	Skarradheri ...	Lahore Museum.
19	200	,, ...	*J. A.*, 9e série, tom. 4, 1894, Part 2, p. 510, planche v, No. 34.	Dewai in Yusufzai	,, ,, No. I, 44.

APPENDIX III.

Synchronistic table of the Scythian period.

Year.	Events.
B. C. 231	Death of Aśôka. Dismemberment of the Maurya Empire.
B. C. 225	Loss of the Trans-Indus Provinces and the Panjāb.
B. C. 184	Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya King, killed. Acc. of Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga.
B. C. 165	Defeat of the Yue-chi by the Hiung-Nu ; war between Eukratides and Demetrius.
B. C. 165	Plato, the Bactrian king and rival of Eukratides.
B. C. 163	Nan-teou-mi, the Chief of the Wu-Sun, defeated and slain by the Yue-chi.
B. C. 160	Occupation of the territory of the Se by the Yue-chi. Retirement of the Se southwards into Kipin (Kapiśā).
B. C. 150	Heliokles succeeds Eukratides in Bactria. The Yue-chi expelled from the land of the Se by Kwen-Mo, the young Wu-Sun Chief.
B. C. 148	Agnimitra the Sunga, Emperor of Northern India.
B. C. 145	Extinction of the Greek dynasty to the North of Paroponisos.
B. C. 140	The Yue-chi occupation of Bactria. Extinction of Aryan civilisation to the North of the Hindu Kush. Indian Expedition of Menander.
B. C. 136	Death of Mithridates the Great of Parthia and acc. of Phraates II.
B. C. 135	Chang-kien despatched by the Chinese Emperor Wuti on a mission to the Yue-chi. Strato I, King of the Panjāb.
B. C. 130	Scythian invasion of Parthia.
B. C. 127	Death of Phraates II and acc. of Artabanos II. Repeated invasions of the Scythians.
B. C. 125	Chang-kien's arrival in Bactria.
B. C. 124	Death of Artabanos II, in a fight with the Scythians. Acc. of Mithridates II.
B. C. 122	Return of Chang-kien to China.

Synchronistic table of the Scythian period—(*contd.*).

Year.	Events.
B. C. 120	Strato II, King of the Panjāb.
B. C. 114	Death of Chang-kien.
B. C. 100	Extinction of the supreme power of the Greek princes in the East. Vonones, Emperor, of Seistan, Afghanistān, and the Panjāb. Spalahores, Spalagadames, and Azas subordinate to Vonones, and Bhūmaka, the Khaharāta Satrap in Western India. Formation of the five Yue-chi principalities.
B. C. 89	Death of Mithridates II.
B. C. 75	Spalirises, son of Spalahores. Acc. of Spalagadames and Azas subordinate to Spalirises; Nahapāna Satrap of Western India.
B. C. 72	Destruction of the Suṅga Empire. Vāsudeva Kāṇva's acc. to the throne of.
B. C. 65	Murder of a Chinese Officer by a King of Kipin in the reign of the Emperor Siuenti (B. C. 73—49). Syria made a Roman province.
B. C. 60	Disruption of the Empire of the earlier Scythians. Azas declares himself independent in the provinces to the East of Khyber. Azilises and Aspavarma subordinate to Azas. Hagāma and Hagāmāsa, Satraps of Mathurā; Nahapāna semi-independent in Western India.
B. C. 53	Defeat of Crassus at Carrhae.
B. C. 49	Yue-chi conquest of Kipin under Heraüs (Yin-mo-fu).
B. C. 45	Azilises, the king of the Panjāb and Mathurā. Azas II subordinate; Manigul, Satrap of Taxila.
B. C. 44	Assassination of Julius Cæsar.
B. C. 42	Battle of Philippi.
B. C. 40	Refusal of the Chinese Emperor Yuen-ti (B. C. 48—33) to resent the insult offered to his envoy by Yiu-mo-fu, King of Kipin. Rājūvula, Satrap of Mathurā; Jihunia, Satrap of Taxila.
B. C. 39	Syria recovered from the Parthians by Ventidius.
B. C. 35	Liaka, Satrap of Taxila. Azas II, nominal King of the Panjāb.
B. C. 7-33	Parthian Expedition of Mark Antony.

Synchronistic table of the Scythian period—(*contd.*).

Year.	Events.
B. C. 31	Battle of Actium.
B. C. 30	Śoḍāsa, Satrap of Mathurā. Roman conquest of Egypt.
B. C. 28	Mathurā inscription of the year 72 of an unknown era, probably founded by Vonones, of the reign of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.
B. C. 27	Extinction of the Kānva dynasty by the Andhras in Northern India.
B. C. 25	Refusal of the Chinese Emperor Ching-ti to acknowledge an embassy from the King of Kipin. Maues, Moa, or Moga succeeds Azas II in the nominal sovereignty of the Panjāb. Kharahostes, son of Artaus, Satrap of some province.
B. C. 22	Taxila copperplate inscription of Patika of the year 78 in the reign of the King Moga.
B. C. 20	Recovery of the standards of Crassus by Augustus during a visit to Syria. A diplomatic success for Rome.
B. C. 2	The Chinese graduate King Hien or King-lu receives Buddhist books from a king of the Yue-chi. Death of Phraates IV of Parthia.
A. D. 6	Loriyan Tāngāi image inscription of the Maurya year 318.
A. D. 8	Temporary cessation of intercourse between China and the West.
A. D. 14	Death of Augustus. Tiberius, the Emperor of Rome.
A. D. 15	Consolidation of the five Yue-chi principalities into the Kuṣana Empire under Kadphises I.
A. D. 20	Kadphises I conquers Kabul.
A. D. 24	First Han dynasty of China ended.
A. D. 36-37	War between Artabanus III of Parthia and Tiberius.
A. D. 38	Caius (Caligula), the Emperor of Rome. Peace with Parthia.
A. D. 40	Death of Artabanus III.
A. D. 41	Claudius, the Emperor of Rome.

Synchronistic table of the Scythian period—(*contd.*).

Year.	Events.
A. D. 51	Death of Gotarzes of Parthia. Rock-sculptures of Gotarzes.
A. D. 52	Acc. of Volagases I.
A. D. 54	Nero, the Roman Emperor.
A. D. 55	Death of Kadphises I. Acc. of Wema-Kadphises.
A. D. 60	Rome recovers Armenia. Kadphises II conquers North India up to Mathurā.
A. D. 67	Buddhist books brought to China by order of the Emperor Ming-ti.
A. D. 68-69	Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the Roman Emperors.
A. D. 70	Vespasian, the Roman Emperor. War between Parthia and Rome for Armenia.
A. D. 76	Hashtnagar image inscription. Maurya year 384.
A. D. 78	Death of Kadphises II. Acc. of Kaniṣka. Establishment of the Śaka era. Death of Volagases I. Kharapallāna, the Satrap of Mathurā.
A. D. 79	Titus, the Roman Emperor. Kaniṣka conquers Northern India as far as Benares.
A. D. 81	Domitian, the Roman Emperor. Sārnath inscription of Traipiṭakopādhyāya Bala and Bhikṣu Puṣyavuddhi. Vanaspara, Satrap of Benares.
A. D. 82	Mathurā inscription of the year 4. Śrāvasti image inscription of Bala and Puṣyavuddhi.
A. D. 85	Eastern expedition. Attack on Pāṭaliputra and Conquest of Magadha.
A. D. 88	Strained relations with China.
A. D. 89	Viceroy Sie crosses the Sung-lin to punish the Chinese. Suë-Vihar and Zeda inscriptions of the year 11.
A. D. 90	Kushān army defeated by Panchao.
A. D. 91	Huviṣka left in charge of the Indian provinces with full imperial titles. Kaniṣka crosses the Indus and takes the field in person.

Synchronistic table of the Scythian period.—(*contd.*).

Year.	Events.
A. D. 96	Veśpaśi, the Satrap of Taxila. Manikyala inscription of the year 18. Nerva, the Roman Emperor.
A. D. 98	Loss of all provinces to the North of Hindu Kush. The Emperor Trajan.
A. D. 100	Death of Tiridates of Parthia. Internal troubles in Parthia.
A. D. 102	Death of Panchao.
A. D. 105	Reconquest of Bactria.
A. D. 110	Conquest of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan.
A. D. 111	Mathurā inscription of the year 33 of the reign of Huviṣka.
A. D. 115	Fourth Buddhist Council in the Kuṇḍala-Vana-Vihāra in Kāśmīra (?)
A. D. 115	Parthian Expedition of Trajan.
A. D. 116	Trajan conquers Mesopotamia.
A. D. 117	Hadrian, the Roman Emperor.
A. D. 118	Aśvaghoṣha, a subordinate King of Benares. Aśôka pillar inscription of the year 40.
A. D. 118	Sakardarra inscription of the year 40.
A. D. 119	The Ara inscription of the year 41.
A. D. 123	Death of Kaniṣka. Acc. of Huviṣka. Caṣṭana, the Satrap of Ajmere.
A. D. 138	Antoninus Pius, the Roman Emperor. Conquest of Mālwā. Caṣṭana becomes Mahākṣatrapa of Ajmere. Jayadāma, the Satrap of Ujjayini. Latest known date of Huviṣka.
A. D. 140	Death of Huviṣka. Acc. of Vāsudeva.
A. D. 146	The Sāñci inscription of the year 68.
A. D. 148	Acc. of Volagases III. Rudradāma himself assumes the title of Mahākṣatrapa.

Synchronistic table of the Scythian period—(*contd.*).

Year.	Events.
A.D. 150	Junāgaḍh inscription of the year 72. Conquest of Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Cutch.
A.D. 155	Acc. of Gondophernes in Seistan.
A.D. 161	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the Roman Emperor. Parthian attack on Afghanistan.
A.D. 165	End of the Roman War with Parthia. Third stage of Parthian decline.
A.D. 170	Parthian Conquest of the Panjāb. Dāmazaḍa, son of Rudradāma, becomes Satrap of Western India.
A.D. 175	Eastern Campaign of Marcus Aurelius. Jīvadāma, son of Dāmazaḍa, Satrap of Western India.
A.D. 176	Latest known date of Vāsudeva.
A.D. 180	Commodus, the Roman Emperor.
A.D. 181	Gunda inscription of the Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṃha, son of Rudradāma, the year 103.
A.D. 181	Takht-i-Bahaī inscription of Gondophernes.
A.D. 189	The Pājā inscription of the year 111.
A.D. 191	The Kaldarra inscription of Theodorus. Death of Volagases III. Beginning of the fall of the Parthian Empire.
A.D. 198	Re-occupation of the Panjāb and Afghanistan by the successor of Vāsudeva.
A.D. 200	Muliasar inscription of the Mahāksatrapa Rudrasena, son of Rudrasiṃha, the year 122. The Panjtār inscription of the Kuṣāna prince, who was probably the successor of Vāsudeva in Mathurā.
A.D. 211	Caracalla, the Roman Emperor.
A.D. 213	Mathurā inscription of the year 135.
A.D. 222	Saṅghadāma, son of Rudrasiṃha, becomes Satrap of Western India. Alexander Severus, the Roman Emperor.
A.D. 226	Ardeshir-babekan found the Sāssanian Empire in Persia. Dāmasena, son of Rudrasiṃha, Satrap of Western India.
A.D. 257	The Skarradheri image inscription, the year 179.
A.D. 260	Sapor I, King of Persia, defeats Valerian.
A.D. 278	Mount Bauj inscription of the year 200. Extinction of the Kharoṣṭhi script in India.
A.D. 308	Mathurā inscription of the year 230.
A.D. 310	Sapor II, the King of Persia.
A.D. 320	Accension of Candra Gupta I, and establishment of the Gupta era.
A.D. 330	Samudra Gupta, the Emperor of India.
A.D. 350	Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta.

Synchronistic table of the Scythian period—(*concld.*).

Year.	Events.
A. D. 377	Mathurā inscription of the Gupta year 57.
A. D. 384	Bodh Gayā image inscription of the Gupta year 64. Tukamala, a subordinate king of Bihār.
A. D. 400	Extinction of the remnants of Kuṣāna power to the East of the Indus.
A. D. 414	Mathurā inscription of the Gupta year 114.

[**Postscriptum.** — The above paper was written in November, 1906. Many new facts have been brought to light during this interval. Dr. Vogel informs me that according to Dr. Kielhorn the true date of the Baijnath Praśasti is Śaka 1126. But this in no way affects my arguments. He has since discovered earlier inscriptions dated according to the Loka-Kāla but none of them are earlier than the 10th century A. D.

Dr. Fleet has been kind enough to send me the reprints of the papers in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. But I am afraid I cannot agree with him in the reading of the date of the Skārā-dheri image inscription. His notes on the Palæography of Coins have opened up a subject in which practically nothing has been done and so require prolonged consideration.

The publication of Mr. F. W. Thomas's paper on the Mathurā Lion pillar capital inscriptions has removed a long felt want. It remains to be seen whether some Continental scholars shall take up the Wardak Bimaran and Mankiala inscriptions or not ?—R. D. BANERJI.]

NOTES ON ANCIENT ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS AND TITLES IN THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(Concluded from Vol. XXXVI, p. 351.)

IN the previous article on this subject it was shown how completely the ancient terms and titles connected with administration in the State of Chamba had fallen into disuse, and how an entirely new set of terms had come into use in modern times. The new terms are few in number, illustrating the simplicity of the more recent administrative system; and their meanings disclose how primitive, so to speak, the system has become.

An investigation into the terms and titles in use in other Hill States in the Pañjâb gives equally meagre results, and illustrates the rough-and-ready methods of their administration. Hardly an ancient record exists, the most important, if not the oldest, being a **Chronicle of the Maṇḍî State,** written in Tâṅkrî, from which the following **terms** are culled[22] : —

अनीम्चारी *Anímchárí*, a post held by the Kaṅwar (said to be equivalent to private secretary).

अंकर *Ankar*, a revenue in kind.

बलिछ् *Balichh*, income-tax.

बरतो *Bartô*, *muâfî*, a revenue-free grant.

डांगू *Dângû*, a gate-keeper.

धारप्तु *Dharaptu*, an assistant clerk.

गोलख *Golakh*, a fund out of which alms were given.

हरियाग *Hariyâga*, an allowance for the Râjâ's kitchen.

खारिन् *Khârin*, a tester of grain.

पठियार *Paṭhiyâru*, equivalent to *tawîldâr*, receiver.

सान्था *Sânthâ*, *sanad*, a deed of grant.

22 The terms used in this *Chronicle* throw little light on the military organisation of the State. *Anî* is defined as a 'band of soldiers' : *beṛh* as a refuge. These terms appear to survive in place-names. On the other hand, words like *maslât* (intrigue against the State), *rund* and *âki* (rebel), *banâ-dhâṛ* (bloodshed and plunder), *raiâ* (an indecisive fight), and *bhajnâl* (flight to avoid plunder by an invader) point to constant disorders.

In the adjacent **State of Kullû,** the principal natural tracts or *parganâs* were divided into *wazîrîs*, each under a *wazîr*, as a collector of revenue subordinate to the *chabûtra wazîr*, or chief minister. The title of *wazîr* is clearly a modern importation from the Muhammadan system, but the remaining terms appear to be older. Each *wazîrî* was divided into *koṭhîs* under *pâlsrâs*. The *koṭhî* was a granary into which revenue in kind was paid. Each *koṭhî* contained from 2 to 5 *phâṭîs* and each *phâṭî* comprised from 1 to 20 hamlets (*grâoṅ*). Besides the *pâlsrâ* each *koṭhî* had its *koṭhiâlâ* or treasurer: its *panjaulî*, who collected supplies, milk, curds, wood, etc., for the royal kitchen: its *kâit* or accountant (not by caste a Kâyastha): its *jatâli*, a messenger and watchman: and its *seok* (*sewak*) who managed the corvée or *bégâr*. In the Highlands (Sarâj) of Kullû the *seok* was called *bhatangrû*. The commandants of the *miṣl* (an Arabic term probably borrowed from the Sikhs) or militia of the *koṭhîs* were called *négîs*, and those in command of hill forts, *gaṛhiâ négîs*.

Sir James Lyall gave an interesting account of the **old administrative system in Kullû** in his *Settlement Report* on that tract (1875). He describes the people as divided into two classes, those liable to military service, and *dâghîs*, *i.e.*, those who rendered only menial service. The men of the former class had a standard holding, called *jeolâ*, which may be put at 12 *bhârs*[23], in area, of land, half of which was held rent-free in lieu of service and called *bartojeolâ*, the rest being styled *hâṅsilî* or revenue-paying land. Occasionally a family holding one *jeolâ* furnished two men and so got two *bartos*, *i.e.*, the whole *jeolâ* free; and it might acquire as many *hâṅsilî*[24] *jeolâs* as it could, at least in theory. A *dâghî's* holding was called *chheti*[25] and ranged from 3 to 5 *bhârs* of land, held rent-free. Traditionally the *jeolâbandî*, or distribution into *jeolâs*, was ascribed to one of the Râjâs (probably Jagat Singh), who had a **dhol bahî or doomsday book** prepared. Annual registers of title (*chik bahî*) were also in use. In these records, the *jeolâs* were classed as *gaṛhîâ* (service in a fort), *châkâ* (service in cantonments), *hâzrîkâ* (personal attendance on the *râjâ*) and *tarpagar* (service as a constable); while the men liable to military service of different kinds were formed into *miṣls* (regiments) under *négîs*. All the *jeolâs* in the same *koṭhî*, or some part of a *koṭhî*, were originally considered equal in value and assessed alike, but some of exceptionally inferior land were known as *atkârkî jeolâs* and only paid a cash assessment. On an average in a ***hâṅsilî jeolâ*** of 6 *bhârs*, 9 items were paid in kind and 3 in cash, *viz.*, grain (wheat or barley); a ***rasoî kârû*** or kitchen tax of a sheep, a goat, or a rupee; oil; *ghî*; rape; pulse; *paitan* at a rupee a year; *rassâm* at 3 annas; and *bharan* at 2 annas. But the miscellaneous items varied in different *wazîrîs*, *e.g.*, in Sarâj *kathâ* and *jog*, for religious ceremonies, were taken, as well as contributions for the Raghunâth temple. Honey was taken in some places, the principle being to take a little of every thing.[26]

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[23] The *bhâr* was a seed measure and upon it was founded the ancient measure of lands, if unirrigated, and less usually if irrigated. In Upper Kullû the latter land was divided into *kânsîs*, each paying a *kar* or grain-rent, which varied according to its quality, *e.g.*, on some it was *châhbârâ*, 6-fold, on others *chaubârû*, 4-fold — the quantity of seed required to sow it. The measures in use were —

1	*pâtha*	= 1 *ser* 3 *chitâks*, Indian measure.		
2	*pâthas*	= 1 *dhânsî*.		
4	,,	= 2 *dhânsîs*	= 1 *kânsî*.	
8	,,	= 2 *kânsîs*	= 1 *dhonsî*.	
12	,,	= 3 *kânsîs*	= 1 *trensî*.	
16	,,	= 4 *kânsîs*	= { 1 *junî*. 1 *bhâr*.	
20	,,	= 1 *lâkh*		only used in the Sarâj and Lâg *wazîrîs*.
20	*bhârs*	= 1 *khâr*		
100	*khârs*	= 1 *kârsâ*		

[24] *Hâṅsilî* and *hâzrîkâ* are, of course, words of Urdû origin.

[25] *Chheti* is defined in Diack's *Kulûî Dialect of Hindî* as 'a married woman's private property': *cf.* also *North Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. III, § 362.

[26] The dues levied also appear to illustrate another important principle of the old native administrations, *viz.*, to realise a separate tax for each and every purpose. Thus, the *kathâ* and *jog* were levied as a special contribution for religious purposes. A study of the numerous cesses levied in the Panjab Hill States will show to what an extreme this principle was carried.

The following is a list of the **State officials** in the **Simla Hill States**[27] :—

Mîân, the chief's next brother, holding the appointment of inspector and examiner in general.

Wazîr, minister.[28]

Mautâ or *mahtâ*, an officer of a *parganâ*, corresponding to the *pâlsrâ*, and having under him as his subordinates :—

A *krâuk* or *karâwak* (from *kârâ*, revenue, and *ughâwṇû*, to collect), whose duty it is to collect the revenue and hand it over to the *mautâ* for payment into the State treasury.

Gheṅghnâ (from *ghî*, clarified butter, and *ughâwṇû*, to collect), whose duty it is to collect the revenue in *ghî* imposed on certain grass-lands.

Pyâdâ (from Hindî *piâdâ*), a peon, whose duty is to do what the *mautâ* and *krâuk* order him.

Blair, an inferior *kârdâr*, termed *halmandî* in the upper hills.

Bhḍârî (from Hindî *bhandârî*), the officer in charge of the granary, corresponding to *koṭhârî* : from *bhḍâr* (Hindî *bhanḍâr*), granary.

In the **Simla Hill States**, the following **terms** are, or were, in use : —

Barn, an oath[29] taken on the Chief of the State, and therefore more binding than the *chûk*, *ṭhâl*, or *darohi*, *q. v.*: (used in the Rorhû tahsîl of Bashahr State).

The *barn* can only be cancelled by giving the chief a little gold, as well as a rupee (Kumhârsain). Paṇḍit Tîka Râm Joshî, late Secretary to the last Râjâ of Bashahr, notes, however, that there is no tradition of the *barn* in the Simla Hills.

Chûk,[30] an oath taken on an official of the State: (used in the State of Kumhârsain).

Chichhâr, a collector of the grain, *ghî*, etc., levied as revenue, appointed by the State (Kumhârsain).

Darohi,[31] an oath on a State official (Kumhârsain).

Dîb (Sanskṛit *divya*, an oath or ordeal). Ordeals were formerly used in cases which the State officials could not determine. One, called *garm-dîb*, consisted in placing a coin in a pan full of boiling oil and requiring the party swearing to take it out without burning his hand. Another, called *thaṅḍâ-dîb*, was less severe. Two balls of flour were made, one containing a little gold, the other a little silver. These were put in a jar full of water, and a boy made to take them out and give one to each party : he who got the *silver* won.

Halmandî, "mate," a village headman or his deputy (Kumhârsain).

Koṭhâla,[32] a watchman or keeper of the State granary (Kumhârsain).

Kshokrâ, a word used on the occasion of a *dîb*, in which the parties pay one rupee each, in cash to the chief as a guarantee that so much will be paid by the man who is proved in the wrong.

Maṅgnâr,[33] a village headman (Kumhârsain). *Cf. mâṅgnî*, demand for tribute in Maṇḍî.

27 According to Paṇḍit Tîka Râm Joshî, the following are the officials of a village *deota* or godling in these States :— *Dîṅwâṅ*, the person who speaks on behalf of a deity, and in whose soul the deity is supposed to play (*khelnâ*), is held in great respect by all persons. He must keep himself clean and pure three days before he enters the temple. When 'playing' his words are believed to be those of the deity itself. He has under him three officials, *viz.*, a *bhḍârî*, a *krâuk*, and a *pyâdâ*, *i. e.*, treasurer, collector, and peon.

28 *Wazîr* is clearly a modern term, but it is widely used throughout Chamba, Maṇḍî, Kullû, and the Simla Hill States, as are its derivatives *wazîrî* and *wizârat*. *Wazîr* does not appear to correspond at all to *mahta*, nor does *wazîrî* equal *parganâ*. In Kanâwar the term for *wazîr* is *bisṭ* (feminine *bisṭanî*), and a *parganâ* is *khu-nang*.

29 All these oaths (*barn*, *chûk*, etc.) can also be taken on a god, in which case the parties go to the temple and offer him a rupee, with a goat as a sacrifice.

30 Possibly represents H. *chûknâ*, to err, miss (Platts, *s. v.*), also said to mean "to proceed against."

31 From Sanskṛit *droha*, hostile action.

32 From *koṭhâ*, granary.

33 From *maṅgnâ*, to demand, beg.

Mawâî. The term *mawâî* or *moî*, in the hill dialect, means a powerful and independent man, who has no chief and pays no revenue. The word *mawâ* (a free grant of land) is from the same root. Generally, the Jaṭs of the plains, who first invaded these hills and settled in them. were called *mawâîs*; and afterwards other castes, who followed their example and combined with them in their plots, came to be called *mawâî.* Their descendants cannot now be traced. In Kuthâr State, Kâshî Râm, the last of the *mawâîs* died about 1902 without issue. He lived in Kuthârser, a village in the Phetâ *parganâ.* There is an old tradition that Brahman *mawâis* held possession of Bhajrî, a village in *parganâ* Ghar. The Badohî Kanets of Badoh invited them in a *jag* and gave them poison in their food. All died except a pregnant woman, who fortunately was not present at the *jag*, and she gave birth to a son, whose descendants are the Bhagorâl (belonging to Bhagrî) Brâhmans of Mailog State. The images (called *newâs*) of the Brâhmans, who were poisoned, are still worshipped in Badoh, and a *jag* is held every third or fourth year in their memory, half its cost being defrayed by the State.[34]

Pâlsrâ, the head of a *parganâ*[35] (Kumhârsain).

Ṭhâl,[36] if a dispute arise concerning land, a tree, or a house, an oath (called *ṭhal*) is taken on the Chief of the State. If the person on whom it is imposed desires to be released from it, he must pay a rupee to the Chief (Kumhârsain).

PERSIAN AFFINITIES OF THE LICCHAVIS.

BY PROFESSOR SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSANA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

IN connection with Mr. Vincent A. Smith's very interesting article, **Tibetan Affinities of the Licchavis,** published *ante*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 233—236, I beg to offer a few observations for consideration. In the article referred to an attempt has been made to establish the **theory that the Licchavis were a Tibetan tribe,** which settled in the plains during pre-historic times. While admitting the kinship of the Licchavis with the early Tibetan Kings, I beg to differ from Mr. V. A. Smith in his main **theory as to the origin of the Licchavis.** In my humble opinion **the Licchavis were a Persian tribe, whose original home was Nisibis,** which they left for India and Tibet in the 6th century B. C. and 4th century B. C., respectively.

According to Ptolemy,[1] Arrian,[2] Strabo,[3] and other classical writers, **Nisibis** was a most notable town in Aria to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. Wilson[4] identifies it with the modern town of **Nissa (off Herat)** on the north of the Elburz Mountains between Asterabad and Meshd. Vines[5] grew here abundantly and it is traditionally known to have been the birthplace of the wine-god Dionysos. M. de St. Martin[6] observes that Nisibis must have been of Median or Persian foundation, for its name is purely Iranian and figures in the cosmogonic geography of the *Zend Avesta*, and this observation tallies well with the account of Arrian, who, in his *Indika*,[7] distinctly says that the Nysaioi (the inhabitants of Nysa or Nisibis) were not an Indian[8]

[34] [*Mâwi*, a term for the early inhabitants of these hills. Their descendants are still found there. — Note by Paṇḍit Tîkâ Râm Joshî.]

[35] In parts of the Simla Hills the *parganâs* are divided into *ghor's*, a word not precisely defined.

[36] *Ṭhâlṇâ*, in Pahârî, means to prohibit. In Jubbal the *ṭhâl* is explained to be virtually the same as the *darohi*, thus: — When a man wanted to prevent any one from doing a wrongful act he would say 'let the *darohi* or *ṭhâl* of the Rânâ be upon you if you do it.' And then the man could not do the act until he had paid the Rânâ a rupee for 'opening the *thâl.*' The latter term might perhaps be translated 'ban.'

[1] McCrindle's *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 308 and 328.

[2] McCrindle's *Ancient India Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 179.

[3] McCrindle's *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 93.

[4], [5], [6], [7] McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 179-180.

[8] It is not definitely known whether this Nisibis is in any way connected with the famous city of that name in Mesopotamia (on the borders of Armenia) which rose to importance during the Assyrian period, continued under the Seleucidæ and became the residence of the Kings of Armenia from 149 B.C. to 14 A. D., being afterwards conquered by the Romans. It is, however, probable that while Cyrus, the King of Persia (559 B. C. — 530 B.C.), was extending his sway up to Chorasmia (modern Khiva) and Sogdiana (modern Samarkand and Bokhara), a colony from Nisibis in Mesopotamia was planted in the North of Aria (off Herat) which, too, thenceforth bore the name of Nisibis (vide *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Volumes XVII and XVIII, Articles *Nisibis* and *Persia*.)

race. In fact, Nisibis was a part of Persia. It appears to me very probable that while about 515 B. C. Darius,[9] the King of Persia, sent an expedition to India, or rather caused the Indus to be explored from the land of the Pakhtu (Afghans) to its mouth, some of his Persian subjects in Nisibis (off Herat) immigrated to India, and having found the Panjab over populated by the orthodox Brahmans, came down as far as Magadha (Behar) which was at that time largely inhabited by **Vrātyas**[10] or outcaste people.

The earliest reference to the people of Nisibis in Indian writings occurs in the famous Brahmanic Sanskrit work, the *Manusamhitā* (Chapter X, verse 12), in which they have been designated as **Nicchibi**, which is, no doubt, an Indian form of the Persian word **Nisibis.** Manu describes the Nicchibis as **Vrātya-kṣatriyas,** or an outcaste royal race, and names them along with Khasa, Karaṇa, and others. In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Chapter 139, verses 33—65, **Nikṣubhā** is described as a daughter of the sage Rijiśvā of the Mihira Gotra or Solar clan, and under the name of Hāvanī as married to Sūrya, the Sun-god. I imagine that Nikṣubhā represents the name of a Persian girl of Nisibis, who worshipped the sun-god, like other members of her race.

In the Indian Pali works they have been called **Licchavi or Licchivi,** which is only a softened form of Nicchibi or Nisibis, and have been mentioned as living in a large number in Vaisāli (in Magadha). That in the 5th century B. C. the Licchavis were not yet fully established in India, is evident from the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Chapter I, in which Ajātaśatru, the King of Magadha, is found to have been making plans for their expulsion from his kingdom. But the excellent horse-carriages and magnificent variegated dresses of the Licchavi youths and courtezan, Ambapāli, described in Chapter II of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, lead us to suppose that they must have descended from a civilized race. By the first half of the 4th century A. D. the Licchavis became very powerful in India and Nepal. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta (*vide* Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 16) we find that a Licchavi princess named Kumāra Devī was married to Chandra Gupta I about 319 A. D. "That the Licchavis were then at least of equal rank and power with the early Guptas, is shown by the pride in this alliance manifested by the latter.'' Jayadeva I, the first historical member of the Licchavi tribe, reigned in Nepal A. D. 330—355 (*vide* Fleet, p. 135). In the Nepalese records, such as the *Vaṁśāvalī*, the Licchavis have been allotted to the Sūrya Vaṁśa or Solar race. As late as about 700 A. D. there reigned in the east in Vārendra (North-eastern Bengal) a king named Siṁha, who sprang from the Licchavi race (*vide* Lama Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, p. 146).

According to *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, *Gyal-rab-sal-wahi-me-long*[11] and other Tibetan books, the earliest **Kings of Tibet** from Nya-thi-tsan-po downwards **belonged to the Li-tsa-byi race.** There is, no doubt, that Li-tsa-byi is only a modified form of Licchavi. The first King of Tibet was Nya-thi-tsan-po, who was a wanderer from a foreign country. The exact date of his arrival in Tibet is unknown, but from *Deb-ther-sňon-po* and other Tibetan records it appears that he lived between the 4th and 1st centuries B. C. It is probable that during the occupation of Sogdiana[12] and the neighbouring places by Alexander the Great, the Bactrian Greek Kings and subsequently the Scythians (the Yue-chi) about 150 B. C., some Persian people from Nisibis (off Herat) migrated to Tibet into the Himalyan regions, where they established a monarchical system of Government on the model of the Government in Persia.

9 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Volume XVIII, p. 569.

10 Vide *Lāṭyāyana Srauta Sūtra*, 8/6. Compare also Rajaram Ramkrishna Bhagavat's article named "A Chapter from the Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa" published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume XIX of 1895-97.

11 Compare Alexander Csoma de Koros's *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 194. As books in Tibet were written long after the intercourse of that country with India had been opened, the Litsabyi Kings of Tibet are often mentioned as having originally come from Vaisāli in India. As a matter of fact the Licchavis of Vaisāli and Tibet are collateral branches of a Persian race in Nisibis (off Herat).

12 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Volume XXII, p. 246.

The Bam-yik variety of the Tibetan alphabet, which is in common use in Tibet, derived, I suppose, its name from the city of **Bamyian** (off Nisibis), which was visited by Hiuen-thsiang in 630 A. D., and is now subject to the Afghans.

The custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild animals, as it prevailed in Vaisāli and is still found in Tibet, was, I believe, introduced into those countries from Persia by the Licchavi immigrants. It is hardly necessary to add that the practice of exposure of the dead was widely followed in Persia and its dependencies, including Nisibis.

The Bon[13] religion, which preceded Buddhism in Tibet, is said to have originated from Tajik (Persia). According to *Dub-thah-sel-kyi-me-long*, twenty generations of Tibetan Kings from Nya-thi-tsan-po down to Thi-je-tsan-po followed no other religion than the Bon, which prevailed in Tibet up to 780 A. D., when it was persecuted by King Thi-srong-de-tsan. The various black arts — such as witchcraft, exorcism, magic, performance of miracles, sacrifice of animals, etc., in which the Bon-po priests were skilled—must have been imported from Nisibis (Persia) by the Magi priests, who accompanied the Licchavis into Tibet. Sen-rab, who was one of the most prominent Bon-teachers, had among his spiritual descendants a Persian sage, named Mu-tso-tra-he-si.

That there was intercourse between Persia and Tibet in the ancient days, is evident from Kālidāsa's (Sanskrit) *Raghuraṁsa*, Canto IV (verses 60—81), in which the foreign conquests of Raghu are described. Raghu after subduing the **Pārasīka** (Persians), Huna (Huns), and Kamboja (the inhabitants of the Hindukush mountains, which separate the Gilgit Valley from Balkh), ascended the Himalayas, where he fought hard against the mountain tribes called **U-tsa-va-saṁ-ketān,**[14] and afterwards crossing the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra River), came down to Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam). This conquest of Raghu is, perhaps, a mere fiction, but it shows that in the days of Kālidāsa, about 500 A. D., the people of India were aware of a route existing between Persia and India on the one hand and Persia and Tibet on the other.

BOOK-NOTICE.

PARIMALA, a COMMENTARY on MADANA'S PÂRIJÂTAMAÑJARÎ. By ŚRÎ LAKSHMANA SÛRI, Leipzig, 1907 (Bombay: British India Press, Byculla).

THE works of Śrî Lakshmaṇa Sûri show that, even in modern India, there are still Paṇḍits who are keeping up the traditions of the great commentators of past centuries like Mallinâtha. Sanskrit scholars owe to him commentaries on the *Veṇîsaṃhâra*, *Mahâvîracharitam*, and *Uttararâmacharitam*; and quite recently he has further earned their gratitude by his commentary on Madana's *Pârijâtamañjarî*. Having sent him a copy of this drama in August, 1906, Prof. Hultzsch received the manuscript of Lakshmaṇa Sûri's commentary on it as early as the 3rd November of the same year, with the remark that it would have been finished even sooner, if the author had not been engaged in valuing examination papers. It must not be concluded from this that the work is superficial. Quite the contrary. The commentary indeed occupies only 19 printed pages, but it is very learned, clear, easy to understand, and always to the point. That the author is fully acquainted with the various *Śâstras*, is a matter of course with a good Paṇḍit; but how few deserving this name can still be found at the present time? And which European would have been able to equal him? Now, only, we are able fully to enjoy Madana's sometimes fairly difficult verses; see, for instance, the commentary on Act I, verse 28. The author deserves our best thanks, as also does Prof. Hultzsch for having had the commentary composed by him. The drama itself may now be safely recommended as a textbook, as it can be conveniently disposed of during a single term.

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[13] *Vide* Rai Sarat Chandra Das's article on "The Bon Religion" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1881.

[14] *Utsavasangketān*, according to the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparva*, Chapter 26, and *Bhiṣmaparva*, Chapter 9) was the collective name of seven tribes that inhabited the Himalayas. It is a compound word, which may be analysed as follows: — u + t + sa + ba + sang + ketān = u + da-yul + sa-yul + ba-thang + tsang + khotan. In this compound we discern several well known Tibetan names, such as *U* — Central Tibet, *Tsang* — Western Tibet, *Ba* — Bathang, etc. *Sa-yul*, *Da-yul*, and *Khotan* were also provinces of Tibet.

THE BUDDHIST COUNCILS.

BY PROFESSOR L DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

(Continued from page 18.)

II. — THE SECOND COUNCIL.[86]

THE account of the Council of Vaiçālī (*Culla* XII.) is one of the finest pages of ancient Indian literature. In spite, or perhaps even because of the clumsiness of the style and composition — " breakings-off," repetitions, brusque transitions, episodes badly connected with the general course of the story — the writer pictures to us with a greyish back-ground, in the half light of a legend which aims at being history, or of a history which " the Buddhist style unique in the world" cannot fail to render legendary, a wide plan, full of suggestive details, and every one seems agreed on this point, more or less susceptible of historical criticism.

We will give first of all, as we did above, an outline of the Pāli document.

I., § 1. "At Vesālī, a hundred years after the Nibbāna of Bhagavat[87] the Bhikkhus (named) sons of Vajji, established at Vesālī,[88] proclaimed it lawful to practise the ten points:[89] *Siṅgiloṇa, dvaṅgula, gāmantara, āvāsa, anumati, āciṇṇa, amathita, jalogi, adasaka nisīdana, jātarūparajata.*" [90]

At this time Yasa,[91] son of Kākaṇḍaka, travelling in the country of the Vajjis, came to Vesālī; he took up his lodging in the Great Wood (*Mahāvana*), in the hall of the Belvedere (*Kūṭāgārasālā*). Now the Bhikkhu Vajjiputtakas of Vesālī, on the day of the Uposatha, having filled a copper basin with water, and having placed it in the midst of the circle formed by the monks,[92] say to the laymen who come: " Give to the community a *kahāpana*, a half, a quarter, a sixth of a *kahāpana*! The community will have need of divers things." In vain Yasa protests : " Do not give! Gold and silver are not allowed to the ascetics, sons of Sakya . . . . "

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86 *Sources: Culla* (Minayeff, *Prātimokṣa*, p xxxix., translated in Tār. note, p. 289); Chronicles, Buddhaghoṣa. — Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 212.

Vinayakṣudraka (*Dulva*, XI. 323—330) pointed out by Tāranātha, p. 41; " Da das Wesentliche dieser Geschichte aus dem *Vinaya kṣudraka* vollstandig sehr bekannt ist, ist es hier nicht auf geschrieben." This history has been translated by Rockhill, *Life*, 171—180 (see Schiefner's note, Tār. p. 41); nevertheless we think it will be of utility to give below in an appendix the Tibetan text and the translation of the paragraph consecrated to the definition of the six infractions.

Mahīçāsakavinaya, according to Wassilieff, note to Tāranātha, pp. 288 and 290.

Hiouen-thsang, II. 397; Kern, II. 253.

Dharmaguptas, Nanjio 1117, according to Beal, *Four Lectures*, p. 83.

87 According to Messrs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, these figures must be taken as round numbers.

88 Or: '[forming the community] of Vesālī.'

It must not be forgotten that five hundred bhiksus of Vaiçālī, Vajjiputtakas, are represented, *Culla* VII. 4, 1, as having adhered to the five rigorist propositions of Devadatta. — A notable contradiction.

According to Tāranātha (p. 40) the brothers from Vaiçālī profited by the sickness of the venerable Dhitika to practise the ten "points." They were reproved by 700 arhats, with the Arhat Yaças at their head and in the Vihāra Kusumapurī (= Pāṭaliputra), under the reign of Nanda (dga-byed) as patron (*dānapati*) the second collection of the Scripture took place. The Arhats are said to be Bahuçrutiyas (?) and from the region of Vaiçālī, or to have come from the " six towns." (Kern, II. 263.)

89 *Vatthu* = *vastu* = Tib: *gzhi*.

90 These technical terms are merely enumerated here; they will be explained later on, in the actual body of the account.

91 We shall not discuss the personality of this Yaças; see Kern, II. 234, and *Man.* p. 105, 8, and Oldenberg, *Buddh. St.*, p. 624.

92 "In the midst of the Bhikkhusaṁgha." — Compare Div. Avad. 335; Avadānaśat. apud Burnouf, Intr. 457.

When the night was ended, the monks shared the money between them, and also offered his portion to Yasa, who refused it.

§ 2. The monks bring against Yasa the act of "reconciliation" (*pratisāraṇiya kamma*) "as having blamed pious laymen, full of excellent intentions"; that is to say, they condemn him to ask pardon from the laymen.[93]

Accompanied by a brother, whom he has demanded as attendant (*anudūta*) in conformity with the rule, Yasa goes into the town and speaks to the laymen: "I acknowledge that I blamed you, you who are, nevertheless, laymen, pious and of good intention; it is true. But why? Because I call illegal (*adhamma*) that which is illegal, the law, the law; because I call disorder (*avinaya*) disorder, and discipline, discipline."

§§ 3—5. And he proves his right by citing discourses of Buddha, which are absolutely decisive on the question of the monks being forbidden gold and silver.

§ 6. The laymen are convinced and decide to break with the lapsed brethren: "There is none but Yasa who is an ascetic and a son of Sakya; all the others are neither ascetics, nor sons of Sakya."

§ 7. The attendant relates to the monks the unexpected issue of the "reconciliation" of Yasa. "Yasa, without being deputed by us, has preached to laymen":[94] Let us bring against him the act of suspension (*ukkhepaniya kamma*)!" The Vajjiputtakas meet together to put this project into execution.

However, Yasa rises into the air and descends at Kosambī; he sends messengers to the brethren of the West,[95] to those of Avanti,[96] and of the Deccan, saying: "Come! Let us take this question in hand[97] before the non-Dhamma spreads and the Dhamma be put aside . . . ." (The same terms as in Kāçyapa's speech before the First Council.)

§ 8. Yasa pays a visit to Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin;[98] he enumerates the ten points to him without furnishing any explanation and invites him in the same terms as above: "Let us take this question[99] . . . ." Sāṇavāsin accepts.

There arrive on the mountain Ahogaṅga sixty ascetics from Pāṭheyya (western), all arhats and observers of the Dhūtāṅgas,[100] eighty-eight ascetics from Avanti and the Dekkan all arhats, but of whom some only practise the extreme austerity of the Occidentals.[1]

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93 See Kern, II. 118.

94 *Amhehi asammato gihīnaṁ pakāsesi* = 'Without being deputed by us has proclaimed to laymen [a false doctrine].' The sin referred to is that of *asammatāvavāda*.

95 Pāṭheyyakas. — "Pāṭheya is one of the four divisions into which India was divided and includes the great westerly kingdoms of Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra, Kamboja (*Mahāvagga*, VII. i. 1; *Milinda*, 331)." E. Muller, *J. P. T. S.* 1888, p. 54 (cited by Kern, *Manual* p. 104).

96 *M. Vyut*, § 275, 11 āvantakas.

97 *Imam adhikaraṇam ādiyissāma*: "let us take in charge this legal question . . . ." *M. Vyut*, § 276; 16, 281, 208.

98 Elsewhere Sāṇasambhūta; in the northern sources Çāṇavāsa, Çāṇavasika (Kern, II. 251, n. 1; 271) Soṇavāsin.

99 *imam adhikaraṇam ādiyissāma*: "let us take in charge this *last* question . . . ." (*Vinaya Texts*, III., p. 195). As if it was here a question of the tenth point only (gold and silver) and not of the nine others. Perhaps the original account was only concerned with the question of gold and silver.

100 *Sabbe āraññakā, sabbe piṇḍapātikā, sabbe paṁsukūlikā, sabbe tecīvarikā.* — Dhūtāṅgas 8, 3, 1, 2. See below p. 101, n. 6.

1 On the laws promulgated in favour of the monks of the South and from Avanti, see *M. Vagga*, V. 13.

§ 9. The Bhikkhus (theras) deliberate: "This question is hard and troublesome.[2] How can we obtain partisans so that we may be the stronger in this question?" — They think of summoning Revata, — a contemporary of Bhagavat, if we are to believe *M. Vagga* (VIII. 31) — who was dwelling at Soreyya. Revata, thanks to his celestial hearing, hears their discourse; he thinks: "This question is hard and troublesome and surely [it is not or it would not be] seemly for me to mix myself up with such a question. Now the Bhikkhus will come and, surrounded by them, I shall not easily get away. What if I took the precaution of leaving." Revata goes to Saṁkassa. The theras, not finding him[3] at Soreyya, hasten to Saṁkassa; but the saint is no longer there, and they are obliged to pursue him from place to place, Kaṇṇa, Kujja, Udambara, Aggalapura. Finally, at Sahajāti, where they finally arrive, they learn that Revata is still in the town.

§ 10. Sāṇavāsin makes Yasa observe that Revata will probably be occupied in giving a lesson to his pupil.[4] When the lesson is finished, Yasa questions Revata on the ten points: "Is the practice of the *Siṅg·loṇa* lawful?" etc. The saint does not understand the formulas: "What," he asks, "is the *Siṅgiloṇa*, etc.?" After Yasa's explanations[5] Revata replies that the ten practices are prohibited, except the sixth, which is sometimes lawful, sometimes not. Formulas 9 and 10 seem to have been sufficiently clear for them to have been condemned upon a mere hearing without Yasa having to take trouble to explain them.

"Such are, concludes Yasa, the ten points that the ascetics (called) Vajjiputtakas, from Vesālī, have proclaimed. Come, let us take this question . . . ." Revata accepts.

II., § 1. The Vajjiputtakas learn the steps taken by Yasa. They also seek for allies: "This question is hard and troublesome . . . ." They think to seduce Revata and repair to Sahajāti armed with all kinds of utensils for monastic life to give him.

§ 2. Episode. The venerable Sāṭha asks himself who is in accord with the Dhamma (dhammavādin), the Orientals or the Occidentals.[6] Considering the Dhamma and the Vinaya,

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[2] *idaṁ kho adhikaraṇaṁ kakkhalañ ca vālan ca.* — "*Kakkhaṭa* = hard = difficult. *Vāla* is doubtful: although the substantive *vyāla* may be represented by *vāḷa*, I am inclined to believe that *vāla* corresponds to the adjective *vyāla*, bad." [Communication from M. Kern.] — *Vinaya Texts*: "This legal question now is hard and subtle."

[3] *na kho me taṁ paṭirūpaṁ yo 'ham evarūpe adhikaraṇe osakkeyyaṁ • idāni ca pana te bhikkhū āgacchissanti. so' haṁ tehi ākiṇṇo na phāsuṁ gamissāmi. Yan nūnāhaṁ paṭigacc 'eva gaccheyyan ti.*

On *osakkati*, see Childers and *Mhv.* I. 389 (avasakkati; *sakk* representing *ṣvaṣk*) = "withdraw from."

paṭigaccha and elsewhere *paṭikacca* = *pratikṛtya* — means 'by way of precaution.' See *M. Vagga*, I. 31 (°kacca); *C. Vagga*, VI. 11; *Suttavibh.* II. p. 44; *Theragātha*, 547; *Jāt.* III. 208, 25 (°kañ ca). [Communicated by M. Kern.]

In order to follow M. Kern I depart from the version of Messrs. R. D. and O.: "This legal question is both hard and subtle, it would not become me to hold back therefrom. But even now those Bhikkhus [the Vajjians] will be coming. It would be unpleasant travelling for me were I to fall in with them. Let me go on before them." This version seems to me to be reconcilable neither with the text nor with the context. "These Bhikkhus" (*te bhikkhū*) can only be the *thera bhikkhus* whose deliberations Revata has just heard and who are, in fact, coming to Soreyya, as the Saint had foreseen.

[4] *idāni ca panāyasmā Revato antevāsikaṁ sarabhāṇakam bhikkhum ajjhesissati, so tvaṁ tassa bhikkhuno sarabhaññapariyosāne āyasmantaṁ Revataṁ . . . . puccheyyāsīti.*—*Vinaya Texts*: "And even now Revata will call upon a Bhikkhu who is an intoner, and a pupil of his. Do you, therefore, when the Bhikkhu has concluded . . . . ".—"*ajjhesissati*" provided that the reading is correct, can only mean "will invite" [see Morris, *J. P. T. S.* 1883]. The Master will invite "(polite expression instead of "will command") his disciple (*his* pupil) to recite his lesson. *Ajjhāpessati* would be more natural. The exact sense of *sarabhāṇaka* is not determined. Without doubt, a recitation of some nature or other." [Communicated by M. Kern.]

Buddha having forbidden the "intoned recital" of the Dharma (*āyatakena gītassarena dhammaṁ gāyanti*), the monks abstain from the *sarabhañña*. The Master corrects them with regard to this (*C. Vagga*, V. 3, and the translators' note).

[5] Explanations which we shall examine below.

[6] *pācīnakas* and *pāṭheyakas.*

he resolves the problem in favour of the second. A divinity comes to confirm him in this view. All the same, the sage decides not to show his opinion before being "chosen for this question."

§ 3. The Vajjiputtakas offer Revata the presents they have brought: "No," replies Revata, "I have the three robes." Not regarding themselves as beaten, they turn to Uttara,[7] a monk attached to the person of Revata and having twenty years [of ordination]. He refuses at first; but a little delicate flattery[8] shakes his resolution. He accepts a robe, saying: "Tell me what do you wish?" — "Nothing but this, that the venerable Uttara say to the thera 'that the thera should announce in the midst of the Saṁgha that the Buddhas rise in the countries of the East,[9] that the Orientals agree with the Dhamma and the Occidentals are against the Dhamma.'" Uttara transmitted the request to his master, who, being indignant, dismissed him. "What did the thera say?" ask the Vajjiputtakas. "We have done wrong," replied Uttara;[10] "the thera dismissed me, saying that I was pledging him to non-dhamma." "Are you not old, and have you not twenty years' ordination?" "Yes," replies Uttara. "Ought we, perhaps, to put ourselves under the guidance of a master?"[11]

§ 4. The Saṁgha meets to decide the question. Revata presides, and formally, in accordance with the rules,[12] remarks: "If we were to settle this affair here, it might happen that the Bhikkhus who inaugurated it would be able to renew it; therefore the Saṁgha must make its decision at the place where the affair happened." Thereupon, the theras go to Vesālī.

A new episode. At Vesālī lived the old Sabbakāmin, "Father of the church for the [whole] earth,"[13] who had had Ānanda as upādhyāya,[14] who counted a hundred and twenty years of devout life. Revata, after having taken the advice of Sāṇavāsī, goes to this venerable old man. Couches are placed for the two saints. It is late, but Revata does not go to bed, for he thinks: "This thera is old, but he does not think of sleeping;" and Sabbakāmin does not go to bed, for he thinks: "This Bhikkhu, although wearied by his journey, does not think of sleeping."

§ 5. And, as the night advances, a delightful dialogue ensues in which the two friends, to their edification and ours, forget the question of discipline.[15]

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[7] We shall meet with an Uttara, a fomenter of schisms.

[8] By comparing Revata to Buddha, Uttara to Ānanda, who often accepted presents in his master's place and stead.

[9] *puratthimesu janapadesu.*

[10] *pāpikam no āvuso katam* = "It is an evil you have wrought me, Sirs."

[11] *api nu ca mayaṁ garunissayaṁ gaṅhāmā 'ti.* "Then we take the *nissaya* under you as your pupils." M. Kern had translated (*Gesch.* II. p. 255): "the brothers of Vaiçāli . . . . tried to console him (Yaças) and promised to take him under their protection." He is willing to allow me to make use of the following remarks: *api nu* always introduces a question; *under you* is not represented in the text. "We ought, perhaps, to put ourselves under the guidance of a master?," that is to say: "We (you and ourselves) are wise enough to know how we ought to conduct ourselves; we have no need of reprimands from Revata." — It is not sure that *guru* = master.

[12] Messrs. R. D. and O. refer the reader to *Cullavagga* IV. 14, where is fixed, with great fulness of detail, the procedure relative to the settlement of difficulties of all kinds. See also *Pācittiya* lxiii. and lxxix.

[13] Kern, II. p. 255 — *pathavyā saṁghathero.*

[14] *saddhivihārika* of Ānanda. We have seen (n. 82 at the end) that Vṛjiputra was also a disciple of Ānanda.

[15] *Katamena tvam bhummi vihārena etarahi bahulaṁ viharasīti • mettāvihārena kho aham etarahi bahulaṁ viharāmīti • kullakavihārena kira tvam bhummi etarahi bahulaṁ viharasi, kullakavihāro yaḷ idam mettā ti* . . . . The English translation is less faithful than elegant: "By what manner of life, beloved one, have you lived these so many years?" — "By continuing in the sense of love, honoured friend, have I continued thus so many years." "They say that you have continued thus, beloved one, by easiness of life, and that indeed, beloved one, is an easy life, [I mean] the continuing in love." See Kern, *Gesch.* III. p. 256: "To what thing, honoured Lord, do you apply yourself before all at the present time?" — "To benevolence," replied Revata — "It is a fine thing to apply oneself to benevolence." "Yes," replied Revata, "already previously, when I had a family . . . ."

§ 6. There arrives Sāṇavāsin who questions the disciple of Ānanda upon the ten points: "You have, O thera, much studied Dhamma and Vinaya at the feet of your teacher; what then is your opinion when you consider the Dhamma and the Vinaya . . . ." Very politely, the centenarian begs Sāṇavāsin in the same terms to say himself, first, what is his way of thinking. The two sages are in favour of the Occidentals, but, before speaking, they will wait to be charged with the affair.

§ 7. The Council begins. "But as they examined the affair many speeches were made, "away from the point," and the sense of not one single speech was understood [by the whole of the assembly]."[16]

Confirmably to a rule established by Buddha,[17] Revata proposes to refer the matter to a jury; he chooses four Bhikkhus from the East (Sabbakāmin, Sāḷha, Kujjasobhita, Vāsabhagāmika); four from the West (Revata, Sāṇavāsin, Yasa, and Sumana) and has this choice formally approved by the Saṁgha. There is added to the arbitrators, as regulator of the sittings,[18] a monk named Ajita, who counted ten years seniority and who, at this moment, was charged with the recitation of the Prātimokṣa.

§ 8. Revata, as president, proposes to the Saṁgha, this time composed of the eight delegates, to hear the opinion of Sabbakāmin on each of the ten points; he questions the old man who successively condemns the propositions of the Vajjiputtakas by appealing to the rules of the Vinaya, sometimes to the *Pātimokkha*, sometimes to the *Vaggas*. As was just, Sabbakāmin, except for the two last points, demanded the explanations that Revata himself had solicited from Yasa: "Pardon! Salt in a horn (*siṅgiloṇa*), is it permitted?" "What is salt in a horn?" asked Sabbakāmin in his turn. "Is it permitted to preserve salt in a horn in order to be able to use it later on when one has no salt under one's hand?" — "No, that is not permitted." "Where was that forbidden?" — "At Sāvatthi, [as is stated] in the *Suttavibhaṅga*." "Of what does one render oneself guilty then?" — "Of the use of food put aside."[19]

Similarly for the other points.[20]

The assembly agrees, by a unanimous vote, with the opinion of Subbakāmin, who concludes: "This question is decided, settled once for all. However, question me on these ten points in the midst of the assembly, with a view to persuading these Bhikkhus."

And thus it was done.

§ 9. "And as in this recitation of the Vinaya seven hundred Bhikkhus, not one less and not one more, took part; this recital of the Vinaya is called the recital of the Seven Hundred."

At first sight, it seems that the hesitation of the theras; the care with which the holders of the just cause, first Yaças and then Raivata, seek for light and patrons; the profound knowledge necessary for the examination of a problem declared by the good as by the evil ones, by the "foresters" as well as by the "monastics," "to be hard and troublesome"; — all this *mise en scène*

[16] *anaggāni c'eva bhassāni jāyanti na c'ekassa bhāsitassa attho viññāyati*: "both was much pointless speaking brought forth and also the sense in no single speech was clear." The same formula, *Culla* IV. 14, 19, where is indicated the procedure to be followed in such occurrences, proceedings which Revata will propose here.

[17] *Culla* IV. 14, 19.

[18] *āsanapaññāpaka*, 'seat regulator.' This duty is unknown elsewhere; it should have been mentioned (*Culla* VI. 21, 3); there are good reasons to justify this omission (*Vinaya Texts*, III. p. 408, note).

[19] Kern, II. p. 257.

[20] As regards the sixth point, in which the treatment is somewhat different, see below, p. 89.

which precedes the meeting, so interesting, so amusing when we have placed before us intrigues of the Vajjiputtakas with Raivata and Uttara, — it seems, we say, that all these preparations fall short and that even the least important of the Bhikkhus, as well as the centenarian, pupil of Ānanda, "Father of the church for the whole earth" might have found in the *Pātimokkha* or in the *Mahavagga*, the formal articles, drawn up by Buddha, which condemn the innovators. Nevertheless, we are told that Raivata tries in vain to avoid so obscure a case, and that the sages, cleverly circumvented, while communicating their way of thinking to the "leader" of the Occidentals, are agreed to keep it secret until the great day of the assizes.

What! there exists a formal text, a rule numbered xviii. in the collection of the *Nissaggiya Pācittiyas,* which forbids the Saṁgha to receive money; and the monks of Vaiçālī, not content with violating it, dare to decree against Yaças, who reproves them, the act of reconciliation and the act of suspension! Further, they form a cabal, try to seduce Raivata and do seduce Uttara, who, a faithful disciple of a holy man, becomes the accomplice of the dissolute. This is strange and we conclude — at first sight — that the Vinaya did not exist at the time of Vaiçālī: if we must believe the *Culla* with regard to this, when it defines the nature of the "Points of discipline" practised and defended by the Vajjiputtakas and when it narrates these pious debates to us, we could not admit that the Vinayas were known to the embarrassed theras and the heretical Vajjiputtakas. "Of the ten abuses which must have provoked the meeting of the Council, seven, at least, violate formal decisions of the *Prātimokṣa.* How could the Bhikkhus of Vaiçālī have hoped for a moment that they would be overlooked if they had known the formulary, if they had recited it twice a month?" [21]

Without observing this difficulty, Prof. Oldenberg, in his *Introduction to the Mahāvagga*, so meritorious otherwise in so many respects, Messrs. Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, in the preface to the *Vinaya Texts,*[22] have built up on the recital of the *Culla* a very curious combination, one very characteristic of the expedients to which we are reduced in the study of Buddhist origins. This combination Prof. Oldenberg has not abandoned in his *Buddhistische Studien.* Here, as shortly as possible, are the broad outlines of it.

The general dispositions of the *Prātimokṣa* are opposed to the innovations of Vaiçālī: but the Vinayas know nothing of these innovations in so much as they are designated by the laconic formulæ of which we have spoken; consequently, the Vinaya was drawn up before the events of Vaiçālī, since the innovations are not specially contemplated in it; a long time before, since these innovations are not contemplated in some interpolated passages. And to quote the original: "Is it possible that in a collection of works like the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Khaṇḍakas*, which seek to set forth, down to the minutest detail, and even with hair-splitting diffuseness, all that has any relation to the daily life of the Brethren, and the regulations of the Buddhist Order, — is it possible that in such a collection, if, when it was compiled, the struggle on the Ten Points had already burst into flame, there should be no reference at all even in interpolations, to any one of these ten disputes?"[23]

[21] Barth, *Bulletin des Rel. de l'Inde*, 1899—1902, III. ii. p. 29. [22] S. B. XIII. p. xxii.

[23] *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. xxi-xxii. M. Oldenberg's thought is not expressed exactly in the same terms, *Buddh. Studien*, p. 631, 2: "Ich habe früher ingewiesen und kann jetzt nur von neuem thun, dass man noffenbar, wenn die Verfasser, sei es der Regeln selbst oder auch nur die jener Beigaben, von der Verhandlungen von Vesāli etwas gewusst hatten, eine Spur davon, eine Bezugnahme auf den streitigen Punkt, zu erwarten berechtigt wäre." M. Oldenberg says a few words of the *siṅgiloṇa* and the *jalogi* (see below) and concludes: "Ich meine also: ein Vinaya, der nach dem Streit über den *siṅgiloṇakappa,* über das *jalogi pūtum*, etc., redigiert worden wäre, müsste aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach an den betreffenden Stellen anders aussehen als der uns erhaltene Vinaya." See below, p. 90, n. 41; p. 96, n. 82; p. 100, n. 1.

The argument is very subtle and very hard to tackle. The conclusion is, assuredly, somewhat heavy; but it furnishes a plausible explanation of the difficulty we have pointed out above. The innovations of Vaiçālī are indeed innovations; the legislator did not foresee them: the problem is truly "hard and subtle." However, on examining them, we perceive that they fall under general rules; and we condemn them by urging authentic texts. As advocate of the Pālī tradition, Prof. Oldenberg deserves our congratulations: we shall not refuse them to him.

Minayeff, whose powerful attention was strangely quickened in the critical sense, could not fail to consider this solution somewhat naïve, or, to express his thought more exactly, almost frivolous. By this is explained why he treats the problems of Vaiçālī with a very fine but disconcerting ease of manner, sustaining, as he does, at a distance of two pages, two opinions which apparently are contradictory. In truth, a firmly bound system is hidden under this outward disorder.

Minayeff proves in fact, that the greater part of the derogations of Vaiçālī are condemned by the existing text of the Vinaya[24] — which is absolutely unmistakable, if the derogations are faithfully defined in the *Culla*; but he believes that "even if one admits that in the Vinaya there is no special interdiction for all the innovations of Vaiçālī," this hypothetical assertion can, nevertheless, not serve as a proof of the age of the Vinaya, for, "in the present text, there are a number of concessions and prescriptions which perfectly justify, in principle, all the guilty inclinations of the brethren of Vaiçālī." There is not a strict tribunal, having before it the present text of the Vinaya, which could affirm the culpability of many of the innovations of Vaiçālī, or resolve to reject them as practices irreconcilable with the spirit of the Vinaya.

In other words, either the innovations of Vaiçālī are condemned, at least the greater number of them, in the actual text of the Vinaya, or they are not. If they are, Prof. Oldenberg's argument falls to the ground; for we shall be able to maintain that the dispositions of the Vinaya which condemn them were compiled after Vaiçālī. Minayeff will show, then, that they are condemned. For example: the rule which forbids all provision (*Pāc.* xxxviii.) forbids the provision of salt (first innovation of Vaiçālī) and, "if the rule of the *Prātimokṣa* does not mention salt, does it follow from that that the *Prātimokṣa* was already in existence before the appearance of the innovations of Vaiçālī and that it is for this reason that the rules do not mention salt?"[25] But if you judge of it otherwise and answer: "Yes, in our opinion, for if the *Suttavibhaṅga* were later than the discussion on salt, there would have been mention made in it of the salt; — this controversy, the origin of a capital schism, and "as important for the history of Buddhism as the controversy of Arianism was for Christian

[24] *Researches*, p. 53.

[25] Has Minayeff the right to consider as 'risky' the thesis according to which the absence from the Vinaya of the formulæ which sum up the innovations, the non-mention of these "war-cries" (except *jātarūpa*), or, to speak more correctly, the complete ignorance in which the compilers of the Vinaya would be of the objects of this discussion, peremptorily *proves* the seniority of the Vinaya in relation to the innovations of Vaiçālī?

In principle, the argument *a silentio* is only conclusive if we know in full detail the context of the events, the psychology of the writers, the history of the books.

The *Mahāparinibbānasutta* and *Culla* XI. cite the proceedings of the *Brahmadaṇḍa*, which the Vinaya ignores shall we say from this that the Vinaya is anterior to the *Mahāparinibbāna*?

Besides, it is always easy to oppose reasoning to reasoning. The community thinks it knows (*Culla* XII. is the proof of it) that the Vajjiputtakas thought to make provision of salt and maintained the opinion of the "salt in the horn." The whole community, occidentals, orientals, and meridionals, was shaken by this controversy. And Prof. Oldenberg argues: If the Vinaya, in its present state and in its entirety (except the Parivāra), were not anterior to the events of Vaiçālī by a sufficient number of years to assure its sacred character, certainly some forgers would have been found to insert into it some allusion to *the salt in the horn*. But we shall say, the Vinaya, in the eyes of everyone, is proto-canonical and "pre-Vesalian"; every allusion to the salt in the horn would have constituted a flagrant anachronism, and we must certainly credit the compilers of the Vinaya with some minimum of the critical spirit.

But this discussion *ad hominem* does not seem suitable to decide the question, far from it.

history,"[26] was certainly worthy of being mentioned;" — then, not only will Minayeff recognise that in the Vinaya there is no special interdiction for all the innovations of Vaiçālī, but he will adopt the second branch of the dilemma. The innovations of Vaiçālī are not condemned in the present Vinaya in this sense that, if there are in it rules which touch upon them, there are also dispositions which betray the same spirit of non-asceticism and confirm my impression that the rules contrary to the innovations were compiled after Vaiçālī: "The spirit of the existing Vinaya [although modified by the later triumph of asceticism] is not irreconcilable with many of the innovations of Vaiçālī . . . . In the Vinaya, divers usages are established in the community to receive as a present, to preserve and to share clothes as well as food. The community has the right to possess property, both movable and immovable; the movable property may also belong to one single monk," which is, at least, in opposition to the communist customs one has been pleased to ascribe to the ancient fraternity.[27]

By this change of front, and this contradiction, at least apparent, Minayeff furnishes Prof. Oldenberg with an opportunity for an easy success.[28]

I say 'apparent,' because the contradiction is not the act of Minayeff, but of the Vinaya. The *Pātimokkha* forbids the provision of food, but the *Mahāvagga* allows all kinds of provision, medicines of all kinds, beginning with the medicinal roots. The ascetic may not accept money, but he may have a deposit of money with a layman, "who renders acceptable to him" (*kappiyakāraka*) the things bought with this money.[29] So, also, the convent possesses halls for provision, "store houses," which are *kappiyabhūmis, kappiyakuṭis* and make lawful the food preserved, salt, oil, and rice.[30]

It is the same thing for many other points on which the vigour of the *Pātimokkha* is weakened or enervated. We know, also, that the *Pāt.* itself tolerates exceptions; one of the most notable is that of *Nissaggiya* xxiii., by which it is allowable to keep for seven days the principal medicines, *ghī*, butter, oil, honey, and molasses.

Do not let us be astonished, then, to read in the *Researches*, p. 53, the contrary of what we read, p. 55.[31] In the first passage, Minayeff places himself at the point of view of the Fathers of the Council, armed with the *Prātimokṣa*, and, not without a pleasantly simulated reprobation, he condemns with them this abominable practice of the provision of salt, "flagrant violation of the vows of poverty." In the second he observes that, for the reader of the *Mahāvagga*, the provision of salt is only one of the manifold and permissible derogations from the laws of rigid asceticism.

An examination of the "innovations" will, perhaps, enable us to form a personal opinion on the problem. What precedes suffices, we hope, to clear Minayeff from the reproach of inconsistency.

The points of Vaiçālī may be grouped into two categories: —

I. — Derogations relative to the monastic organisation, *āvāsakappa* (4), *anumati* (5), *āciṇṇa* (6).

II. — Derogations relative to discipline: food, *siṅgiloṇakappa* (1), *dvaṅgula* (2), *gāmantara* (3), *amathita* (7), drink, *jalogi* (8), bedding, *adasaka-nisīdana* (9), law of poverty, *jātarūparajata* (10).

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[26] We shall return to this appreciation of *Vin. T.*, I. p. xxi.

[27] See *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 18.

[28] *Buddh. Studien*, p. 623, quoted below, n. 31.

[29] *M. Vagga*, VI. 34, 1.

[30] *M. Vagga*, VI. 33.

[31] "Wer dessen Ausführungen S. 53 liest, wird doch das Gegenteil von dem finden, was derselbe Gelehrte zwei Seiten später sagt." — Oldenberg, *loc. cit.*

I. 4. *Avāsakappa* or "practice of the dwelling-place." "Several convents (or dwellings) which are in the same 'parish' are allowed to hold separate *uposathas*."[32] Compare *M. Vagga* II. 8, 3: "At this time two halls of Uposatha had been instituted in a certain parish. The Bhikkhus assembled in both halls, because [some] thought: 'The Uposatha will be held here,' and [the others]: 'The Uposatha will be held there.' This was reported to Bhagavat, who said: 'Let no one establish two halls of Uposatha in the same parish . . . . I order the suppression of one of the two and I desire that the Uposatha be held [only] in one place.'"

Did the *M. Vagga* designate here the heretical thesis by its technical name, it could not more clearly keep in view the fourth innovation of Vaiçālī, at least such as the *Culla* defines it.[33]

5. *Anumatikappa*, or "practice of approbation." "It is permitted to a Saṁgha, which is not sufficiently numerous, to accomplish an ecclesiastical act, by saying: we will make the [other] Bhikkhus consent when they come."[34] The Fathers condemn the proposition, according to *M. Vagga* IX. 3, 5, which defines the act of an "incomplete Saṁgha." The rule demands, not only that the absent Bhikkhus should have sent their adhesion, but also that no member present required them to be waited for. Not only does it touch upon the innovation in question, but it foresees a more complicated case.

The same conclusion as for the preceding paragraph.

6. *Āciṇṇakappa*: "It is allowable to follow the precedent of the preceptor and the instructor."[35] "Yes," replies the Thera, "the practice of the precedent is permitted in certain cases; in others it is forbidden." The proposition of the Vajjiputtakas is rejected, without any text being alleged, as contrary to the Dharma-Vinaya.

Messrs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg explain how the *Āciṇṇakappa* is sometimes admitted, sometimes forbidden: "That is, of course, according as the thing enjoined is, or is not, lawful."

Minayeff recalls, very appropriately, "this rule of Āpastamba according to which the brahmacārin must submit to the preceptor in everything, except in actions which lead to excommunication." Perhaps the question is really to know if the authority of the Master, of the *upādhyāya* upon whom depends the doctrine, of the *ācārya* who regulates the discipline,[36] will be as prevailing in

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[32] According to Kern (*Gesch.* II. p. 252). Culla: *Kappati sambahulā āvāsā samānasīmā nānuposathaṁ kātunti* — *Vinaya Texts*: "Circuit-license: It is allowable for a number of Bhikkhus who dwell within the same circuit, within the same boundary, to hold separate uposathas."

The Uposatha is the bi-monthly ceremony, in the course of which, *all* the monks of the "parish," having met together, the *Prātimokṣa* is read. The boundaries of the "parish" are fixed by a solemn decision of the brethren resident in such or such a place. (See Kern, *Gesch.* II. p. p. 49—53). They must number at least two to hold Uposatha.

[33] The interpretation of the Dharmaguptas differs: "In the Temple, besides the regulation acts, the innovators accomplished others (?)" (We know that temple = *vihāra* = convent). See Minayeff, p. 49. The Mahīçāsakas, it seems, do not mention the *Āvāsakappa*. For the Sārvāstivādins, see the Appendix.

[34] *Kappati vaggena saṁghena kammaṁ kātuṁ āgate bhikkhū anujānessāmā ti.* "Is it allowable for a Saṁgha, which is not legally constituted, to perform an official act on the ground that they will afterwards obtain the sanction of such Bhikkhus as may subsequently arrive?" The confession may be begun before the Saṁgha is sufficiently numerous.

For the Sarvāstivādins, see the Appendix; the Dharmaguptas agree with the *Culla*; the Mahīçāsakas: "Nach Vollziehung des Karma andere herbeirufen um die Entscheidung zu hören" (Schiefner) or perhaps: In the accomplishment of the Karma, to call the others one by one afterwards to hear.

[35] *kappati idaṁ me uppajjhāyena ajjhāciṇṇaṁ idaṁ me ācariyeṇa ajjhāciṇṇaṁ tam ajjhācaritum.*

[36] Our gloss is, perhaps, somewhat venturesome. See *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 178; II. p. 18; Chavannes *Religieux Eminents*, p. 140, n. 3; Barth, *Itsing*, p. 7. (*J. des Savants*, 1898): "Two masters, one to inculcate the theoretical teaching of the truths of the faith and to watch over his religious instruction (*upādhyāya*), the other to teach him the rules which he must observe in practice and to be the director of his conscience (*ācārya*)." But see Kern, *Man.* p. 84, tutor, professor. Divers functions, *pāṭhācārya*, etc., *M. Vyut*, § 270.

the Saṁgha as among the crowd of heretical ascetics. At first sight, this question can only be put if the community is ignorant of the lesser and minor rules, and of the subtleties of doctrine. The history of the sects proves, however, the importance attached to the opinion of the immediate master, even at the historic time, when there exist Vinayas and Abhidharmas.[37]

According to the Dharmaguptas, the Vajjiputtakas think their conduct may be justified by alleging that "this has been done from time immemorial."

According to the Mahīçāsakas: "To continue to occupy themselves with what they had been in the habit of doing before becoming ascetics; certain occupations were declared lawful, others were forbidden."

II. 1. *Siṅgiloṇakappa* (çṛṅgi-lavaṇa), or "practice of salt in the horn." "It is lawful to keep salt in the horn by saying: 'I will eat [it] when there is no more salt.'"[38] The proposition is condemned by virtue of *Pācittiya* xxxviii.: "Whoever takes food which has been kept (*saṁnidhikāraka*),[39] whether this food be *khādaniyas* or *bhojaniyas*,[40] is guilty . . . ."

The problem is here presented under an appreciably different aspect.

On the faith of Prof. Oldenberg, who does not call attention to the matter,[41] I believed that the Pālī Vinaya did not treat of the provision of salt; and, turning to the Tibetan sources, I have found a few interesting details. "Buddha," says M. Rockhill,[42] "allows salt to be kept in certain cases: for this, a box furnished with a lid must be used." When *Pāc.* lxv. condemns the monk who hides the dish used for alms . . . . the drinking-cup (*phor-bu*) from one of his brethren, the *Vibhaṅga* (*ad. loc.*) substitutes for the word *phor-bu* the expression *tshva-khug*, which Mr. Rockhill translates: "Salt-horn."[43]

According to the Tibetan and Sarvāstivādin data, we might conclude that the verdict of the Vaiçāli had remained a dead letter, at least in one part of the community, and thus explain the silence of the Pālī Vinaya on the provision of salt.

Happily, the *M. Vagga*, in default of the *Pātimokkha*, is very circumstantial on the question which concerns us, and it seems to decide so perfectly in favour of the Vajjiputtakas that we remain amazed.

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[37] I believe that Minayeff is wrong in formally connecting with the *ācinnakappa* one of the five points (*vastu*) with the discussion of which Vasumitra and Bhavya connect the origin of the great schism. It should, however, be observed that the *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, p. 96, on the occasion of the Second Council, opposes the doctrine of the "Presbyters" (*theravāda*) to the doctrine of the Masters (*ācaryavāda*).

[38] *Kappati siṅginā loṇam pariharituṁ yattha aloṇakaṁ bhavissati tattha paribhuñjissāmīti.* Kern . . . . "in order to use it later when we shall have no salt at hand." "Horn-salt-license: . . . . with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted."

[39] *M. Vyut*, § 260, 34, *saṁnīdhīkāraḥ* and *saṁnidhīkakāraḥ*, 245, 363, read *saṁnidhikāraḥ*. The more abridged and, as Minayeff thinks, the older form of *Pāc.* xxxviii. is furnished by *M. Vyut*, § 231, 42: saṁnihitavarjana (see below, p. 98).

[40] Hard and soft foods. On the value of these two terms, see *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 39, n. 5.

[41] We see how dangerous is the argument *a silentio*! "Eine Pācittiyaregel (38) beispielsweise verbietet vorratsweise aufbewahrte Speisen zu geniessen. Nun wurde von Einigen behauptet, dass doch die Aufbewahrung von Salz zulässig sei, und dies war einer der Streitpunkte in den erbitterten, durch die ganze buddhistische Welt berühmt gewordenen Kampfen von Vēsālı: dürften wir da nicht erwarten, dass wo nicht der Wortlaut jener Regel selbst so doch mindestens die Erweiterungen, die Zuthaten jener eben beschriebenen Art auf die Frage des Salzes irgendwie eingegangen wàren, hätten nicht eben Regel und Erweiterungen zur Zeit des Konzils von Vesāli bereits fertig vorgelegen?" (*Buddh. Stud.* p. 632.) See *M. Vagga*, VI. 8.

[42] *Dulva*, Vol. X., folio 290, ap. Rockhill, *Life*, p. 172.

[43] Cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1884, IX. p. 175 (Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa, *Pāc.* 52 = 60). Unfortunately I do not see that *khug* signifies *horn*; it is rather any receptacle easy to carry, whatever it may be otherwise; may then be *lavaṇapātalika*, Salzbeutel (*M. Vyut.* 273, 68). See Candra Dās, p 146.

The *M. Vagga* VI, 3, enumerates a series of medicinal roots (ginger, hellebore, etc.) of which one may make provision for life in order to render more digestible the hard and soft foods. Otherwise, they may only be used when one is ill.

In § VI, 8, are enumerated, under the title of medicines, five kinds of salt: "sea salt, black salt, rock salt, cooking salt, red salt, and any other kind of salt which can be used as a medicine." One may make provision of it "for life" and it may be used as was said of the roots.

Finally, § VI, 40, specifies that the "foods" of which one may make provision for life, literally "which one may eat, at no matter what moment during life,"[44] do not render allowable the foods with which they are mixed beyond the term fixed for these same foods.[45]

The Tibetan *Vinayakṣudraka*, defining the heresy of the Vajjiputtakas, speaks of salt "consecrated for life"; but the Sanscrit word which corresponds to "consecrated" (*byin gyis-brlabs-pa*), that is *adhiṣṭhita*, may have a less precise meaning: in any case, it is a question of a provision *yāvajjīvikam*.[46]

On the other hand, boxes of bone, ivory, *horn*, etc., are authorised for the preservation of unguents (añjana).[47]

Therefore it is allowable to keep salt, and we cannot see that the "horn," permitted for unguents, can compromise the sanctity of this practice.[48] At the most, we may wonder if it is allowable to make use of it when one is well. But nothing indicates that the theras put this rather subtle question. Who is ill, who is well?

We arrive then at this statement, so strange at first sight, that the first innovation *siṅgiloṇa*, implicitly forbidden by the *Pātimokkha*,[49] is authorised by the *Khaṇḍakas*.

The explanation of the Dharmaguptas (7th innovation) and of the Mahīçāsakas (1st innovation) presents this peculiarity that it ignores the horn: "Mix [the food] with salt and ginger (= *çṛṅgavera*) has the effect of circumventing the law which declares impure stale foods or those kept until the next day."[50] "To employ salt in order to preserve foods during the night and to eat them next day."

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44 The translators of the *Vinaya Texts* (II. p. 144) remark: "What this refers to is unknown to us." I believe we must connect the law, allowing provision to be made of salt, etc., for life, with that which authorises the use of the five *bhaiṣajyas* (*ghî*, butter, oil, honey, molasses) *beyond the time* (*M. Vagga*, VI. 1, 5).

The *bhaiṣajyas* may be taken at any hour of the day, when one is ill and when one is not. Bhagavat, having allowed the meal time to pass, has prepared for him foods and drinks called *akālakas* (*Divyāv*, p. 130, *akālakhādyakāni*, *akālapānakāni*: *ghṛtaguḍaçarkarāpānākāni* • *akālaka*, *Mhv.* I., 306, 14 = *akāḷaka* (without black grain) as M. Senart observes.

45 *Ghî*, butter, etc. (the five *paṭisāyaniya bhesajja*) may be preserved for 7 days; by mixing hellebore (which may be kept in provision all one's life) one does not render the '*ghî*' lawful on the eighth day.

See *M. Vyut*, § 230, 75, and following.

46 See Appendix. Cp. the *naiiyaka* of *M. Vyut*, 230,80.

47 *M. Vagga*, VI. 12, 1.

48 At any rate a horn needle-box is forbidden, *Pāc*. 85. See *M. Vyut*, § 273, 68, *lavaṇapāṭalikā*, 82, *çṛṅgalika* (?).

49 We remember that salt, forbidden to the *brahmacārins*, allowed to the *vānaprasthas*, was prohibited in one of the five theses of Devadatta (according to the *Dulva*, Rockhill, *Life*, p. 87; *Udānavarga*, p. 201; and Wassilieff, p. 56).

50 The translator tells us: "Salz mit Ingwer Mischend." But it is certain that the ginger here plays the same part as the salt. It is among the "Medicines" which may be kept all one's life. — *M. Vagga*, VI. 3.

These practices are formally forbidden, as we have seen, by the *M. Vagga.*[51] They are not contemplated by the explanation of the *Culla*, as is indicated by the expression *yadī aloṇakaṁ bhavissati.* But, it is not impossible that they correspond to the first notion of the *siṅgiloṇa*, 'the question of ginger and salt'?

2. *Dvaṅgulakappa*, practice of the two fingers. "It is allowable to take food beyond the time, the moment being passed when there is a two-fingers-shadow."[52] Thesis condemned in virtue of *Pāc.* xxxvii. by which it is forbidden to the monks, as to ascetics in general, to eat beyond the time.[53] It remains for us to know what is the legal time. If I understand correctly the gloss of the *Culla*, the Vajjiputtakas do not believe they sin against the rule of *akālabhojana* by eating after mid-day, but, according to the *Vibhaṅga*, *vikāla* = "Since mid-day is past, until the rising of the sun."

It is remarkable that the Pāli source should be quite alone in this interpretation of the "practice of the two fingers."[54] It is only possible to submit to the reader a few references difficult to utilise.[55] It seems at any rate that it may be a question here of a small quantity of food.

3. *Gāmantarakappa*, practice of another village. "It is allowable, after having eaten, to take foods (*bhojaniya*) which are not the remains [of the meal] (*anatiritta*), by saying: 'I go into another village.'"

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51 Above, p. 91, n. 44.

52 *kappati dvaṅgulāya chāyāya vītivattāya vikāle bhojanam bhuñjitum.* Kern: "To take food after the hour permitted (after mid-day) when the shadow is more than two inches long." Minayeff: "The Bhikṣu might take his meal at certain moments determined by the measure of the shadow thrown by him, that is to say, these moments were indicated by a kind of sun-dial. The heretics said that if this shadow were longer by the length of two fingers than the length fixed by law, one could, nevertheless, accept food."—*Vinaya Texts* . . . . "to eat the mid-day meal beyond the right time, provided only that the shadow has not yet turned two inches."

The shadow of two inches is perhaps the shadow cast by a man, at mid-day, at the summer solstice, in the 25° of latitude. Then we should have *dvaṅgulāya chāyāya vītivattāya* = *majjhantike vītivatte* = [the moment] when the shadow is two fingers [being] past = mid-day being past.

53 *Vikāle* . . . . — *akālabhojana*, *M. Vyut*, § 231, 41; *vikālabhojanavirati*, *ibid.* § 268, 8.

54 Mahīçāsakas: Die Speise mit zwei Fingern rühren, d. h. wenn nach beendigten Mahl, dass nur einmal taglich statt finden darf, Speise noch sich darbietet, diese geniessen, indem man, dieselbe mit zwei Fingern umrührt, dadurch wird das Verbot die Speise zu verderben übertreten" (Tār. p. 2·8). This prohibition of spoiling food must be understood from the prohibition of eating preserved food, see *Pāc.* xxxviii. of Beal, *Catena*, p. 224: "eat spoiled or sour food," corresponding to the *sannidhikāraka* of the Pāli.

Sarvāstivādins: "Make two fingers of foods of two kinds," *anateriktas* (*akṛtanirriktakhādana*, *M. Vyut*, § 261, 38). [The syntax of the Tibetan phrase is very obscure = *akṛtanirriktabhojanī yakhādanīyadvyaṅgulaṁ kṛtvā.*]

Dharmaguptas: "derogation from sobriety, as if, for example, a monk, after an ample repast, forgetting the rule of good conduct, began to take with two fingers and to eat the food remaining." (Minayeff, p. 45.)

Comp. the use of *caturaṅgula*, *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, 120, 34, *nāsti* . . . . *caturaṅgulaṃ ramāṇaṁ yat tathāgatakāyena na sphuṭam* . . . . 100, 27, *ye kāṣāyam abhilaṣeyur antaçaç caturaṅgulam api sarve te 'nnāpānasaṁpannāḥ* . . . .

The 'practice of the two fingers' may also refer to some position of the hands in begging for food. See Pet. Wört. *Kapota.*

55 *Mahābhāṣya* ad Pāṇ. 3, 4, 51, *dvyaṅgulotkarṣaṁ khaṇḍikān chinatti* = he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers — *dvyaṅgulaprajñā strī*, a woman who is an idiot or having very little intelligence, *Therīgāthā* 60, *Mhv.* III. 391, 19. According to the commentary of the *Therīg*, the women are such idiots that, though passing their life from childhood in cooking rice, if they wish to know if the rice is cooked, they have to take it out of the water and crush it between their fingers. (Windisch, *Māra and Buddha*, p. 133; reference indicated by Senart.) The explanation is ingenious.

This was condemned in virtue of *Pāc.* xxxv.: "The Bhikkhu who, after having eaten, shall take foods *bhojaniya* or *khādaniya* . . . ."[56]

The foods *khādaniya* would not be contemplated in *gāmantarakappa.*

From the explanations of the *Vibhaṅga* it follows that, as soon as one has eaten, were it with the tip of a blade of grass, of the foods offered in a house, or if the host has invited one to eat, it is forbidden to go to seek fresh foods (*anatirikta*) in another house: it is only permitted to eat the remainder (*atirikta*) of the first offering.[57]

What must we understand by the words: "*gāmantaraṁ gamissāmīti?*" The *Vinaya Texts* translate: "On the ground that he is about to proceed into the village." This interpretation, although it may be that of Childers,[58] does not seem very coherent.

Mr. Kern and Minayeff seem to us to have understood more correctly: "because of the journey from one village to another." But, for the rest, Minayeff seems to be wanting in precision.[59]

The Mahīçāsakas and the Sarvāstivādins diverge.

According to the reckoning of the former, the third innovation is formulated thus: "to eat a second time after having risen before taking a sufficient meal" (and hence, according to the *Vibhaṅga*, the food is *anatirikta*; consequently forbidden by *Pāc.* xxv.)[60]; and the fourth: "to eat on leaving the village."[61] According to Wassilieff, the condemnation of these points is found in the explanation of the terms *akṛtaniriktakhādana* and *gaṇabhojana.*[62]

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56 The law, *Pāc.* xxxv., according to the *Vibhaṅga*, is divided "historically" into two parts. First text: "*yo pana bhikkhu bhuttāvī pavārito khādaniyaṁ vā bhojaniyaṁ vā khādeyya vā bhuñjeyya vā pācittiyam ti*": "It is forbidden to eat after having satisfied one's hunger." No mention of *anatiritta*. Second text, complete: "I allow those who are ill and those who are well to eat [the foods] *anatiritta*," that which remains in the dish; and the law was completed by the addition of the word *anatiritta*, which restricts its application.

I believe I have faithfully rendered the text by translating the two words *bhuttāvī pavarito* by the single expression "after having eaten." As M. Kern has pointed out to me, *pavāreti* = *sampavāreti* (badly translated by Childers: 'to cause to refuse,' as is stated *Vinaya Texts* ad *M. Vagga*, I. 8, 4) which is near to *saṁtappeti*. See *M. Vagga*, I. 22, 15; *Lalita*, 66, 16, *khādanīyena saṁtarpya saṁpravārya*; also *Mhv.* III., 142, 3, 14; *Rām.* II. 75, 15; *bhojyeṣu* . . . . *vastreṣu* . . . . *pravārayati*.

Pavāreti does not mean invite, *nimanteti*; see *Vibh.* ad *Pāc.* xxxv. . . . . *nimantetva bhojesi* . . . . *bhikkhū bhuttāvī pavāritā* . . . . (XXXV. I., l. 3); *pavārito* does not mean "having been invited and having refused" (as *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 39: "When he has once finished his meal [*bhuttāvī*], though still invited (to continue eating) [*pavārito*], and III. p. 398," "who has once finished his meal and has refused any more"), for *Vibh. Pāc.* xxxv, 3 (l. 7) *abhuttāvinā kataṁ hoti, bhuttavinā pavāritena āsanā vuṭṭhitena kataṁ hoti* — [For the contrary opinion, see *M. Vagga*, IV. 1. 13, *Çikṣās.* 238, 4, Divyāvad 116-17.]

But, as a fact, every fresh food is *anatiritta*, not remaining, either if the monk have eaten and been satisfied (*pavārita*) in a house, or if he have refused the foods offered to him (*abhuttāvina*). If he rises to go, when the host puts fresh dishes at his disposal, he cannot receive more food elsewhere. Hence the idea of *refusing* introduced by the commentator into the law, *Pāc.* xxxv; an idea wrongly localised in the word *pavārita*.

57 According to *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 39, n. 4. The Bhikkhu who is well, when he has finished a meal, cannot eat what remains in the dish. But see above, n. 53.

58 Childers, *s. voc.*: "*gāmantaraṁ gacchati* seems to mean merely to go as far as the village"; but "*gāmantaraṁ* seems to mean the distance between a monastery and the nearest village or between two adjacent villages."

59 Minayeff " . . . . to consider as permissible a *superfluity* of food because of the journey." It seems that he has mistaken the word *atirikta*. — Derogation from the law of *anatirikta* (nourishment brought from the house where one has eaten) VI. 18, 4 (because of *āpad*), repeated, VI. 32; and again, VI. 24 (honey and milk with rice allowed before a "dinner in the town"; rice with milk forbidden).

60 *bhuttāvinā pavāritena āsanā vuṭṭhitena kataṁ hoti* . . . . *etaṁ anatirittaṁ nāma;* . . . . *bhuttāvinā pavāritena āsanā avuṭṭhitena kataṁ hoti* . . . . *etaṁ atirittaṁ nāma.*

61 Zum zweitenmal essen nachdem man sich vor (von? ?) dem Mahle erhoben, "essen indem man Dorf verlässt." (Tār. p. 288.)

62 *M. Vyut*, § 261, 38, 40.

The Sarvāstivādins have a proposition which may be called of the 'road' (*addhānagamana*), and which allows the "meal in a group." It is their fifth innovation. "To eat,[63] having proceeded a yojana and a half [from the convent ??] and having met together, is allowable in virtue of the road." It is to take advantage, by a fictitious journey, of the law, *Pāc.* xxxii., which allows the *gaṇabhojana* on the occasion of a journey.[64]

It results, it seems, from this comparison, that the Pāli explanation of *gāmantara* rests on the contamination of two theses, which the Mahīçāsakas distinguish from one another, for the formula supposes a "journey," whatever it may be otherwise, and the *Pāc.* xxxv. essentially concerns the *anatirikta*.

7. *Amathitakappa*, or "unchurned milk." — "It is allowable, after having eaten, to take milk which is no longer in the state of milk and is not yet in a state of curd, and which is not the remains [of the meal]."[65] A thesis condemned by virtue of *Pāc.* xxxv., which forbids, as we have seen, all *anatirikta*."

According to the Mahīçāsakas, "to drink beyond the time allowed a mixture of cream, butter, honey, and honey in the form of a stone [= sugar]." Almost identical herewith is the explanation of the Dharmaguptas. The Sarvāstivādins come very near to the *Culla* in what concerns the nature of the milky compound (sweet milk, mixed with sour milk); but, in agreement with the Mahīçāsakas, they indicate also as characteristic of the innovation the fact of eating "beyond the allotted time."

According to a tradition of the Sarvāstivādins, Devadatta forbade the brethren to use milk and its derivatives.[66] Buddha, on the contrary, allows the five products of the cow, milk, curds, *ghî*, "buttermilk," and butter. (*M. Vagga*, VI. 34, 21);[67] he authorises, also, "milk with rice" (*yāgu*) with blocks of honey, which the brethren thought they ought to refuse (VI. 24), and which if taken in the morning, does not render *anatirikta* a dinner accepted later on in the town.

It, certainly, is difficult to form an opinion on this seventh innovation; but one has the impression that the indices *anatirikta* and *akāla*, which make it culpable in the eyes of the theras of the *Culla* and the *Dulva*, are artificial: the tradition no longer knew that unchurned milk had passed for illicit.

8. *Jalogi pātum.* "It is allowable to drink of the *surā* which, [starting] from the nature of the non-*surā*, has not attained to the quality of being intoxicating."[68] A thesis condemned by virtue of *Pāc.* li., which forbids the drinking of *surā* and *meraya*.[69]

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63 *bhojaniya.* See below, Appendix.

64 M. Barth has drawn attention to the curious conversation in which Kāçyapa, whose affection for the Dhūtāngas we know, reproaches Ānanda with "the bad habit of eating in a group"; the *trikabhojana* is opposed to the *gaṇabhojana* (*Mahāvastu*, III. 48, 6; Barth, article on the *Mhv.* in *J. des Savants*, 1899, reprint, p. 28). According to *Pāc.* xxxii.; *Culla*, VII., 3, 13: there is a *gaṇa* as soon as they number more than three. On the provisions of the journey, *M. Vagga*, VI 34, 21.

65 *kappati yaṁ taṁ khīraṁ khīrabhāvaṁ vijahitaṁ asampattaṁ dadhibhāvaṁ bhuttāvinā pavāritena anatirittaṁ pātun ti* [read : *khīrabhāve vijahite*]. — "Churn-license: Is it allowable for one who has once finished his meal and has refused any more, to drink milk not left over from the meal, on the ground that it has left the condition of milk and has not yet reached the condition of curds." (That is, which is neither liquid nor solid: something apparently like buttermilk.)

66 Rockhill, *Life*, p. 87. "Not to make use of curds and milk, because by so doing one harms calves."

67 The context appears to indicate that it is a question of monks when travelling.

68 *Culla*: *kappati yā sā surā asurātā asampattā majjabhavaṁ sā pātum.* Commentary (Ap. Minayeff *Prātimokṣa*, p. xxxix): *taruṇasurāyaṁ majjasambhāram ekato kataṁ majjabhāvaṁ asampattam* [read °*sambhāre ekato kate*]. Kern: "May one drink new wine of the palm-tree? That is to say: May one drink that kind of strong drink which has not the character of strong drink and which has not yet acquired the nature of an intoxicant." "Churn-license: Is it allowable to drink spirits which have left the condition of not being spirits [*asurātā* = *asurātvāt*] and yet have not acquired intoxicating properties."

69 *M. Vyut*, § 261, 83, *surāmaireyamadyapāna* — *ibid.* § 230, fermented drinks, of which 33 *surā*, 37 *maireya*.

According to the Mahīçāsakas it is a question of an intoxicating liquor which had fallen back into fermentation.

According to the *Dulva*, "to drink like a leech intoxicating liquors, while making the excuse of sickness."[70]

Prof. Oldenberg argues: "The *Vibhaṅga* treats of the different kinds of *surā* and *meraya*, speaks of the case where one would only drink the intoxicating liquor with a blade of grass, speaks of an intoxicating drink which the drinker considers to be non-intoxicating, and, reciprocally, and of a series of subtleties of this nature: now it does not speak of *jalogi*."[71] Then the *Vibhaṅga* is previous to Vaiçālī.

The *Prātimokṣa* forbids the drinking of intoxicating drinks. It is a very old law of asceticism, as old as the palm-wine or the rice-water.[72] But what is drinking? What is an intoxicating drink?

Drinking is bringing, in any way whatever, the drink in contact with the mouth, were it only with a blade of grass;[73] so that the *jalogi*, as the Tibetan source (Sarvāstivādin) understands it "to drink in the manner of a leech," is condemned by the *Vibhaṅga*.

What is an intoxicating drink? Every substance which intoxicates, according to the account recorded in the *Vibhaṅga* (*Pāc.* li.); but, according to the definitions with which the paragraph ends, every substance capable of fermenting (*sambhārasaṁyutta*).[74] The *jalogi*, therefore, according to the interpretation that the *Culla* and the Dharmaguptas give of it, is contemplated in the *Vibhaṅga*.

But the severe and just tribunal, which Minayeff in imagination substitutes for the theras presided over by Revata, will not fail to study the chapter of the *M. Vagga* (VI. 35, 6) consecrated to the drinks allowable or forbidden. Whilst the *Vibhaṅga* enumerates as *merayas* and prohibits the juice (*āsava*) of flowers, of fruits, of honey, of the sugar-cane (*gula*), because it is *saṁbhārasaṁyutta*, the *M. Vagga* allows the juice (*rasa*) of fruits, grains excepted; the drink prepared with leaves and flowers, except the *ḍāka* ("potherb") and the *madhukapuppha* (*Bassia latifolia*), and the juice of the sugar-cane.[75]

9. *Adasakam nisīdanam*, "a mat without fringes to sit upon."[76] Neither Revata, nor Sabbakāmī, claim for exact information; but the thesis is condemned in virtue of *Pāc.* lxxxix., which indicates the legal dimensions of the mat.[77] Therefore, according to the interpretation of the *Culla*, the heretics maintained that "the fact of not being ornamented with a fringe makes legal a mat whose dimensions are irregular."

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70 *Sic.* Minayeff: see Appendix. — *Srin-bu-pad-ma* = *jalaukā, jalūkā, jalūka*, (*M. Vyut*, § 213, 86). Compare *jalogi*?

71 *Buddh. Studien*, p. 632, note.

72 *M. Vyut*, § 863, 5, *madyapānavirati*.

73 *antamaso kusaggena pi pibati*. The same formula to explain what is eating.

74 Childer's remarks: *majjasaṁbhāro*, the elements of intoxication (in newly drawn toddy), opposed to *majjabhāvo*, intoxicating property (in fermented toddy or palm-wine).

75 See also, M *Vagga*, VI. 14, on the oil mixed with strong drink.—It must be added that, as a technical term, *āsrava* = alcoholic liquor made without decoction, at a low temperature; *ariṣṭa* is made by decoction.

76 Kern (*Manual*): "the use of a mat without fringes (not conform with the model prescribed)," "a mat which has not a fringe [of the prescribed dimensions]." *Vinaya Texts*: "Is a rug or mat (when it is beyond the prescribed size) lawful because it is unfringed?" The translation "unfringed seat" may lead to confusion. *Pāc.* lxxxvii. treats of *mañcas* and *pīthas*, the *Pāc.* lxxxix. of *nisīdanas*.

77 "Two cubits of Sugata" (Rockhill, *R. H. R.* IX. 178) in length, one in width, one for the border. According to the Dharmaguptas, *Pāc.* lxxxvii. (there are only 90 *pāc.* in this list), two in length, one and a half in width; but it may be made half a cubic longer and wider. (Beal, *Catena*, p. 231.)

According to the Mahīçāsakas, to make for oneself a mat of undetermined dimensions; there is no question of fringe.[78]

According to the Sarvāstivādins, the innovation consists in the contempt of the law *Nis. Pāc.* xv., which ordains that for a new mat a piece of about a cubit should be cut from the old one. There is no question of a fringe.[79]

It seems that these two different interpretations of the ninth innovation were conceived in view, of the rules of the Vinaya which may be brought forward to condemn it. The *M. Vagga* VIII., 16, 4, which ought to throw some light on the question, permits a covering as wide as one wishes, for this unexpected reason that the *nisīdana* was too narrow. Should we be imprudent if we sought an element of appreciation in the Tibetan tradition relative to the five laws of Devadatta:[80] "Gautama wears robes whose fringes are cut, we will wear robes with long fringes?"

10. *Jātarūparajata*, "gold and silver." "According to all appearances," remarks Prof. Oldenberg, "at the Council of Vesālī (said to be a century after the death of Buddha), the question of accepting gold and silver was the essential point of the debate, in the midst of secondary and subtle differences."[81] In our opinion, it would, perhaps, be better to say that this question is the only one of which we may believe with relative security that it brought into conflict Yaças and the Vajjiputtakas. In any case, it is admitted that the *jātarūparajata* is here of the utmost importance.

We recall the interesting episode whose principal details we have indicated. Are the innovators in any way excusable? Can any one maintain that they know and respect the law, since they circumvent it? Or perhaps, on the contrary, do we find here proof that, not only the *Vibhaṅga*, but also the *Prātimokṣa*, were not, at the time of Vaiçālī, constituted as they are to-day?[82]

When Yaças points out to Revata the "enormities" of the supporters of heresy and when he finally arrives at the question of gold and silver, Revata does not ask for any explanations, as he did for the eight previous points.[83] It suffices for him to hear that word, tabooed beyond all other, "gold and silver"; and, in fact, from the point of view of Revata, which is that of a doctor familiar with the Vinaya, is not the question of a remarkable simplicity?

The *Nissaggiya* xviii., invoked by Sabbakāmin, is formal: "Every Bhikkhu who shall receive gold or silver, or shall make any one receive any, or shall cause it to be kept in deposit . . . ." The *Nis.* xix. and xx. forbid all connection with money, buying and selling.[84] *Nis.* x. is still more precise. It specifies that, if money is offered to a monk to buy robes, he shall point out a faithful layman, "the man who keeps the *ārāma* in order," for example, "to whom the money may be given and who will attend to the buying and making of the robes."[85] For whatever motive it may be, the monk must not receive money.

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78 According to Wass. relates to [Nis.] *Pāc.* xv.

79 See Appendix.

80 See Rockhill, *Life*, p. 87; *Udānavarga*, p. 204. This "law" is missing from the corresponding Cingalese list (*Culla*, VII. 3, 14). There is, besides, a positive mistake, whether in the *Dulva*, or in M. Rockhill's translation, in what concerns the fifth law of Devadatta. It is the latter who forbids the brethren to live in villages, and not Buddha. *Vinaya Texts*, III. p. 252, last line, read: fish [and meat] . . . . *macchamaṁsa*.

81 Buddha, trans. Foucher,[2] p. 349, note.

82 Oldenberg, *Buddh. Studien*, p. 632, n. 3. Nur bei dem Streitpunkte über *jātarūparajata* ist das, was die Vesālimönche für zulässig erklärten, in Vinaya ausdrücklich als verboten namhaft gemacht. Hier, also, versagt unser Argument. Aber es ergiebt sich hier doch auch kein Gegenargument. Dass jene Haretiker hier etwas in der That verbotenes einzuführen suchten und dies Bestreben dann von den Orthodoxen mit Entrüstung, unter Berufung auf den Verbotsparagraphen, bekämpft wurde, ist ein durchaus glaublicher Vorgang.

83 Just so Sabbakāmin questioned by Revata.

84 *M. Vyut*, § 230, 21—23.

It is known that *M. Vyut* (§ 230) list of the Naiḥsargikas corresponds to that of the *Pātimokkha*. The order is the same for the first 22 terms.

85 *M. Vyut*, § 230, 12, *preṣaṇa*.

Truly, what a "hard and troublesome" question and how probable it is that the monks of Vaiçālī had knowledge of the *Nissaggiyas* and repeated them piously at each phase of the moon! Now, not only do they accept gold and silver, but they do not regard the coins as the undivided property of the community; they share them among themselves.

Everything becomes clear, things at least follow each other with an appearance of logic, when we examine this history from Minayeff's point of view. If the community, for reasons that it is not our business to explain, had not yet formulated an exact law about money, the error of the Vajjiputtakas, their arrogant attitude, their manœuvres, their struggle, their condemnation, and the importance which it seems to have had, all this would be less extraordinary.

"Gold and silver are contrary to the spirit of detachment of ascetics in general." Thus Yaças denounces the Vajjiputtakas to the pious laymen, as much because they are refractory to religious discipline as because they are violators of the code of *Çākya*: "They are neither Samaṇas, nor sons of Sakya,[86] these pretended monks who accept money."

We may, in the same spirit, attribute a precise import to one of the discourses which Yaças holds with the laymen to justify his remonstrances (XII. 1, 4). It is a question of a conversation otherwise unknown in the other sources, which Buddha is supposed to have had with Maṇicūḍaka. This fictitious personage is only a double of Yaças. The latter relates that one day Maṇicūḍaka protested against the royal officers, who said: "Gold and silver are allowable to the devotees, sons of Sakya"; then, going to find Buddha, he told him what he had heard of the congregation and what he himself had answered: "In maintaining what I did maintain, he asked the Master, did I speak according to the word of Bhagavat, far from incorrectly making him responsible for [a doctrine he does not teach]? Did I speak in accordance with the Dharma, without anything to be blamed in my words, in my principal and accessory theses relative to the duties of the brethren?[87]" The answer which Yaças ascribes to Bhagavat may be imagined.

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86 *M. Vyut*, § 278, *abhikṣu, açramaṇa, açākyaputrīya.*

87 *kacc' āhaṁ bhante evaṁ vyākaramāṇo vuttavādī c'eva bhagavato homi* [,] *na ca bhagavantaṁ abhūtena abbhācikkhāmi* [;] *dhammassa vā anudhammaṁ vyākaromi na ca koci sahadhammiko vādānuvādo gārayhaṁ ṭhānaṁ āgacchati.* (See the strictly parallel passage, *M. Vagga*, VI. 31, 4. The only difference is that the subject is in the plural, and that we read *dhammassa ca* instead of *vā*. See also *Saṁ. N.* IV. 381.)

It is with regret that I differ from the translation of the *Vinaya Texts*: "Now am I, Lord, in maintaining as I did, one who speaks according to the word of the Blessed One, one who does not falsely represent the Blessed One, *one who does not put forth minor matters in the place of the true Dhamma*? And is there anything that leads to blame in such discussion, this way and that, as touching the observance of the rules of the Order?" We read ad VI. 31, 4: "Do they say the truth of the Blessed One, and do they not bear false witness against the Blessed One and *pass off a spurious Dhamma as your Dhamma*? And there is nothing blameworthy in a dispute like this, regarding matters of Dhamma?"

M. Kern, to whom I submit this passage, thinks that the word *anudhammam* is adverbial. Compare passages like *Su. Nip.*, stanza 39, *dhammesu niccam anudhammacārī; Dh. pada.*, stanza 20, *dhammassa hoti anudhammacārī* and expressions like *akatānudhammo* = who is not treated as by right [cf. *M. Vyut*, § 48, 49-50, *anudharmapraticārī dharmānudharmapratipanna*]. *sahadhammiko* seems generally to have the meaning which Childers gives to it, "relating to the ordinances which bind all the priests." *anuvāda* = an addition, corroborative or of detail, of a thesis, proposition or rule [*anuvāda* in the sense of blame, see *M. Vagga*, index].

In this way we obtain a phrase whose two parts are parallel: "Is it not the fact that speak in accordance with Bhagavat, and not travesty his thought? Is it not the fact that speak according to the Dhamma and not travesty the Dhamma?"

I had proposed the following translation to M. Kern: "Have I proclaimed the corollary of the Law (*anudhamma*)." He thinks it may be possible. However, it can only rest upon the glosses of the *Dhp.* and of *Sam Pās.* interpreted by Childers (*dhammam anvāya dhammānudhammapaṭipanna, Dhp.* p. 378). I do not know what to make of the six *anudharmas* of *M. Vyut*, § 231, 120; see, also, *ibid.* § 126, 81, *dharmopadharma.*

Yaças, Revata, Sarvakāmin did not condemn the propositions of Vaiçālī, notably the *jātarūparajata*, by invoking as the *Culla* relates, the text of the *Prātimokṣa* supported by the exegesis contained in the *Vibhaṅgas*. They condemned them, and rightly so, in the name of the "Dharma," speaking and explaining conformably to the Dharma, as did Maṇicūḍaka. Rightly so, we say, for "every good word is the word of Buddha";[88] and if Buddha may have left out some detail, he no less forbids all that is bad.[89]

But Minayeff calls upon us to examine the facts a little more closely.

"In the special, technical terms which designate the innovations of Vaiçālī and in other similar ones which are to be met with, for example, in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, there is, perhaps, preserved the most ancient form of the rules of the Vinaya, a form which, in the course of time, developed by various explanations into commandments (*çikṣāpada*), into the rules of the *Prātimokṣa*, etc." As a matter of fact, to the *kappati jātarūparajatam* of the Vajjiputtakas is opposed the principle which forbids the *jātarūparajatasparçana*."[90]

Minayeff regards it as assured that the whole of the legislation on gold and silver, legislation in which "the spirit even of the community seems to be at stake,"[91] certainly is not anterior to Vaiçālī. But there was, perhaps, a law forbidding them to *touch* money, to receive silver in their own hands, a law which we read in the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas: "If a Bhikṣu *with his own hand* take gold, silver or even copper . . . ."[92]

The *Nis.* x., where there is an evident purpose of avoiding contact with the money, is the natural result of the principle thus conceived. So with the precept relative to the journey, *M. Vagga*, VI. 34, 2.[93]

The Vajjiputtakas do not receive the money from hand to hand: as we have seen, they placed a copper vase filled with water in the midst of the circle of the brethren.

One then is inclined to believe that the Vajjiputtakas evade a law too special, to have the scope that it has acquired in the sequel.

But, for everything is strange in this affair of Vaiçālī, this impression is suddenly destroyed by a brutal matter of fact: it seems, in truth, that the practice of the Vajjiputtakas is conformable if not to the Dharma, at least to the spirit of the community. This vase, of which, as far as I know, we find no information in the Pāli Vinaya[94] and "which excited Yaças' indignation to such a high

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88 See *J. R. A. S.* 1902, p. 375.

89 *M. Vagga*, VI. 40: "What I have not forbidden in direct terms is permitted or forbidden according as it is conformable to the law or not; what I have not permitted . . . ."

90 *M. Vyut*, § 260, 21, *jātarūparajatasparçana*; § 261, 63, *ratnasaṁsparça*. This conjecture of Minayeff is certainly not exact for all the terms contemplated by *M. Vyut*.

91 Oldenberg, Buddha trans. Foucher,[2] p. 239.

92 *Nis. Pāc.* xviii., ap. Beal, *Catena* The Pāli text says perhaps the same thing, *uggaṇheyya* in opposition to *uggaṇhāpeyya*, cause to be taken by another, and to *upanikkhittam sādiyeyya*, cause to be kept in deposit; — but it is less clear.

93 The brethren will remit the money to a *kappiyakāraka*, who will make the purchases necessary to the monk.

94 The Sarvāstivādins are more detailed than the *Culla*. The *pātra* is rubbed with ointments, perfumed, ornamented with flowers; it is placed on the head of one of the brethren who traverses the streets and squares, crying: "Give, inhabitants of the town and strangers; this *pātra* is a *bhadrapātra*; to give into this *pātra* is to give infinitely . . . ." We cannot help thinking of the *bhadrakumbhas* of Hindooism.

degree, is used regularly in the church of the theras, in the Holy Cingalese Church!" Spence Hardy bears witness to this: "In some conspicuous place there is a large copper-pan, into which the alms of the people are thrown."[95]

I do not wish to leave this "monetary" question without observing that the *Suttavibhaṅga* also, with a mixture of hypocrisy and naiveté, distorts the dispositions of the *Pātimokkha*. One can see, *Vibhaṅga Nis.* xviii,[96] the use that has to be made of the money unduly received by a monk; how the Saṁgha, while condemning the monk, knows how to profit by the good windfall;[97] how they go as far as inventing a special and delicate function, that of "gold thrower," which supposes fixed moral qualities, for the improbable hypothesis that a layman would not accept the duty of buying, with cursed money, "*ghī*" or oil for the Saṁgha. Prof. Oldenberg, who loves, as I also love, the Buddhist monks, sees in this a "scruple in which there is something touching." Doubtless; but this scruple being combated by considerations in themselves legitimate, the whole of the dispositions may pass for very ingenious.

Having reached the end of this examination we shall affirm first of all that the question of the innovations — are they new or are they not? — does not present itself to the disciples of M. Kern and Minayeff in the same terms as to Prof. Oldenberg.

The latter, given the date and authority that he attributes to the *Culla*, cannot but know in what consisted the theses of the Vajjiputtakas, when the Pāli text consents to say it with sufficient clearness. We have followed him on this ground and we have examined if these theses are, or are not, contemplated in the Vinaya. It is certain that they are, since the theras condemn them. We have shown that the innovations 4 and 5 (*āvāsakappa, anumati°*) are prohibited in precise terms by the *Mahāvagga*; we believe we saw that innovation 8 (*jalogi*) is attacked by the *Vibhaṅga*. The points 1, 2, 3, 9, 10 are in violation of fixed laws on food (*atirikta, akāla, saṁnidhikāra*), on the dimensions of beds, on money. As to innovation 6, it may be regarded as ruinous to every disciplinary canon, as an attack on the authority of Buddha and the community.

But, in fact, even when the *Culla* is clear, even when the three other sources (Sarvāstivādins, Mahīçāsakas, Dharmaguptas) confirm its interpretation of the "points" of Vaiçālī, we are very far from knowing anything but traditions, often suspicious. It is not doubtful that the theses are defined by authors who, rightly or wrongly, consider them heretical and who know the prohibitive resources of the *Prātimokṣa*; hence, are we sure of the exactness of the definition? Or, rather, what do we know with certainty of the innovations?

The *āvāsakappa* and the *anumati* are defined in the *Culla* by people who have under their eyes the ecclesiastical rules that Sabbakamin invokes in kind. The words *abhuttāvinā pavāritena anatirittam* are introduced into the definition of *amathita* and of *gāmantara* to make them fall under the formula of "non-remaining" food. The same for the note "*akāla*" in the case of the two fingers. Perhaps, also for the *gaṇabhojana* brought forward by the Sarvastivādins à propos of "the village."

Add that the pseudo-historic context of the Council is more than subject to caution.[98]

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[95] A savoury detail which the translators of the *Vinaya Texts* could have mentioned. Sp. Hardy does not say that the vase is filled with water. See *East. Mon.* p. 233; quoted by Kern, *Gesch.* I. p. 248, 1.

[96] *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 26, and Oldenberg, *Buddha*, trans. Foucher,[2] p. 349.

[97] The punishment for the guilty monk consists especially in not having his share in the things the money buys — *Sic vos non vobis* . . . .

[98] On this point see M. Kern's observations and those of Prof. Oldenberg. I doubt if the second has convinced the first. The relations of the Vajjiputtakas with Devadatta on the one hand, with Vṛjiputra, pupil of Ānanda, on the other, add nothing to the probability of the account.

The argumentation of Prof. Oldenberg, not very strong even when one places oneself at his point of view, which necessarily nearly approaches that of the compiler of the *Culla*, when one recognises the authority of the *Culla* and the unlawful character of the innovations of Vaiçālī, loses all authority if we abandon these postulates.

We have some little information about the way in which the Vajjiputtakas collected the money from the faithful; and it happens that the Cingalese have recourse to the same copper-vase.

If the "salt in the horn" is preserved salt, the Vinayas authorise the provision of salt for life. If it is a question of ginger, ginger also is allowed. The *Gāmantara* is, perhaps, only this form of the "repast in a group," which *Pāc.* xxxii. authorises on a journey, as in several other circumstances, but which was abominable to the ascetics of the school of Kāçyapa, to those *āraṇyakabhikṣus* who come to the help of Yāças: it would be a proof of an excessive good will to admit, with the *Dulva*, that the heresy of the Vajjiputtakas consisted in making a journey the pretext. The *amathita*, rendered unlawful by a vain pretext of *anatirikta*, is permitted in principle to the brethren; but we know that certain heretics prohibited it: "the school of Devadatta," among whom were the monks of Vesālī (*Culla*, VII. 4), condemned preparations made of milk. The same Devadatta forbids convents (*āvāsa* ?), "roofs" (*channa*), the vicinity of villages (*gāmanta*); he allows only the forest and "the foot of a tree." He forbids the *akkhaṇa*; he forbids salt.[99] I admire those who dare to take part in such conditions.[100] Perhaps the "innovations" of Vaiçālī are unknown, with their specific names, in our Vinayas, not because the compiling of the Vinaya is previous to Vaiçālī, but because the community which compiled the Vinaya itself practised the unlawful innovations introduced and sanctioned by the cousin of Devadatta. There is nothing absurd in the hypothesis itself; and in a certain measure it is confirmed by the vague indications we possess on the primitive state of the community.

We do not believe that the *Pātimokkha*, as it is, with the *Vibhaṅgas* and the *Khandhakas*, certainly existed before Vaiçālī:[1] "This is poetry, although it may be written in prose." But the antiquity of the books of discipline is none the less more than probable.

M. Kern has shown, in fact, that in many of its parts the Vinaya is nothing but the transposition of the Brahmanic or Jaina rules.[2] On the other hand, we know, or we think we

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[99] Wass. p. 56: "Erinnern wir uns den dunkeln Berichte über Devadatta und dessen Schule, welche den Gebrauch des Salzes verbot . . . ." See above, p. 93, n. 80.

[100] Can one make use of the information furnished by M. Rockhill (*Life*, p. 50): "The Dulva informs us that the most important rules of the code, which was afterwards called the Prātimokṣa, were only formulated when Devadatta commenced sowing strife among the brethren, some ten or twelve years before the Buddha's death. At all events our texts lead us to suppose that until after the conversion of Prasenajit, the mendicants of the Order did not live together, and that the only rules laid down for their guidance were that they were obliged to beg their food, that they must observe the ordinary rules of morality (the *çila* precepts), that they must own no property, and that they must preach to all classes of people.''

[1] *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. xxii: "That the difference of opinion on the Ten Points remains altogether unnoticed in those parts of the collection where, in the natural order of things, it would be obviously referred to, and that it is only mentioned in an Appendix where the Council held on its account is described, shows clearly, in our opinion, that the Vibhaṅga and the Khandhakas (save the two last) are older than the Council of Vesālī.''

It is sometime since M. Kern cited "certain proofs of the ignorance of the authors of the two Vaggas and of the *Suttavibhaṅga*, so strong that they can only be explained by the supposition that these two works are of a date much more recent than the rule itself." (*Gesch*. II. p. 10.)

[2] Brahmacārins, bhiksus, vānaprasthas, vaikānasas, jaṭilas, āgnikas. This demonstration was made for the first time in a complete manner in *Gesch.* Vol. II., first chapters. See Minayeff and Oldenberg (Foucher,[2] p. 328) who calls attention to the comparative remarks of Jacobi, *Sacred Books*, XXII. p. xxiv. and following. On the development of disciplinary rule, consult Oldenberg, *loc. cit.* In our opinion, the author spoils by the rigidity of his orthodoxy the most ingenious views in the world.

know, that Buddha was rather "loquacious" and it is not impossible that Buddha himself and the Saṁgha, from its dawn and in the great trouble which followed upon the death of the Master, exerted itself to assure the Buddhist originality as compared with other sects.[3]

And we must go further. The community, we have already said, comprises two classes of monks who took their refuge in the Buddha, the *āraṇyakabhikṣus*, of whom Devadatta, father of the Dhūtāṅgas, was with Kāçyapa, the legendary patron;[4] and the *bhikṣus* who constitute the centre of the community and whose disciplinary organisation Buddha confided to Upāli.[5] The divergence of the views of the two groups could only hasten the codification of two sets of rules.

We possess these two sets of rules, and if it is difficult to fix their distant antecedents their history in Buddhism and their reciprocal relations, it is easy to recognise the two tendencies which dominate them. On the one hand, the four "resources," or "points of support" (*nissaya, niçraya*) of the monastic life; in the matter of food, the mouthfuls received as alms; as regards clothes, the robe consisting of rags; for a house, the foot of a tree; for medicines, decomposed urine.[6] And Budha declares that all the rest, meals in the town, clothes made on purpose, monastries and grottoes, *ghî*, butter or oil are superfluities (*atirekalābha*), that is to say, if you like, dispensations (extra allowances). These are, for certain, derogations from *çrām ıṇya*.

On the other hand, — I have in view the rule rather than the organisation of the fraternity[7] — the *Prātimokṣa* itself, it seems, is only a translation of the essential axioms of Hindoo asceticism, but a translation much less integral. One is a *çramaṇa* only on the condition of conforming to the immemorial principles of chastity, of poverty, of temperance, of obedience also, at least for the novices and within certain limits. But there is a way of understanding these principles. Now it seems indeed that the *Prâtimokṣa* not only is unacquainted with the

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[3] Kern, *Manual*, p. 74: "In general it may be said that the whole organisation of the Saṁgha and a good deal of the rules for monks and nuns, — if we may trust the canonical writings, — were introduced by imitation or by accident. The Master is less a legislator than an upholder of the Law . . . ."

[4] See Sp. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 326; and above, p. 91, n. 49.

Fa-hien relates that the disciples of Devadatta, his contemporaries, honour the three last but one Buddhas, but not Çākyamuni (Beal, p. 82, quoted by Rockhill, *Udāna*, p. 204).

[5] On the role of Upāli see the texts (note *Culla*, VI. 13, 1) quoted in *Vinaya Texts*, I. pp. xii. and xiii. The documents which go even so far as to substitute Upāli for Buddha in what concerns the promulgation of the Vinaya are as suggestive as the conclusion of the translators is prudent: "There may well be some truth in this very ancient tradition that Upāh was specially conversant with the Rules of the Order; but it would be hazardous on that account to ascribe to Upāli a share, not only in the handing down of existing rules, but in the composition of the Pātimokkha itself."

[6] The *Nissayas* are declared to all the monks immediately after ordination: if they were declared to them beforehand, no one would wish to be a monk! (*M. Vagga*, I. 30); they constitute the ideal of the ascetic life. The Bhikṣus are free to follow or to slight the *Dhūtas*. Among the Arhats of Vaiçālī (Southern and Āvantakas), some only, as we have seen, p. 82, n. 100, practise the *dhūtās* 8, 3, 1, 2. It is clear, however, says M. Kern, that the six first *dhūtas* have nothing special to the āranyakas.

The three first *nissayas* correspond to the *Dhūtaṅgas* 2, 1, 9 of the Pāli list. On these see Kern, *Man.* p. 75. The women are necessarily excluded from the *niçrayas*.

[7] Perhaps there is in fact a more personal element in the organisation of the Saṁgha than in the rule of iscipline?

rigorous *niçrayas*,[8] but also brings numerous mitigations to the prohibitions of food *anatirikta*[9] or *saṁnidhikāra*, of *gaṇabhojana*, and doubtless also to several others.

In its turn, the discipline, such as it appears in the *Khaṇḍakas*, is constructed in the margin of the rules of the *Prātimokṣa*, made up of diverse and sometimes incongruous accommodations.[10]

It is not unreasonable, not only to believe that the greater number of the elements of these two codes of discipline are ancient, even though they are in moderate agreement with each other, but also to carry back very far the time of the compilation of these codes. Who knows if the ancient Tathāgatas did not collaborate in it?

In any case, Buddha did not speak in vain when he allowed the Saṁgha to determine in the absence of rules emanating from himself, what is lawful or unlawful: when he left to this same Saṁgha the care of putting aside the lesser and minor rules; when he congratulated Maṇicūḍaka on having reasoned in conformity with the Dharma. His own life furnished two opposite images of the ascetic life (çrāmaṇya). The legend claims that he was a naked monk and an ascetic before discovering the middle road between senseless asceticism and the life of the world. The point of discipline on which the texts are most formal is the condemnation of nakedness.[11] For the rest and the detail, the Master refers to the interpretation which the Church will give of the Eight-fold Path. Let Soṇa, so delicately reared that hairs have grown under the soles of his feet, come to terms with Kāçyapa, who still shudders at having renounced the great *tapas*.

There will be before and after Vaiçālī, whatever may be the time of Vaiçālī, heads of schools, innovators if you like, some lax, others rigorous, "whose memory is not even preserved in the Buddhist Saṁgha."[12] There are some, however, who could be named, especially among the latter

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8 The law of the three *cīvaras*, which is one of the *dhūtas* (No. 2), is, at the bottom, contradictory to *dhūta* No. 1 (clothing made of rags). This first *dhūta* is Hindoo; the *tricīvara* is Buddhist by definition. *Nis.* xiii., which orders to sew a piece of the old *cīvara* to a new one (above, p. 93), clearly shows the opposition of the *Prātimokṣa* and the *Dhūtas*.

9 The *anatirikta* appears to be a variant of *khalupaçcādbhaktika* (*Dhūta* 7); see Kern, p 76, and Childers.

The provision of "medicines," allowed *Nis.* xxiii.; the *gaṇabhojana* authorised, *Pāc.* xxxii.

10 Compare *Pāc.* xxxx., prohibition of taking what is not given and the authorisation to take fruits.

Pāc. xxxix. forbids, except in case of sickness, *ghī*, butter, oil, honey, molasses, fish, meat, milk and curds, *M. Vagga*, VI. 31, allows meat and fish "unheard, unseen, unsuspected." See Kern, *Man.* p. 84, and his note: "The Buddha himself is represented as eating the pork expressly prepared for him by the Cunda, and thus proved, *ipso facto*, that he was no Buddhist."!

On the question of the meat in the Great Vehicle, see Chavannes, *Réligieux Éminents*, p. 48. *Ibid.* p. 49, the note on *bhojanīya*—also *Çikṣās*, 132, 14 foll.

11 *M. Vagga*, VIII. 15, 7; 28, 1. Above, p. 16.

12 Minayeff, p 51: "A certain monk, after having freely submitted to the ascetic regime, common in all its fundamental features to the Buddhists and the solitaries or to the forest ascetics of Brahmanism, could begin to preach the legality, the piety of actions contrary to the spirit and to the real meaning of the commandments which he had agreed to fulfil, but whose interdiction was not yet formulated in precise terms in any code"; probable consequence "of a certain demoralisation produced by the life in common of the monks"; he might also, we will add, tax his ingenuity to elude the precise terms of a code.

"How can we explain how these deviations arose in the brotherhood of Vaiçālī? Were they the result of demoralization? Or perhaps these innovations, at the bottom, were neither innovations, nor derogations to any code whatever of disciplinary rules, for this reason that no such code existed in the community . . . . ? We may even believe that the appearance among the ascetics of this repugnance to detachment and austerity were due to the two causes at once . . . ."

And, in this sense, we may say with Minayeff without imprudence that the divers prohibitions of the Vinayas sum up, in a concise and condensed form, the history of a series of conflicts.

The mistake would consist in thinking that the *Prātimokṣa* is nothing else than the focussing of the solutions successively adopted. As a theoretic construction, destined to be legally violated before as well as after its compilation, the *Prātimokṣa* is, perhaps, contemporaneous with the first Vinayadharas. This does not mean, for instance, that the keeping of salt, allowed in the *Mahāvagga*, was forbidden at the time when the *Prātimokṣa*, which does not recognise it, was compiled. The weekly provision of *bhaiṣajyas*, permitted in the *Prātimokṣa* (*Nis.* xxiii.), although all provision was forbidden, is not necessarily a later interpolation : when repeating an axiom of the *çrāmanya*, in order to clear their conscience, they may very well have noticed an alleviation, solemnly authorised by Buddha or the Saṁgha.

It seems that the episode of the Vajjiputtakas and Yaças-Revata-Sarvakāmin, however hard put to we may be to characterise it, belongs to that obscure history of the ancient disciplinary conflicts. We decidedly refuse to recognise in the ten points derogations from the Vinaya of Vaṭṭāgamanī or from the Tibetan Vinaya. Perhaps we should make a less grave mistake by seeking to discover underneath this motley tradition, uncertain in itself, full of gaps, altered, perhaps transposed as a whole, an ancient stock of authentic remembrances relative to the struggle of the *āraṇyakas* with the *bhikṣus* or to the conflicts of the *bhikṣus* and the *āraṇyakas* among themselves.

One last word. The prohibitions of the *Prātimokṣa* are one thing, the ordinances relative to the constitution of the Order another. Minayeff recognises this, although in places he seems to forget it. Messrs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg have well said " that Gotama's disciples, from the very beginning, were much more than a free and unformal union of men held together merely through their common reverence for their Master and through a common spiritual aim. They formed, rather, and from the first, an organised Brotherhood."[13] The history of Buddhism becomes very obscure if this point is contested;[14] if, according to Minayeff, we picture the Saṁgha, at the death of the Master, as "a group of ascetics having neither clear doctrines, nor definite disciplinary institutions."[15] The doctrine is not clear, nor the discipline definite ; but there is something more than a group, there is a brotherhood, or rather, for the plural is necessary,[16] there are brotherhoods of which Kāçyapa, Upālī, Purāṇa, etc., will be the heads.

These fraternities are independent, but they do not remain without relations. The sons of Çākya constitute only one family. The history of Vaiçālī tells us of the intervention of a saint in the affairs of a community to which he does not belong, concerning the control by the *āraṇyakabhikṣus* over the customs and usages of a sedentary community ; it puts beyond all doubt the solidarity of the divers groups, always open to visitors. The whole Buddhist world, we are told, was represented at Vaiçālī : it is indeed necessary, in order to explain the relative unity of the Scriptures, to admit the efficacy of the centralizing efforts.

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13 *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. xii. (It seems to us that Gotama's disciples . . . .) This appreciation is not absolutely exact, first, because the reverence due to the Master was not understood by every one in the same way, nor was the spiritual aim that Buddha preached. It is wrong to ignore the Lokottaravādins and the laymen, disciples also of Buddha ; second, because the elements grouped together by Buddha are many and diverse : Among the monks clothed in the triple robe, there were recluses, bands of wandering ascetics, sedentary brotherhoods. The organization of the Saṁgha never comprised all the Buddhist monks under uniform rules.

14 But one may ask if it is necessary to bring to it a clearness of which it scarcely admits. Renan was very wrong when he said that an explanation is as good as a document.

15 Minayeff, *Researches*, p. 40.

16 As Prof. Oldenberg very well says, transl. Foucher,[2] p. 234.

APPENDIX.

The Ten "Points" of Vaiçālī.

[Kanjur, Sūtra Vol. 102, fol. 306 (red edition).]

One hundred and ten years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, the sun of the Jina declined, and among the monks of Vaiśālī there arose ten illegal practices, contrary to the Sūtra and the Vinaya, divergent from the teaching of the Master, foreign to the Sūtra, unknown in the Vinaya, contradictory of the Dharma. These illegal practices the monks of Vaiśālī, enjoined as legal, practised, and followed.

What were those ten practices?

The monks of Vaiśālī having rendered legal the exclamation Aho! performed an ecclesiastical act, illegally in an incomplete Saṁgha, illegally in a complete Saṁgha, legally in an incomplete Saṁgha. This was the first practice, contrary to the Sūtra and the Vinaya, divergent from the teaching of the Master, foreign to the Sūtra, unknown in the Vinaya, contradictory of the Dharma, that the monks of Vaiśālī, illegal as it was, enjoined as legal, practised, and followed! (1).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, saying 'The venerable ones [absent Brothers] having approved, do ye count it as approved,' caused [the resolutions of the incomplete Saṁgha] to be approved by the monks of the parish and rendering the approval legal, performed an ecclesiastical act . . . . This was the second practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (2).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, turning up the soil with their own hands, rendered legal the practice of turning up the soil. This was the third practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (3).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, mixing salt consecrated for life-time with the [food] appropriate at the moment, declared the salt legal and so acted. This was the fourth practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (4).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, having gone a yojana and a half-yojana and having eaten food in troop, rendered [the meal in troop] legal by reason of the journey. This was the fifth practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (5).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, eating foods of both kinds, not being 'remainder' (*akṛtanirikta*), while 'making two fingers' (?), rendered legal [the practice of the] two fingers. This was the sixth practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (6).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, drinking fermented liquor with a sucking action like leeches, rendered [the fermented liquor] legal by reason of illness. This was the seventh practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (7).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, having agitated a full measure (*droṇa*) of milk and a full measure of curds, eating [this preparation] out of time, rendered [this practice] legal by reason of the mixture. This was the eighth practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (8).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, not having patched their new mats with a border, a Sugata's cubit broad, from the old mat and so indulging in luxury rendered [the practice] legal because of the mat. This was the ninth practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (9).

Again, the monks of Vaiśālī, taking alms-bowls such as were round, pure, and suitable for ritual; having anointed them with perfumes, fumigated them in sweet incense, adorned them with various fragrant flowers; having placed them on the head of a monk (or of monks) protected by a cushion: perambulated the highways, streets, and cross roads, crying as follows: "Hear, ye multitudes who have come from various towns and countries and ye wise people of Vaiśālī! This *pātra* is a 'lucky' (*bhadra*) *pātra*. To give in it is to give much: or whoever shall fill it will obtain a great fruit, a great advantage, a great activity, a great development. And receiving therein precious stones, gold, and other valuables, enjoyed themselves therewith, and rendered gold and silver legal.' This was the tenth practice, contrary to the Sūtra . . . . (10).

(1) The Tibetan presupposes a text: *vyagreṇa* [*saṁghena*] *adhārmikam, samagreṇa adhārmikaṁ ca, vyagreṇa dhārmikaṁ ca karma karonti.*

A comparison with M. Vagga, II. 14, 2, and IX. 2, 1, leaves little doubt as to the sense of this passage, which has without result exercised the sagacity of Mr. Rockhill (*Life*, p. 171 and note). It is a question of an ecclesiastical act (*kamma*=*las*), Uposatha or otherwise, which, in the Pāli, is termed complete or incomplete (*vagga, samagga*) according as the assembly is complete or incomplete, legal or illegal (*dhammena, adhammena*) according to the observance or non-observance of the rules relating to the *ñatti*, putting of the resolution, etc. (IX. 3, 1). Of the four categories *adhammena vagga, adhammena samagga, dhammena vagga, dhammena samagga*, the fourth alone is authorized.

The monks of Vāiśālī practice the first three, imitating therein the monks of Campā (IX. 2) and the famous six (*Chabbaggiya*, IX. 3). The redactor of the Dulva is not unaware of the fact; for, when Yaças demands of Sarvakāmin where that practice has been prohibited, the old man replies: 'In the village of Campā'—'À propos of what?'—'On account of the acts of the six'—'What kind of offence is it?'—'A *duḥkṛta*.' The same passage of the Mahāvagga (*Campeyyaka vinayavatthu*) is contemplated in the Culla with a view to the condemnation of the fifth practice (*anumati*).

Compare Abhidharmakoçavyākhyā, Soc. As., fol. 329 b. 5: maṇḍalasīmāyām ekasyāṁ hi sīmāyām pṛthakkarmakaraṇāt saṁghadvaidham bhavati.—Sīmābandha, Div. 150, 21; M. Vyut, 245, 420.

It remains to ascertain what relation may exist between this practice, bordering upon the *āvāsakappa*, and the interjection *aho*.

(2) It is, we believe, a question of *anumati*, as is proved by the repetition of the formulas concerning the incomplete Saṁgha. The word *anumodanā* throws light upon the relation between *approbation* and "*enjoyment*," "to amuse oneself," in Rockhill. The text contemplated with a view to the condemnation is the same as before.

(3) Condemned by Pāc. x. (LXXIII. in the Dulva). According to Sarvakāmin the proposition had been condemned at Çrāvastī à propos of the six. In the Pāli Vibhaṅga, the Āḷavikas are concerned. This practice is wanting in the other sources. It is replaced by the *āciṇṇakappa*, one of the most obscure points of this obscure tradition, against which, as we have seen, no text is adduced.

(4) According to Sarvakāmin condemned at Rājagṛha à propos of Çāriputra. If Tibetan scholars could, without some degree of shamelessness, rely upon the principle of the Latinists: "to us both reason and fact are preferable to a hundred manuscripts," we should like to read : dus • su • *ma* • ruṅ • ba • daṅ . . . . = *yāvajjīvikam adhiṣṭhitena lavaṇena saha akālakāni* . . . . = adding salt laid by to foods for which the time has passed, with the result of rendering legal those forbidden foods. The explanation of the Sarvāstivādins would agree with that of the Dharmaguptas and of the Mahīçāsakas (*see* above p. 91). For *ākālika* (*akālika*) "the time being disregarded," *see* M. Vyut, 63, 15 (and the *locus classicus* concerning the characteristics of the Dharma); for *akālaka* in a sense precisely the opposite of that which we here attribute to the word, Div. Av., 130, 22 *akālakāni sajjīkṛtāni* = there were prepared foods (*bhaiṣajyas*) that could not be taken outside the time. Both by reason of the *saṁdhi* and by reason of the sense and of the variants *akālika* and *ākālika* (from *a-kāla*), *ākālika* (from *ā-kāla*), we can explain the reading *dus • su • ruṅ • ba* for *dus • su • ma • ruṅ • ba*.

(5) Condemned at Rājagṛha, à propos of Devadatta (ḫlus • çin • za • ba = *gaṇabhojana*, M. Vyut, 261, 40 — Dr. P. Cordier).

(6) Condemned at Çrāvastī à propos of a great number of monks (lhag • mar • ma • byas • paḫi • bzaḫ • ba = *akṛtaniriktakhādana*, M. Vyut, 261, 28. — Dr. P. C.).

(7) Condemned at Çrāvastī à propos of the venerable Svāgata (*legs • oṅs*; Suratha, according to Rockhill). Compare the Sāgata of Vibh. Pāc. li.; but the scene is not at Çrāvasti.

(8) Condemned at Çrāvastī à propos of several monks.

(9) Condemned at Çrāvastī à propos of several monks. According to the text: " . . . . rendered legal [this practice] by reason of the mat."

(10) Condemned as Naiḥsargika in a great number of texts (Vinaya, Dīrgha, Madhyama, etc.).

Here the difficulties abound: (1) It is at first a question of several vases (gaṅ dag . . . . de-dag), later of "this vase" (ḫdi); (2) the epithets of the vases are curiously accumulated; (3) the red text has : dge-sloṅ • gi • mgo • bo • la • khriḫu • stan • daṅ • chas • paḫi • steṅ • du • bzhag • nas ; *khriḫu* = seat (mañca, pīṭha, pīṭhikā, M. Vyut, 273, 92), *stan* = mat (āsana), *khri • stan* = āsana, mañca-pīṭha, *chas* = garment (chas-gos) and in general, utensils "things, tools, requisites" — *mgo • steṅ • de • bzhag* = alicui opus imponere (Desgodins). If *steṅ du* = *ched • du*, we have : "placing the vase at the head of the Saṁgha with a view to obtaining chairs and mats and utensils" (?) It is better to make *khriḫu • stan* a cushion and read *dan • bcas • paḫi* with the black edition, thus : "furnished with a cushion" = "then they put a mat on a çramaṇas head and on it (the bowl)" (Rockhill), "to place a round begging-bowl . . . . on the head of a çramaṇa" (Schiefner ad Tār., p. 41); and (4) the instrumental *gser • dṅul • gyis* is analogous to that cited note 9 "by reason of the mat."

We may usefully compare M. Vyut, 239, 25, and following gandha-mālyena mahīyate, abhyarhitam, dhūpanirdhūpitam, saṁpūjitam, pūjyapūjitam, mahitam, abhiprakiranti sma, jīvitopakaraṇam, glānapratyayabhaiṣajyam, sukhopadhānam.

ANTIQUITIES AT MANDASOR.

Plate I.



The Sondni pillars.

GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,

Superintendent of Gazetteer in Central India.

I.

1. — The Mandasor Pillars.

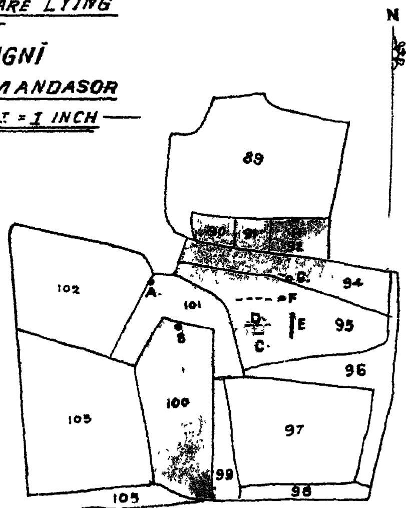
I PROPOSE, as opportunity occurs, to give, in a series of articles, miscellaneous information on places in the Central India Agency, and any other matters of interest, which have come to my notice while engaged on the Gazetteer work.

The pillars dealt with in this article, though generally designated the Mandasor pillars, actually lie at the village of **Soṅgnī** [24° 3′ N., 75° 10′ E.] also called Soṅdnī and Soṅdanī $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Mandasor. These pillars bear the inscription of **Yaśodharman,** which has been dealt by Dr. J. F. Fleet.[1] It records the defeat of the White Hun Chieftain **Mihirakula.**

The position now occupied by the remains is shewn on the accompanying Plan and on Plate I.

SURVEY PLAN OF THE FIELDS IN WHICH THE BROKEN IMAGES AND PILLARS ARE LYING AT SONGNĪ DISTRICT MANDASOR — SCALE 300 FT = 1 INCH —

A. Slab said to represent old pillar
B Base of broken pillar
C. Figure of dwārpāla (complete)
D Figure of dwārpāla (broken)
E. Pillar in two pieces
F. Base of second pillar with capital beyond it.
G. Cap and capital of pillar E on edge of the field.
H. Piece of pillar F near village.



The general appearance of the pillars as they now lie is given in Plate I. The pillar marked **E** in the Plan, and which lies across Plate I is the more perfect of the two.

On making inquiries I found that tradition asserts the former existence of four pillars, indicated in the Plan by the letters **A**, **B**, **E**, and **F**. Examination showed that the remains at **B** consisted of the base of a pillar and the spring of the shaft. It consists of a base in the shape of a cube of 3 ft. 3 ins., from which a shaft with a diameter of 3 ft. springs ornamented with crenellated bands, 4 ins. in breadth. Only 2 ft. of this column remains.[2] At **A** there is now no indication of a pillar. A slab of sandstone still lies here, but is too dilapidated, for it to be possible to say, that it ever was part of a pillar. As it consists of sandstone, however, and as all the local rock is trap, it must have been imported.

[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XV, pp. 222 and 252 ; *Gupta Insc.*, p. 146.

[2] I regret that my photograph of this fragment has been mislaid, but see Plate I.

Assuming, however, that there were four pillars originally, they would have enclosed a rectangular space of 211 ft. by 67 ft. The remains at A and B, however, stand on a sort of terrace about 4 ft. higher than the general level on which E and F lie. This terrace is certainly the site of old foundations. If so, the monoliths E and F must have stood in front of the building to which A and B belonged, either forming a gateway or simply standing alone. There is not a dissimilar gateway to the fine old temple at Baro, also in Gwalior State. The **dwārpāla's** figures lying near the pillars would support the hypothesis of a gateway.

To turn to the individual pillars. The pillar at E is broken into two pieces, but is otherwise in fair preservation. It consisted of a single sandstone block with total length of 39 ft. 5 ins., the lower piece now measuring 21 ft. 8 ins. and the upper 17 ft. 5 ins., while the base is formed of a cube of 4 ft. 3 ins.

About twenty yards beyond the top of the pillar, G in the Plan, lies the rectangular cap, into which the column is fitted. It is a square of 3 ft. 8 ins. and shows on one side the hole into which the top of the column was fixed, and on the reverse side the sockets by which the bell and lion capital was attached ; the bell lies a little way off, but the lions have vanished.

The second column, F in the Plan, is incomplete, but was undoubtedly a replica of E, and is lying as it fell, the bell capital and lions being just in front of it, while a part of the shaft lies at H.

Close to these pillars lie two stone figures, shown at C and D in the Plan. They represent **dwārpālas**, and are carved to stand, respectively, on the right and left of a gateway. They would certainly seem to have stood one beside each pillar. The general appearance of these figures, of which that at C is in good condition, is given in Plate II, Fig. 1. The figure wears an elaborate and well-executed head-dress. The muslin waist-cloth is also well represented. Each of the **dwārpālas** is accompanied by a small dwarf, whose head-dress is very much like a judge's wig, a form of head-dress not uncommon in sculpture of the Gupta period.

The dimensions of these Figures are as given below —

		ft.	ins.
Dwārpāla ...	Canopy stone, above Figure ...	2	6
	Head-dress	1	0
	Face	0	10
	Chin to Top of Thigh	2	6
	Top of Thigh to Knee	1	9
	Knee to Pedestal	1	8
		10	3
	Length of Foot	0	10
	Across Shoulders	2	0
Dwarf ...	Total Length	1	8

The features of both are flat with broad noses; the ear-rings are in the shape of lotus flowers.

The site where these pillars lie has long been used as a quarry both by the inhabitants of Mandasor and the Railway Contractor, the Rājputāna-Mālwā line passing within a hundred yards of the spot. The soil is of the "black-cotton" class and the rock in the neighbourhood is Deccan trap. The sandstone pillars must thus have been brought from a considerable distance.

ANTIQUITIES AT MANDASOR.

Plate II.



1. Statue at Sondni.



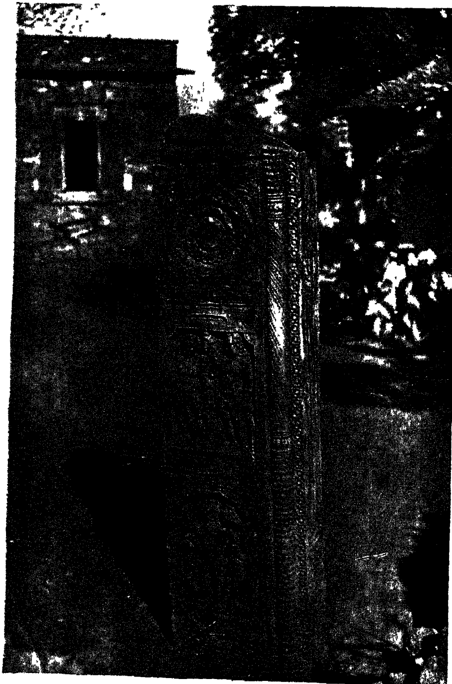
2. Fragments at Sondni.

C. E. LUARD, PHOTO. W. GRIGGS

Plate III.



3. Muhammadan gate at Mandasor



4. Khilchipura pillars.



5. Figure of Siva at Mandasor.

A series of miscellaneous carvings found on the spot are given in Plate II, Fig. 2. It will be remarked that the big male figure has the judge's-wig-like head-dress. This site is one which might possibly repay investigation by excavation scientifically carried out. The Rājā of Sheopur-Baroda, in Gwalior, who is a Gaur Rājput, says that traditionally his ancestors held this tract in the 11th and 12th centuries, but he has no stories about the place.

I would suggest that the more perfect of the two pillars with its capital and **dwārpāla** might be secured and set up or put in safe keeping at Gwalior or Indore. There is already a museum in the former place, and one is being started under official auspices in the latter. Though of immense weight, the railway line is so close that the removal could certainly be effected, and it would be well worth while.

2. — Khilchipura.

Dr. Fleet in his paper on the Mandasor inscription[3] notices the village of Khilchipura, two miles from Mandasor, and refers in particular to an ornamental column there, remarking that it probably possessed more carving than was visible above ground at the time. I have had the pillar excavated to its base (Plate III, Fig. 4). It is one pillar of a *toran*, as the socket of 10 × 4·5 ins., into which the architrave was inserted, can be seen on one side, and the remains of an *amalaka* fruit are still to be seen on the top.

The carving is interesting. It consists of a series of plaques on both sides of the pillar, apparently relating a story. A man, woman, and child, or dwarf, are apparently the *dramatis personæ*. The woman is always naked and the man in the act of uncovering himself. The man has a wig similar to those in the Mandasor carving. The excavation disclosed one more plaque. The total length of the pillar, as it stands, is 17 ft. 6 ins., and when complete must have been quite 20 ft.

At 5 ft. 6 ins. below the present ground level, the remains of an old floor, composed of slabs of stone, and some old bricks were found, while the end of the pillar was 3 ft. 6 ins. below this.

Close to this pillar stands a small temple, made up of stones from an older structure, while there are many signs of old foundations round it. It would appear from the carving on the stones that a 12th century temple once stood on this spot. This was, no doubt, destroyed when Mandasor fell to the Muhammadans, and became a place of importance in the 14th century. A tomb to a Muhammadan saint, **Ankā Pīr**, evidently placed on the site of an old temple, and some other ruins stand in and near the village. A very fine tank dating from Muhammadan times lies to the north of Khilchipura. A massive dam, which help up the southern end, has been cut through. It must have retained a very large area of water.

3. — Mandasor.

This town, the **Daśapura** of early days, is now the head-quarters of a *zila* in Gwalior State. It stands 1,516 ft. above sea level on the banks of the **Siwana, Seuna,** or **San river,** a tributary of the Siprā. It is a considerable trade centre, especially for the opium trade. It was a place of importance in early days, as it is mentioned in an inscription of the Western Kshatrapas at Nāsik and in one of the time of Kumāra Gupta I.[4] The fort, which is the most important feature, is said to have been founded by **'Alā-u'ddīn Khiljī** (1296—1316) and to have been completed by **Hoshang Shāh,** the **Mālwā Sultān** (1405—34). It is largely built of Hindu and Jain remains supposed to have come from **Afzalpur,** a village not far from the town. Though this may be in part true, a great deal of the material was certainly local, and excavation in the fort might produce relics of value. An instance of what might come to light is shown in the large mutilated statue given in Plate III, Fig. 5. It was once a fine piece of carving and must have belonged to a building of merit.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 194.

[4] *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. II, p. 140; *Gupta Insc.*, p. 81; *ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 227.

There is also a curious piece of wrought iron work lying in the fort. There are said to have been originally two of them, brought from Songnī. Tradition, possibly judging from their appearance, says they were the axles of the cart used to convey the great monoliths. Whatever their use, they are apparently of some age. The diagram below gives the dimensions. The holes *a* and *b* pass completely through the mass: the portion *c* and *d* is a cube of 7 ins.: the part *e* and *c* is circular with a diameter of about 6 ins.

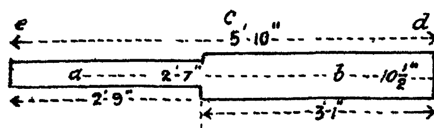


Plate III, Fig. 3, shows the Muhammadan gate leading up the main street to the fort.

MISCELLANEA.

THE LEGENDS OF MOHAN BÂRÎ.

MOHAN BÂRÎ is an ancient village in the Rohtak District, Pañjâb. According to the District *Gazetteer* the coins found there are the well known ones of Râjâ Samant Deva (flourished *circa* 920 A. D.).

An old tank contains a fragmentary inscription which reads—

Sammat 1014 Âsâṛh badî
9 Bedîran bhi yastû.[1]

Legend says that **Mohan Bârî** was once a place of some importance, destroyed owing to a curse invoked upon it, the usual explanation given in Indian legend of the ruin of a city or the overthrow of a kingdom. The following tales are current about the place:—

Once upon a time a bride re-visited her father's house to receive her *bhâṭ*, but before she could return to her father-in-law's house her husband died and she remained a widow in her paternal home. There she gave birth to a daughter, and when the child grew up she asked her brothers to help her in the celebration of her wedding ceremonies. This they promised to do, and as their sister said she would not need help in money, they agreed to send her an ample supply of *ghî*. But in filling the jars they placed cow-dung in the bottom and only a thin layer of *ghî* on top, so that when the *barât* (wedding procession arrived, the supply of that commodity ran short and the widow was disgraced before her guests. In consequence she cursed her brothers for their faithlessness, with the result that their village was ruined.

Another story is told of the place: Once a *faqîr* took up his abode on the Rânî kâ tâlâb, where he passed his days in religious meditation. The king's son, however, turned him away, whereupon the *faqîr*, opening his eyes wide in anger, said that he had heard that the Râjâ was free from avarice and that he treated all men justly, but now he knew that he was a bad ruler; and so he cursed the place and it became a ruin. The prince returning to his father told him all that had occurred, but though the Râjâ searched high and low for the *faqîr*, he was unable to find him, and his *râj* came to an end.

It is also said that a *dhûnî*, or sacred fire,[2] is seen here at night and that torches are occasionally seen also, and the *zaildâr* Dhanî Râm has himself seen them, but on following their light nothing could be found. The light is said to sometimes move in the direction of Jhârlî village. The name of the Râjâ was Mahojit, and he had a small garden or *bârî* whence the name Mohan

[1] Mr. E. A. A. Joseph, the Settlement Officer, writes: — "A local *paṇḍit* says the last three words are written backwards and should be read *Suka mistarî*! There are a number of old carvings here, some worked into the walls of the masonry *ghât* at the tank or into those of temples and houses, and two lying loose. The two latter are the best: one in sandstone represents a trinity of male nude figures, crowned with small elephants and other devices. The other in marble has a seated Buddha and an excellent representation of an elephant. Both are apparently of Buddhist origin. Amongst the ruins of the old site is also a 'Sayyid's' (or Shahîd's) grave, built within living memory by a successful contractor on the railway works."

[2] Rather a will-o'-the-wisp than a faqîr's *dhûnî*.—(E. A. A. J.)

Bâri. It is also said that the Delhi Emperors used to visit the garden, but no trace of it now remains. The village was refounded by the Thâkur Shâlû Singh of Kulâñî (a local magnate in the days of the last Nawâb of Jhajjar), who in Sambat 1912 divided off a part of the lands of Jhânswâ, settled on it the proprietors of three of the panâhs of that village, and founded a new village to which he gave the name of Siâlkoṭ, after his own name. But it is usually known as Kot, though it is also called Nayâgâon or Chhotâ Jhânswâ.

H. A. Rose.

BOOK-NOTICE.

Maurice Bloomfield : A Vedic Concordance, being an Alphabetic Index to every line of every stanza of the published Vedic literature and to the liturgical formulas thereof, that is an index to the Vedic Mantras, together with an account of their variations in the different Vedic books. Cambridge, Mass., 1906, xxii; 2; 1,078 pages, 4to. Harvard Oriental Series, edited by Charles Rockwell Lanman. Vol. X. Price, £1 4*s*. 8*d*.

It is difficult to write a review of this book, because it is all but impossible to find fault with it. It is the result of long and patient labour during a long series of years. Everyone who has tried to collect similar materials from some branch of Sanskrit literature, will be able to understand what it means to note down every Pâda occurring in the vast published Vedic literature. It takes an immense amount of work, and, let me add, often tedious work. It is almost worse than cataloguing books from morning to night and never getting time to read them. The author has, therefore, laid the learned world under great obligation in devoting so much time to this index, when I feel certain that he would often have preferred to take up some more interesting subject. The whole book is a glorious monument of unselfish devotion to a great idea. For two things are certain, a book like Mr. Bloomfield's *Concordance* is of the utmost value, and it could not have been compiled by anybody, who is not himself a first rate Vedic scholar. Professor Bloomfield has also refrained from proceeding in the way, which has so often been resorted to in India, to leave the work of collecting materials to others, and to confine himself to arranging them. He has personally gone through the whole literature, and only left part of the mechanical copying on slips to his pupils. It goes without saying that this method is the only safe one, and the only one worthy of a scholar like Mr. Bloomfield. In this connexion I note with particular pleasure that the author has conscientiously acknowledged the assistance he has received in this way. It is such a gratifying contrast to the procedure of several authors, with well known names, who do not hesitate to adopt the results arrived at by others, without testing them and without quoting their authorities.

The plan of the work will be apparent from the title, and it is unnecessary to dwell on it. I only want to draw attention to the fact that the index comprises not only the verses of the Vêdas, but also the old sacrificial formulas, the *yajus*, etc , which are here indexed for the first time. It is evident that this new departure adds considerably to the value of the book. The *yajus* are, perhaps, as pointed out by the author, the oldest specimens of Indo-European prose in existence. The Arzava tablets from El-Amarna, which some scholars consider are written in an Iranian or Scythic dialect, have not as yet been read, and even if they should prove to be older than the old liturgic formulas of the Vêdas, they could not detract anything from the value of the latter.

The arrangement is, as will be seen from the title, simply alphabetical. Various readings have been noted to a great extent, and numerous cross-references account for such cases where the beginning of a Pâda differs in the different places where it occurs. The whole arrangement is so practical that everybody who has the slightest practice in using books of reference, will find his way without any difficulty.

Similar indexes of various Vedic books have already been published before. It has, however, often been difficult to hunt up any particular Vedic verse without knowing in which Vêda it occurs. This will all be different now, for very few omissions can be pointed out in the new Index. Moreover, a glance in it will show at once all the places in which a verse occurs, including the numerous instances when it is used for sacrificial purposes. It goes without saying that it will be of invaluable importance for every future editor of Vedic texts.

But it is of no use to go into details. It must be sufficient to draw attention to this monumental work. It will speak for itself. It would, however, be unjust to close this note without mentioning the splendid appearance of the book, though there is nothing extraordinary in the fact, considering that Professor Lanman is the editor.

Sten Konow.

Kalidasa's Abhijnana-Sakuntalam. The text with a literal English translation and an original Sanskrit Commentary by Saradaranjan Ray. Calcutta: The City Book Society, 1908, iv, 376 pages, 8vo.

This new edition of the Śâkuntalam is not intended to be critical. The editor mentions three of the current recensions of the play, the Bengali, the Dêvanâgarî, and the South Indian. He does not profess to know more than the two first ones, and he has not apparently heard about the Kashmiri text. For the Bengali recension he made use of Pischel's standard edition, but the best edition of the Nâgarî recension by Boehtlingk has apparently escaped his notice. He is rightly of opinion that none of the known recensions can, in every respect, represent the original. But he forgets that it is too early, if it will ever be possible, to reconstruct Kâlidâsa's work, as it was written by him. And at all events, that can never be done in the way, in which he has set to work, by comparing six editions and selecting his readings from "considerations of style, propriety, and so forth." He seems to think that our manuscripts of the play have been "copied by the pupils, when they commence reading. They take down daily from the Professor's manuscript their lesson for the next day. At this stage they are not competent to add or alter 'designedly.' Indeed, I do not think additions or alterations come from the copyists be they 'with or without scholarship.' These are due to the Professors themselves." He goes on to point out, how the Professors are apt to add to and change the texts in order to make them more legible, or to insert their own ideas. I am afraid that the editor will not easily be able to convince other scholars of the soundness of this view.

With regard to Kâlidâsa's date, the editor reverts to the old theory that he belongs to the first century B. C. He promises to return to the subject on some other occasion, and I may then have something to say about it. For the time being, I shall only remark that personally I do not feel any doubt that Kâlidâsa belongs to the best times of the Gupta Empire. The importance of the Guptas in the history of Indian art and literature becomes more evident every day. And a poet with such exceptional grasp of art as Kâlidâsa would scarcely be intelligible at any other period of Indian history.

The editor has not made himself acquainted with the rich literature on dramatic theory. If he had, he would at least have added something more about the *nândî*. Nor has he made a thorough study of the Prâkrits, and his treatment of the various dialects is unsatisfactory. The fact remains that only the Bengali recension presents a good and consistent Prâkrit, and in this respect it is hopeless to arrive at a satisfactory text on eclectic principles.

But the editor does not, as already remarked, intend to give a critical edition of Kâlidâsa's play. His intention seems to be to furnish a text book for University examinations. And in this respect I suppose that his work may be of use, because he has added a very easy commentary and a fairly correct translation. Besides, the number of misprints is not very great. Most other editions which could be used by Indian students, share the mistakes and shortcomings of this new one. But it is a pity that no critical edition exists in India of this the most famous of all Indian plays. Indian scholars complain that the study of Sanskrit is on the wane in India, Sanskrit being gradually replaced by English. I am of opinion that this fact, if fact it be, is very much to be regretted. A nation with such a splendid old civilisation as the Indian is sure to loose heavily, if it gradually gives up the earnest study of its own history and literature. And the Śâkuntala is one of those works, which seems eminently adapted for keeping the interest alive. It would be of importance if it could be presented to the Indian public in as pure a form as possible. To effect that aim, it would perhaps prove necessary to combine Indian and European scholarship. But as matters have developed in India, I think that we must be thankful for every work that opens the door to the beauties of Kâlidâsa's masterpiece. And here, I believe, lies the importance of this new edition. It makes it easy to those who have learnt more English than Sanskrit to understand the play. And I sincerely hope that some students will learn from it that the Indian literature is well worth a study for its own sake, and not only as a subject for University examinations. Unselfish study and search for knowledge used to be the pride of the educated Indian, and everyone who has had the privilege to meet Paṇḍits of the old school, will know that the soil is still prepared, and that some more encouragement would be sure to contribute to a revival of that Indian learning, which has always been admired by those who know.

Sten Konow.

FRANZ KIELHORN.

BY DR. STEN KONOW.

NOT long ago the mail brought the sad news that Professor Kielhorn of Göttingen died suddenly on the 19th of March.

It is now just a little more than 42 years since Dr. Kielhorn arrived in India, to occupy the chair of Professor of Oriental Languages at the Dekhan College, Poona, up to the beginning of the eighties. During this time he lived in the closest contact with Indian learning, and contracted friendships among Indian Paṇḍits, which only ended with death. He always remembered with pleasure his stay in India, and he felt it very keenly, when one or two years ago a passing misunderstanding threatened to estrange him from some of his old friends. The influence Dr. Kielhorn exercised on Indian scholarship, by introducing modern critical methods, can hardly be overrated.

Dr. Kielhorn came out to India with a well established reputation as a sound critical scholar. He had for some time assisted the late Professor Max Müller in his first edition of the *Ṛigvêda* with Sâyaṇa's commentary, and he had already proved himself to be a good grammatical scholar in his edition of Śântanava's *Phiṭsûtra* (Leipzig, 1866). In India he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity of studying Indian Grammar under the guidance of Indian Paṇḍits. In Europe he was considered as the only scholar who had thoroughly penetrated into the depths of the old grammatical system of the Hindûs. The results of these studies were masterly editions of Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya* (Bombay, 1879—85) and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa's *Paribhâshênduśêkhara* (Bombay, 1868—74), and several papers about Indian Grammar and grammarians, most of which have been printed in this very journal.

Later on Dr. Kielhorn turned his attention to Indian inscriptions, and in this field he has always played a leading *rôle*. He never took active part in the elucidation of the oldest Indian inscriptions. He confined himself to such records as illustrate the history of India in classical times. It would be impossible here to try to enumerate the many important contributions Indian history owes to his indefatigable and unselfish work. I shall only mention how he fixed the initial date of the Chêdi era, how he threw new light on the important question about the dates of Kâlidâsa and Mâgha, his contributions to the history of the Chôlas and Pâṇḍyas, and, last but not least, his invaluable *Lists of Indian Inscriptions* printed as appendices to the *Epigraphia Indica*. The numerous papers he himself contributed to various journals about Indian inscriptions do not, however, represent all that epigraphy and history owe to his untiring zeal. It had become an established practice for every worker in Indian epigraphy to consult Dr. Kielhorn about difficult points, especially if the date of some inscription had to be calculated, and nobody ever appealed to him in vain. He always unreservedly placed his great knowledge and large experience at the disposal of fellow-students.

When Dr. Kielhorn left India, he returned to Germany as Professor of Sanskrit in Göttingen. Together with his friend, the late Professor Bühler, he here exercised a great influence in opening the eyes of the learned world in Europe to the importance of traditional Indian scholarship. It had become fashionable to distrust Indian tradition, and to try to find the way back to the old Indian civilisation without consulting it. Bühler, and still more Kielhorn, showed that this is a very grave mistake. I remember hearing my own German *guru*, Professor Pischel of Berlin, derive the scientific investigation of Indian literary history from the example set by scholars like Fitzedward Hall, Kielhorn, and Bühler, but it was only the two last that have exercised an influence in Europe. The result of the new course in the study of Indian philology and history chiefly inaugurated by Bühler and Kielhorn, with whom a splendid army of young German scholars joined hands, is that Germany has long played the leading *rôle* in the investigation of Indian history and civilisation in Europe. The contributors to the great *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*, started by Bühler and after his death continued by Kielhorn, are, so far, with very few exceptions, Germans, and those few exceptions received their training in Germany.

It is not my intention to give a full sketch of Professor Kielhorn's work. That would take more time than I can spare. My only aim is to recall the great debt Indian research owes to him. Every worker in the field will feel the irreparable loss of the scholar and of the man, whom everybody that knew him, from personal intercourse or from letters, had learnt to consider as a dear friend. It is pathetic to think that he passed away while still engaged in strenuous work for the studies he loved, and while we were still looking forward to important contributions from him. There was no sign that old age had begun to set in. His very last works bear testimony to the same profound knowledge, the same exactitude, and the same critical acumen, that have always formed a prominent feature in everything that proceeded from his pen.

THE HISTORY AND COINAGE OF THE CHANDEL (CHANDELLA) DYNASTY OF BUNDELKHAND (JEJAKABHUKTI) FROM 831 TO 1203 A. D.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

The Chandêl,[1] or Chandêlla history, antiquities, and coinage have received considerable attention from the Archæological Survey. Some inscriptions of the dynasty had been roughly edited in early volumes of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1837 and subsequent years, but the subject never was treated systematically until the cold season of 1864-5 when Sir Alexander Cunningham visited Mahôbâ, Khajurâho, and other localities in Bundêlkhanḍ, and published the results of his investigations in Volume II of the *Reports of the Archæological Survey* (Simla, 1871). This volume gives fairly full descriptions of the ruins, a slight notice of the coinage, and the first attempt at a connected history of the Chandêlla dynasty. But the errors in detail are numerous.

In 1871-2, Cunningham's assistant, Mr. J. D. Beglar, went over the same ground, and was permitted to print his crude observations as Volume VII of the *Reports*. Mr. Beglar's disquisitions are full of grotesque blunders and absurdities of all kinds, although a few grains of valuable fact may be picked out of the mass of rubbish. Volume IX of the *Reports*, written by Cunningham, gives the tradition that the fort of Singaurgaṛh was built by Râjâ Bêlô Chandêl, and some other minor particulars bearing on Chandêl history. Volume X, describing tours made by Cunningham through Bundêlkhanḍ and Mâlwâ in the years 1874-5 and 1876-7 (Calcutta, 1880), contains a revised list of the Chandêlla dynasty, and a formal description of the coinage, illustrated by a plate, as well as sundry miscellaneous information. Like most of Cunningham's work, it is disfigured by inaccuracies of detail. Volume XXI (Calcutta, 1885) describing tours made by Cunningham through Rêwâ, Bundêlkhanḍ, Mâlwâ, and Gwâlior in the years 1883-4 and 1884-5, gives revised lists of the Chandêlla kings and of the inscriptions of their period, with much general information of value. But even in this volume there is room for correction.

In the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India* for the year ending 30th June, 1904 (Bombay, N. D.), Mr. Cousens makes some observations on the Khajurâho temples, supplementary to and in correction of Cunningham's accounts (p. 16); while Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 47) notices some minor unpublished inscriptions, and corrects Professor Kielhorn's reading of the date in the record on the pedestal of the Khajurâho image of Hanumân.

The reproductions and editions of the inscriptions in the various publications of the Archæological Survey being all deficient in accuracy,[2] the late **Professor Kielhorn undertook the formidable task of bringing out scholarly editions of all the Chandêlla records** of which he could procure trustworthy facsimiles. With some help from Drs. Hultzsch and Cartellieri he accomplished this task in various volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* and *Epigraphia Indica*, and was, consequently, able to include an authentic list of the Chandêlla dynasty in the 'Supplement' to his 'List of Inscriptions of Northern India' and the 'Synchronistic Tables' recently published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII. References to the invaluable labours of Professor Kielhorn and his co-adjutors are given in detail in the List of Chandêlla Inscriptions included in this essay.

For six years (1874—80) the author of this paper was employed in revenue settlement work in the Hamîrpur District, which includes Mahôbâ. His duties required him to inspect with the utmost minuteness the land of a large part of the district, and to compile full descriptive notes, village by village. Although, of course, the main purpose of the inspection was the valuation of the soil and rental, the opportunity was seized to put on record a multitude of local traditions and historical details, which were prefixed in the case of each village to the fiscal observations. The 'inspection

[1] *Chandêl* is the spoken Hindî form of the name, which becomes *Chandêlla* in Sanskrit. The variants *Chandrêlla* and *Chandrâtrêya* which occur in certain inscriptions have been invented to support the myth of the descent of the clan from the moon (*Chandra*).

[2] Cunningham's *Reports of the Archæological Survey* are cited as *Rep*.

notes' were bound in large volumes in duplicate, one copy being preserved in the Collector's Office at Hamîrpur and one in the Office of the Board of Revenue at Allâhâbâd. During the Christmas vacation of 1878 the author managed to visit Khajurâho, accompanied by the late Mr. F. C. Black; and from time to time he read a large part of the *Mahôbâ Khaṇḍ* by the poet Chand.

The results of his local investigations and the study of all available printed matter on the subject have been utilized during thirty-two years in the following publications: —

Publications by the Author on Chandêlla History, etc.

I. and II. — 'Popular Songs of the Hamîrpur District in Bundêlkhaṇḍ.' — *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1875, p. 389; 1876, p. 279.

III. — 'Notes on the Bhars and other Early Inhabitants of Bundêlkhaṇḍ,' with a plate. — *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 227.

IV. — 'Notes on Two Copperplate Inscriptions Found in the Hamîrpur District, N.-W. P., with a Note by Praunâth Pandit. — *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 80.

V. — 'Observations on Some Chandêl Antiquities,' with 6 Plates (F. C. Black, joint-author). — *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 285.

VI. — 'A Chandêl Inscription dated 1240 S.' — *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1879, p. 143.

VII. — 'A Brief Account of the Early History, Antiquities, Castes, and Traditions of the Hamîrpur District' (Government Press, Allahabad — reprint). — Chapter II of the *Report of the Settlement of the Hamirpur District*, 1880.

VIII. — 'Contributions to the History of Bundêlkhaṇḍ.' — *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1881, pp. 1—53.

IX. — 'Review of Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume XXI. — *Indian Antiquary*, September, 1886.

X. — 'Ancient Buddhist Statuettes and a Chandêlla Copperplate from the Bândâ District,' with 5 Plates (W. Hoey, joint-author). — *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1895, p. 155.

XI. — 'Chandêlla Coinage' in "Numismatic Notes and Novelties." — *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 306.

XII. — 'The Chandêllas of Jêjâkabhukti.' — *Early History of India*, 1904, pp. 312—316; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., 1908, pp. 360—4, 379.

XIII. — 'The Mediæval Dynasties of Central India.' — *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 250—253.

The object of this essay is to review the considerable amount of material described in the preceding pages, to eliminate the numerous errors more or less current, and to give an accurate presentation of the existing state of knowledge concerning the history and coinage of the Chandêlla dynasty.

It is hardly necessary to add that such an undertaking has been rendered possible only by the labours of Professor Kielhorn and his helpers, which supply the necessary epigraphic basis. That basis is conveniently exhibited in the **annexed List of Chandêlla Inscriptions,** compiled from Kielhorn's 'List of the Inscriptions of Northern India' (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V), the Supplement to the same, the Synchronistic Tables (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII), and other sources, as indicated in the references. Those references give only the best available editions of the inscriptions, no mention being made of superseded editions. Unfortunately, several records, apparently of some importance, are very imperfectly known, good facsimiles not being available. Dates are expressed invariably in the Vikrama era.

The List of Inscriptions is followed by the **genealogy and a chronological list of the members of the dynasty,** as determined by the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. The names of princes recorded by tradition only will be found in the subsequent discussion and narrative.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty.

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	DATE. V. E.	DATE. A. D.	Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
1	332	S.	Khajurâho ..	Mausoleum at Khajurâho.	...	......	Jejjâka, Vijjâka, Harshadeva.	Fragmentary; also mentions Kshitipâladeva [of Kanauj, *see* K. No. 31 of V. S. 1005].	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 121; *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 65, Pl. XVI-B.
2	35	"	" ...	Lakshmaṇjî (Chaturbhuj) temple at Khajurâho.	1011	954	Genealogy from Nannuka to Dhanga.	Erection of temple of Vishṇu by Yaśovarman, or Lakshavarman; description of extent of dominions of his son Dhanga; mention of King Dêvapâla of Kanauj, and of Vinâyakapâladêva; also of Sâhi, king of Kîra, and of the lord of Bhôta.	*E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 122—135, ed. by K., with facs.
3	36	"	" ...	Temple of Jinanâtha.	1011	955	Dhanga (? Dhânga).	Gifts to temple by Pâhila (Pâhilla). The existing record is a later copy of the lost original.	*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 135, ed., translit., and transl. by K.; *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 67, Pl. XVI-J; reduced facs. *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1879, Pl. XV, facs. rubbing of date; *see* also *I. A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 35.
4	333	"	Dudahi (Lalitpur, now Jhânsi, D.).	Temple at Dudahi.	...	......	Dêvalabdhi Chandrêlla (note form), grandson of King Yaśôvarman.	Six brief documents recording erection of temple by Dêvalabdhi.	*I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 236, translit. and commented by K.; *Rep.*, Vol. X, pp. 91, 94, Pl. XXXII, Nos. 1, 2, 4 — 6, reduced facs. = respectively, *c*, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f* of K.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued.*

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	Date. V. E.	Date. A. D.	Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
5	54	C. P.	Nanyaura (Hamîrpur D.).	A. S. B. Library, Calcutta.	1055	998, 6th November.	Dhanga, with genealogy from Harsha.	Grant, executed at Benares (Kâśikâ) of a village named Yullî to Yaśôdhara Bhaṭṭa.	Ed. and transl., with facs, by K.; *I. A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 201.
6	55	S.	Khajurâho ..	Viśvanâth (Lâlâjî) temple, Khajurâho.	1058	1001	....	Building of town, etc., by one Kôkkala (Kôkkalla) Grahapati, of Padmâvatî (Narvâr or Narwar). See *post*, Nos. 18, 20, 22.	Ed., translit., and transl. by K.; *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 147; reduced facs. in *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XIX.
7	56	"	Khajurâho (Kharjûravâhaka).	" " ...	1059	1002	Dhanga, with genealogy from Nannuka.	Erection of temple of Śiva; posthumous panegyric of Dhanga; inscrp. added to in 1173 V. E. *See* No. 11 (86) below.	Ed., translit., and commented by K.; *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 137; reduced facs. in *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XVIII.
8	66	C. P.	Nanyaura (Hamîrpur D.).	A. S. B. Library, Calcutta.	1107	1056, 1st April (settled in *List* by K.).	Dêvavarman, with genealogy from Vidhyâdhara.	Grant of village named Kaṭhahan.	Ed. and transl., with facs., by K., in *I. A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 201.
9	76	S.	Dêogaṛh (Lalitpur D.).	Rock at Dêogaṛh Fort.	1154	1098, 7th March.	Kîrtivarman, with genealogy from Vidhyâdhara.	Erection of steps (*ghâṭ*) at the fort by the minister, Vatsarâja.	Ed., translit., and transl. by K., in *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 237; reduced facs. in *Rep.*, Vol. X, Pl. XXXIII, No. 3.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued.*

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	DATE. V. E.	DATE. A. D.	Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
10	334	S	Mahôbâ, Îdgâh wall.	Lucknow Museum.	...	......	Kîrtivarman, with imperfect genealogy from Jejâ and Vîjâ; also contemporary princes.	Purpose of record not known; but the historical and genealogical matter is important.	Ed., translit., and transl. by Hultzsch in *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 217; reduced facs. in *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XXI. *See* inscrp. of Jâjalladeva Kalachuri of Ratnapura, dated 1114 A. D. (*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 33).
11	86	"	Khajurâho, Viśvanâth temple.	Khajurâho, Viśvanâth temple.	1173	1117, 6th April.	Jayavarman ..	Renewal of inscrp. No. 7 (56).	Ed., translit., and commented by K. in *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 137.
12	101	"	Kâlañjar ...	Kâlañjar, pillar of Nîlkanth temple.	1186	1129	Madanavarman...	A private benefaction, fragmentary.	Imperfectly ed., with reduced facs., by Cunningham in *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 34, Pl. X-A.
13	102	"	" ...	Kâlañjar, broken pillar at police station.	1187	1130	" ...	" " " ..	Imperfectly ed., with reduced facs., by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 34, Pl. X-B.
14	104	"	" ...	Kâlañjar, rock to north of Nîlkanth temple.	1188	1131, 31st October.	" ..	Dedication of image of Nîlakantha by private donors.	Imperfectly ed., with reduced facs., by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 35, Pl. X-C.
15	108	C. P.	Augâsî (Bândâ D.).	A. S. B. Library, Calcutta.	1190	1133	Madanavarman, with genealogy from Kîrtivarman.	Grant of village named Vamharaḍâ, in Sûḍali *pargana* (*vishaya*).	Ed., with transl. and full-sized facs., by K. in *I. A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 207.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued*.

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	DATE.		Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
					V. E.	A. D.			
16	111 (2 inscrips.)	S.	Kâlañjar ...	Rock beside figure of Narasiṁha at Kâlañjar.	1192	1135	....	Private dedications of image ...	Imperfectly ed. by Cunningham, with reduced facs., *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 35, Pl. X-D.
17	113	„	„ ...	Cell near Nîlkanth temple at Kâlañjar.	1194	1138, 3rd March.	....	? Private dedication	Imperfectly ed. by Cunningham, with reduced facs., *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 36, Pl. X-E.
18	125	„	Khajurâho ..	Image in Jain temple at Khajurâho.	1205	1147-8	....	Names of members of the Grahapati family; see *ante*, No. 6, and *post*, Nos. 20, 22.	Ed. by K., without facs.; *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 153, No. 6.
19	132	„	Ajaygaṛh ...	On jamb of upper gate at Ajaygaṛh.	1208	1151, 10th November.	Madanavarman...	Private dedication	Imperfectly ed. by Cunningham, with reduced facs., *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 49, Pl. XII-A.
20	695	„	? Bundêlkhand (probably Khajurâho).	Jain image in Horniman Museum, U. S. A.	1208	1152, 27th March.	....	Dedication of image by members of the Grahapati family, see *ante*, Nos. 6, 18, and *post*, No. 22.	Ed. by K., with photo, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 101.
21	136	„	Mahôbâ (Hamîrpur D.).	Image of Nêminâth at Mahôbâ.	1211	1155, 4th June.	Madanavarman...	Dedication of Jain image ...	Imperfectly ed., with partial reduced facs., by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 73, Pl. XXIII-D.
21*a*	...	„	Khajurâho ...	Image of Vîranâth at Khajurâho.	1212	1155-6	....	„ „ „ ...	*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 448, No. 22.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrôlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued.*

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	Date. V. E.	Date. A. D.	Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
21*b*	...	S.	Mahôbâ ...	Image of Sumatinâth at Mahôbâ.	1213	1156	....	Dedication of Jain image ...	*Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 448, No. 23.
22	139	„	Khajurâho ...	Jain image at Khajurâho.	1215	1157-8	Madanavarman..	Dedication of Jain image by members of the Grahapati family; see *ante*, Nos. 6, 18, 20.	Ed. by K. in *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 153; partial reduced facs. in *Rep.*, Vol. X, Pl. XX.
22*a*	...	„	Mahôbâ, Kîrat Sâgar.	Jain image of Sumatinâth at Mahôbâ.	1215	1157-8	„ ...	Dedication of image	*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. XLVIII (1879), p. 288, Pl. XV.
23	142	C. P. (lost).	Mentioned in Semrâ plates of Paramardi, *post* No. 25.	Mentioned in Semrâ plates in Lucknow Museum.	1219	1162	„ ...	Grant of town of Madanapura and sundry villages.	In Cartellieri's ed. of Semrâ plates, *E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 155.
24	335	S.	Mau (Jhânsî D.).	Indian Museum, Calcutta.	...	......	Madanavarman, with genealogy from Dhanga.	Erection of a temple of Vishnu and other works by a minister named Gadâdhara, the genealogy and succession of the ministers also given; power of Madanavarman.	Ed., translit., and transl. by K., in *E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 195—207.
24*a*	...	„	Mahôbâ ...	Jain image of Ajitanâth at Mahôbâ.	1220	1163	Madanavarman...	Dedication of image	*Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 448, No. 25.

Inscriptions of the Chaṇḍêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued.*

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	DATE. V. E.	DATE. A. D.	Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
24*b*	...	S.	Mahôbâ ...	.. ..	1222	1165	....	Dedication of image	*Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 448, No. 27.
25	146	C. P.	Semrâ in Bijâwar State, Bundêlkhaṇḍ.	Lucknow Museum.	1223	1167, 27th April.	Paramardi, grandson of Madanavarman, with mention of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti as ancestors.	Confirmation of inscrp. No. 23, the grant by Madanavarman in 1219, of the town of Madanapura and sundry villages to 309 Brahman donees.	Ed., translit., and partly transl. by Dr. Cartellieri, with good facs. of two plates, in *E. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 153—174.
26	147	S.	Mahôbâ ...	Jain image at Mahôbâ.	1224	1168, 9th June.	Paramardi ...	Dedication of image	Incorrectly ed. by Cunningham, *Rep.*, p. 74, with reduced facs. in Pl. XXIII-G; date given by K. in *I. A.*, Vol. XXV, p. 206.
27	157	"	Ajaygaṛh ...	On jamb of upper gate of fort at Ajaygaṛh.	1227	1171, 7th June.	....	Building of well	Incorrectly ed. by Cunningham, *Rep.*, p. 49, Pl. XII-B.
28	158	C. P.	Ichchhâwar (Bândâ D.).	? A. S. B. Library, Calcutta (or? Lucknow Museum).	1228	1171, 18th July.	Paramardi, with genealogy from Pṛithvîvarman.	Grant of Nandiṇîgrâma ...	*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. LXIV (1895), p. 155, comment and good facs.; ed. and translit. by K. in *I. A.*, Vol. XXV, (1896), p. 205.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued.*

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	DATE.		Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
					V. E.	A. D.			
29	176	S.	Madanpur (Lalitpur, now Jhânsî D.).	*Bâradarî* at Madanpur.	1239	1182-3	Paramardi ...	Conquest of Jêjâkabhukti, the kingdom of Paramardi, by Prithivî (or Prithvî) Râja Châhumâna in 1239 V. E.	Incorrectly ed. by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 98, Pl. XXXII, Nos. 9, 10; Vol. XXI, pp. 173-174; more correctly transcribed in *Progress Rep. Archæol. S. W. I.* for 1903-4, p. 55.
30	178	"	Kâlañjar ..	Rock at Kâlañjar.	1240	1184, 26th April.	" ..	Not known	The words containing the date and king's name transcribed by K. from rubbings supplied by Burgess, *E. I.*, Vol. V, *App.*, No. 178; and *I. A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 37, No. 67.
31	179	"	Mahôbâ ..	Fort wall at Mahôbâ.	1240	1184, 4th June.	....	Building of a temple	Not ed.; noticed by V. A. Smith, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1879, p. 143; Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72; and K. in *I. A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 179, No. 127.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued.*

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	DATE.		Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
					V. E.	A. D.			
32	180	S.	Ajaygaṛh ...	Jamb of upper gate at Ajaygaṛh.	1243	1187, 20th May.	....	Not known	Imperfectly ed. by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 50, P. XII-C. Date determined by K., *I. A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 37, No. 68.
33	185	"	Baghârî (Singhanpur-Baghârî), near Mahôbâ.	Lucknow Museum.	1252	1195, 10th Sept.	Paramardi, with genealogy from Madanavarman.	Building of temples to Vishṇu and Śiva by ministers of Paramardi.	Ed., translit., and transl. by K. in *E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 207—214; error in place of origin corrected in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, (1895), p. 158, n. 1.
34	190	"	Kâlañjar ...	Temple at Kâlañjar.	1258	1201, 8th October.	Paramardi ..	Hymn of praise to Śiva, professedly composed by King Paramardi; 'contains no historical information of any value' (K. in *I. A.*, Vol. XXV, p. 206).	*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, (1848), p. 313; imperfectly ed. with translation; discussed in *Rep.* Vol. XXI, p. 37; date corrected by K. in *I. A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 354, No. 152.
35	196	"	Ajaygaṛh ...	Outside the tank of 'Patal-Sar' at Ajaygaṛh.	1269	1212	Trailôkyavarman.	Not known; only the opening words have been read.	Transcript of opening words in Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 50; and reduced facs. *ibid.*, Pl. XII-D.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*continued.*

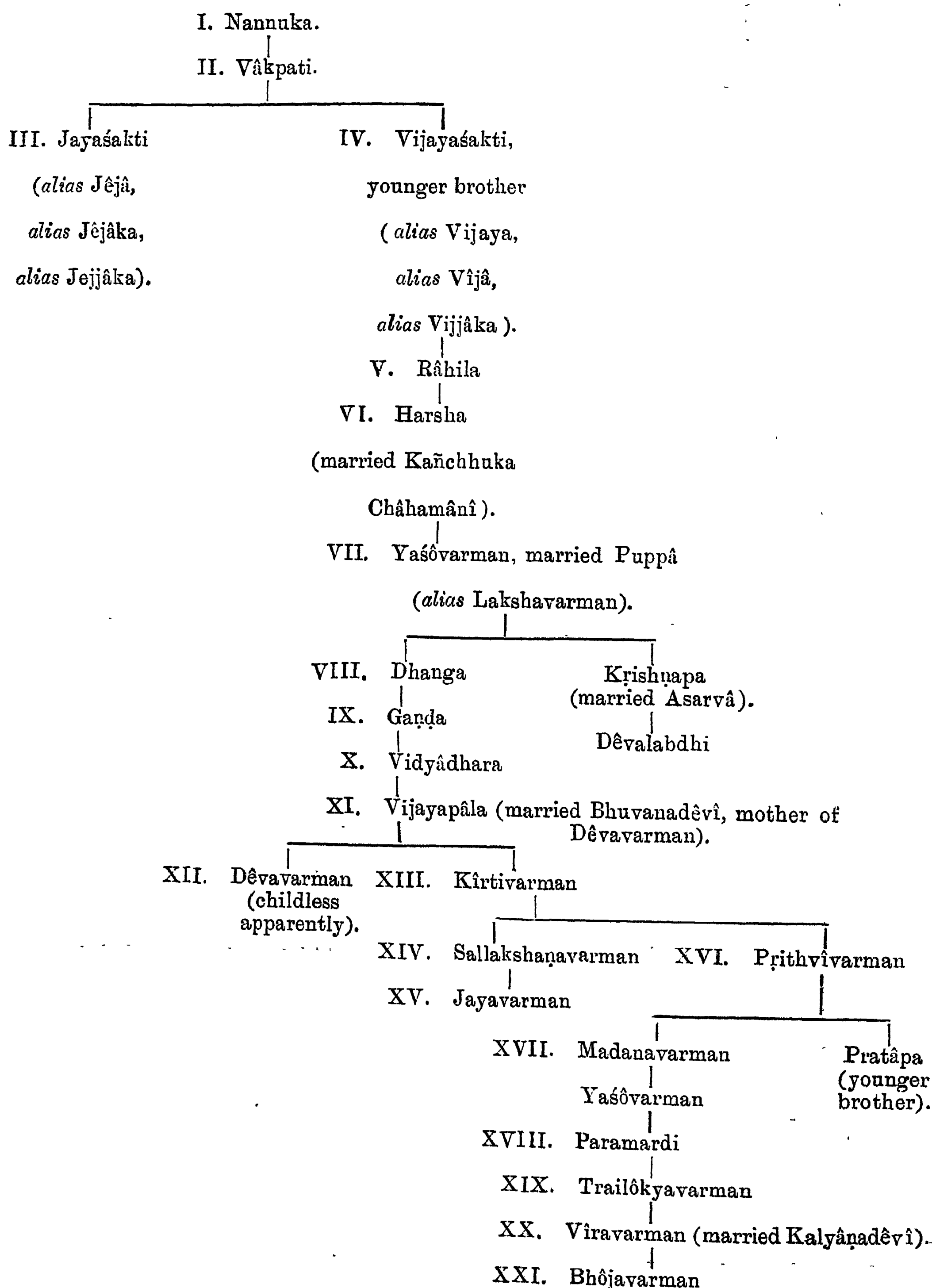
Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin.	Where Preserved.	Date. V. E.	Date. A. D.	Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
35*a*	...	C. P.	Rêwâ	Rêwâ Darbâr, C.	1297	1240	Trailôkyavarman..	Grant of village in Rêwâ territory.	Noticed by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 86, 146; possibly not Chandêl.
35*b*	...	„	„	„ „ D.	1298	1241	„ ...	„ „ „ ...	*Ibid*, p. 148; possibly not Chandêl.
36	226	...	Ajaygaṛh ...	Rock at Ajaygaṛh.	1317	1261, 14th April.	Vîravarman, with genealogy from Kîrtivarman; Queen Kalyâṇadêvî and her genealogy.	Building of a well and hall by the queen.	Ed., translit., and transl. by K. in *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 325; reduced facs. in Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XIII.
37	227	S.	Jhânsî ..	Lucknow Museum.	1318	1262, 5th July.	....	Not known; only the date published.	Noticed by K. in *List* and *I. A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 179, No. 128.
38	231	„	Ajaygaṛh ...	Wall of temple at Ajaygaṛh.	1325	1268	Vîravarman ..	Worship of Îśvara	Inaccurately ed., with reduced facs., by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 51, Pl. XIV-F.
39	239	„	„ ...	Rock near figure of Ganêśa at Ajaygaṛh.	1337	1281, 3rd February	„ ..	Supposed to be dedication of the figure of Ganêśa by the minister.	Noticed in *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 52, Pl. XIV-G.
40	240	C. P.	Dâhi, near Bijâwar.	Lost	1337	1281, 4th May.	Vîravarman, with genealogy from Madanavarman.	Grant of a village	Imperfectly ed. by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 74.

Inscriptions of the Chandêlla, Chandrêlla, or Chandrâtrêya Dynasty—*concluded.*

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's List.	Stone or Copper-plate.	Place of Origin	Where Preserved.	DATE.		Chandêlla Prince Named.	Abstract of Contents.	References.
					V. E.	A. D.			
41	241	S.	Kâlañjar ...	Kâlañjar ...	1340	1283, 3rd March.	....	Not known	Date only published by K. in *List*, and *I. A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 31, No. 41.
42	242	,,	'Gurha' ...	*Satî* stone at 'Gurha.'	1342	1286, 27th February	Vîravarman ...	*Sati* memorial	Date only published by K. in *List*.
43	336	,,	Kâlañjar ...	Slab at Kâlañjar.	...	......	Vîravarman, with genealogy from Vijayapâla.	Uncertain ; a fragment ..	Imperfectly ed. and transl. in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, 1848, p. 316, and Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 38.
44	247	,,	Ajaygaṛh ...	Indian Museum, Calcutta.	1345	1288	Bhôjavarman ...	Dedication by Nâna, minister .	*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 882, and partial facs. in Pl. XLVIII; a bad ed., partly corrected in *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 332, n. 8.
45	337	,,	,, ..	Rock at Ajaygaṛh, near the Tirhawan gate.	...	......	Bhôjavarman, with partial genealogy from Gaṇḍa.	Erection of a temple by the treasurer, Subhaṭa ; account of his family of Vâstavya Kâyasthas ; mention of the kings is incidental.	Ed., translit., and transl. by K. in *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 330 ; reduced facs. in Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XV.

NOTE.—See *Synchronistic Tables for both Northern and Southern India* by Kielhorn in *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, Part VI, April, 1906 ; and *Supplement to the List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, viz. — (a) *List of Dated Northern Inscriptions arranged in the order of the years A. D.* ; and (b) *Genealogical or Succession Lists*, being Appendix I, by the same, *ibid.*, Part II, April, 1905. The Chandêlla list is on p. 15 of the Appendix.

Genealogy of the Chandêlla Dynasty.



Chronological Table of the Chandêlla (Chandêl) Dynasty.

Serial No.	Name of King.	Approximate Date of Accession A. D.	Known Dates A. D.	
I.	Nannuka	831	....	
II.	Vâkpati	845	....	
III.	Jayaśakti (Jêjâka) ...	860	....	
IV.	Vijayaśakti (Vijjâka) ...	880	....	
V.	Râhila	900	....	
VI.	Harsha	915	....	
VII.	Yaśôvarman (Lakshavarman).	930	....	His conquests required a fairly long reign.
VIII.	Dhanga	950	954, 955, *979*, 998	
IX.	Gaṇḍa	1000	1002, *1019*, *1022*	
X.	Vidhyâdhara	1025	....	
XI.	Vijayapâla	1040	....	
XII.	Dêvavarman	1055	1056	
XIII.	Kîrtivarman	1060	1098	
XIV.	Sallakshaṇavarman ...	1100	....	
XV.	Jayavarman	1110	1117	
XVI.	Pṛithvîvarman ..	1120	....	
XVII.	Madanavarman ...	1128	1129, 1130, 1131, 1133, 1151, 1155, 1157, 1162 [? 1163]	
XVIII.	Paramardi (Parmâl) ...	1165	1167, 1168, 1171, 1182, 1184, *1203*	
XIX.	Trailôkyavarman ...	*1203*	*1212*	
XX.	Vîravarman	1245	1261, 1268, 1281, 1286	
XXI.	Bhôjavarman	1287	1288	

Note.—Dates in italics are from Muhammadan histories; the rest are from inscriptions. For the doubtful date 1163 of Madanavarman, see *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1881, pp. 18, 20. The date 1002 for Gaṇḍa is deduced from v. 55 of inscription No. 7.

Before proceeding to discuss other matters, it will be well to give such explanations as are necessary to justify the entries in the genealogy and dynastic list. The publications on the subject anterior to those of Professor Kielhorn all contain numerous errors in detail which might give rise to misunderstanding, if not formally corrected.

The first two names, Nannuka (which has been sometimes misspelt Nânika) and Vâkpati, are known from two inscriptions only, Nos. 2 and 7 of my list. Both these princes are given royal titles in the records. In the former, the founder of the family is described as श्री नन्नुकोभून्नृपः, 'the illustrious prince Nannuka'; and in the latter as श्री मान्नन्नुको भून्महीपतिः, with the same signification (verse 10 of No. 2, verse 14 of No. 7). Vâkpati is mentioned in verse 12 of No. 2 simply as श्री वाक्पति, 'the illustrious Vâkpati'; but in verse 16 of No. 7 he is called वाक्पतिः क्षितिपः. 'king Vâkpati.' It would seem, therefore, that both these princes, whether as small local Râjâs, or otherwise, enjoyed some share of sovereign power, and that they are not referred to merely as ancestors. Reasons for the date 831 A. D. assigned to Nannuka will be found in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1881, p. 6.

The brothers Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, sons of Vâkpati, are mentioned under those names in No. 2. Jayaśakti appears to have died without leaving issue, and the succession was continued by his younger brother, who is called simply Vijaya in No. 7. The brothers appear under the variant forms Jejjâka and Vijjâka in the fragmentary inscription No. 1. Their names are further abbreviated to Jêjâ and Vijâ in verse 10 of inscription No. 10, the information being added that the province of Jèjâbhukti was named after the elder brother. Inscription No. 25 mentions Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti as remote ancestors of Paramardi, and describes them as victorious heroes. In inscription No. 29 the name of the province is spelled Jêjâkabhukti; and in the Ratnapura inscription of Jâjalladeva, dated 866 of the Chedi Era = 1114 A. D., it is written Jêjâbhuktika.

The only epigraphic record of Râhila, son of Vijayaśakti is in inscriptions Nos. 2 and 7, but he is also remembered by the works called after his name. The sixth prince, Harsha, son of Râhila, is mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 7 as Harshadêva, with or without other titles. His consort, Kañchhukâ of the Châhamâna clan, is named in Nos. 2 and 7.

The name of the seventh king, Yaśôvarman, appears in Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 7. No. 2 (verse 31) describes him as having conquered Kâlañjar. The same record (vv. 37 and 39) gives him the alternative name of Lakshavarman. His consort's name, Puppâ, is given in No. 7 (vv. 40 and 41). Devalabdhi, son of Kṛishṇapa and Asarvâ, is specifically described as grandson of Yaśôvarman in inscription No. 4.

Dhanga, the eighth king, son of Yaśôvarman and Puppâ, is named in inscriptions Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, and 24, and is referred to in Muhammadan history, but not by name.

The only inscription which names Dhanga's son, Gaṇḍa, the ninth king, is No. 24; but he is mentioned also by the Muhammadan historians under the name of Nanda, owing to a clerical error.

Vidhyâdhara, son and successor of Gaṇḍa, is named in inscriptions Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 24. His destruction of an unnamed king of Kanauj is recited in No. 10; and the Dûbkuṇḍ inscription of Vikramasiṁha Kachchhapaghâṭa narrates in some detail the slaying of Râjyapâla, king of Kanauj, by Arjuna Kachchhapaghâṭa, who acted under the command of Vidhyâdhara. At that time king Gaṇḍa was still living, and Vidhyâdhara was Crown Prince (*E. I.*, II, 233).

Vijayapâla, son and successor of Vidhyâdhara, is named in Nos. 8, 9, and 24. His queen, Bhuvanadêvî, mother of Dêvavarman, is mentioned in No. 8. Dêvavarman describes himself in inscription No. 8 as the son of Vijayapâla and Bhuvanadêvî, and successor of the former.

Kîrtivarman also is described as being the son of Vijayapâla in inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10; and in inscription No. 24 his name follows that of Vijayapâla, no mention being made of Dêvavarman in these three records. The correct explanation clearly is that Dêvavarman, like Jayaśakti, died without leaving issue capable of succession, and was consequently succeeded by his

younger brother, Kîrtivarman, whose mother's name is not stated. At one time I erroneously identified Kîrtivarman with Dêvavarman. If Maisey's version of the No. II Nîlkanth inscription from Kâlañjar (No. 43) could be relied on, Bhûmipâla would be an alternative name for either Kîrtivarman or Dêvavarman, but the reading probably is erroneous (see *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1881, p. 13).

The son and successor of Kîrtivarman was Sallakshaṇavarman whose name is written Hallakshaṇa on coins. He is mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 15 and 24. The inclusion of a second Sallakshaṇa in Cunningham's list is due to a mistaken interpretation of an inscription (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1881, p. 16; *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 195, note).

Sallakshaṇavarman was succeeded by his son, Jayavarman, who is mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 11 and 24.

Evidently, Jayavarman left no capable issue, for his successor was Pṛithvîvarman, the younger uterine brother of Sallakshaṇavarman (v. 12 of inscription No. 24), and son of Kîrtivarman. Inscription No. 15 gives the genealogy of Madanavarman as the successor of Pṛithvîvarman, the successor of Kîrtivarman, and makes no mention of either Sallakshaṇavarman or Jayavarman. Coins of both these princes are extant. They were omitted from No. 15 as not being in the direct line of descent.

Madanavarman, son and successor of Pṛithvîvarman, is mentioned in more inscriptions than any other member of the dynasty. As stated above, his genealogy, or order of succession, from Kîrtivarman is given imperfectly in inscription No. 15. No. 24 gives it in full, including both Jayavarman and Sallakshaṇavarman. The name of Madanavarman, without any genealogical statement, is inserted as that of the reigning king in the dedicatory inscriptions Nos. 12, 13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 22*a*, and 24*a*; and a grant of his (No. 23) is referred to in Paramardi's grant inscription No. 25. He had a younger brother, named Pratâpa, who is named in the imperfectly edited inscription No. 43.

Paramardi, the Parmâl of tradition, and Parmâr of the Muhammadan historian,[3] was grandson and immediate successor of Madanavarman, being the son of Yaśôvarman, who never came to the throne, presumably having predeceased his father. The name of Yaśôvarman is recorded in the Baghârî inscription only (No. 33), but the fact that Paramardi was grandson of Madanavarman is also stated in the Sêmrâ plate (No. 25). Yaśôvarman corresponds in position with the synonymous Kîrtivarman, who is inserted between Madanavarman and Paramardi by all the bards' lists. The Ichchhâwar plate (No. 28) simply describes Paramardi as the successor of Madanavarman, without mentioning the relationship. The date of the conquest of Jêjâkabhuti by Pṛithvîrâja Châhumâna is obtained from his Madanpur inscriptions (No. 29) as Samvat 1239 = A. D. 1182-3[4] The Kâlañjar inscription (No. 34) professes to be composed by Paramardi himself. The date of his death, 1203 A. D., is certified by the *Tâj-ul-Ma'âṣir*. His name occurs as that of the reigning king on a Jain inscription dated 1224 S. = 1168 A. D. (No. 26).

The date of the accession of Trailôkyavarman is taken as that of his father Paramardi's death. The only certain inscription of this prince, at Ajaygaṛh (No. 35), is dated 1269 S. = 1213-4 A. D.[5] His dominions may have been confined to the eastern part of Jêjâkabhukti. His name occurs in the genealogies in inscriptions Nos. 36, 40, and 45. Cunningham probably is right in referring to this prince the Rêwâ copper-plate inscriptions C and D, which respectively give the name of the paramount sovereign as Trailôkyavarman and Trailôkyamalla, and are dated 1297 and 1298 Samvat (inscriptions No. 35*a* and 35 *b*).

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[3] Cunningham always spells the name Paramârdi, erroneously.

[4] 1239 V. E. = 8th March, 1182 — 25th February, 1183 (*Book of Indian Eras*).

[5] 1269 V. E. = 25th March, 1213 — 14th March, 1214 (*Book of Indian Eras*).

The genealogy of the next ruler, Vîravarman, from Kîrtivarman is traced in inscription No. 36, which also gives the genealogy of his queen, Kalyâṇadêvî. The imperfectly edited inscription No. 43 gives his genealogy from Vijayapâla. His name occurs also in Nos. 38, 39, 40, and 42, but is omitted from No. 45.

Bhôjavarman, the successor of Vîravarman, is known from two Ajaygaṛh inscriptions only Nos. 44 and 45, the former of which gives the date 1345 S. = 1288 A. D. (5th March, 1288 — 24th March, 1289).

It is thus apparent that **the dynastic chronology is fixed within narrow limits of possible error.** The only absolutely certain date for the close of one reign and the beginning of another is 1203 A. D., the year in which Paramardi died and was succeeded by his son Trailôkyavarman in, at least, part of the kingdom. The accession of Paramardi is determined by the inscriptions as lying between 1162 and 1167, and there is some reason for thinking that it took place in 1165. The one known date of Kîrtivarman, 1098, must be close to the end of his reign, because his predecessor was reigning in 1056, and the next successor but one, namely Jayavarman, in 1117. The result follows that the reign of Sallakshaṇa, who intervenes between Kîrtivarman and Jayavarman, must have been short. As the first known date of Madanavarman is 1129, the reigns of Jayavarman and Pṛithvîvarman likewise must have been very brief. Kîrtivarman's reign evidently was long, about forty years. The limits of the long reign of Dhanga are fixed by the inscription within a year or two. The date of the accession of Bhôjavarman is known with sufficient accuracy, his dated inscription being of 1346 V. E., while the latest of his predecessor is of 1342 V. E. = 27th February, 1216 A. D. As there were six generations (seven reigns) before Dhanga's accession in or about 950, the beginning of the dynasty must be dated about the time entered in the Table, 831 A. D.

The province in which the Chandêl clan and dynasty were dominant for several centuries is now known as Bundêlkhaṇḍ, 'the Bundêla country.' The Bundêlas, although counted as Râjputs, admittedly are of mixed blood, and probably are descended from an intermarriage between a Gahaṛwâr Râjpût chief and a Khangâr girl.[6] The first Bundêla chieftain in Bundêlkhaṇḍ seems to have made his appearance about 1335 or 1340 A. D., but the clan did not become prominent until much later. The most famous and powerful Bundêla chief was Râjâ Chhatarsâl who died in 1731 A. D.[7] Although Bundêlkhaṇḍ has now comparatively few Bundêlas resident within its borders, at least in the British districts, the name derived from their presence has become attached permanently to the country. The use of the word Bundêlkhaṇḍ is vague and indefinite, the only official recognition of it being the application of the collective term, the 'Bundêlkhaṇḍ Agency'; to a group of petty Native States, Pannâ, Charkhârî, and others, which are comprised within the larger group known as the 'Central India Agency.' Cunningham was informed that in its widest extent, Bundêlkhaṇḍ was 'said to have comprised all the country to the south of the Jumna and Ganges, from the Bêtwâ river on the west to the temple of Vindhyavâsinî-dêvî [in S. Mirzâpur] on the east, including the districts of Chânderi, Sâgar, and Bilhari, near the sources of the Narbada on the south' (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 482). In other words, the province comprised the British Districts of Hamîrpur, Bândâ, Lalitpur (now a subdivision of Jhânsî), with parts of Allahâbâd and Mirzâpur in the United Provinces — the Sâgar and Damôh Districts of the Central Provinces — and a large intermediate space, now mostly occupied by a crowd of small Native States.

The region so defined agrees roughly with the kingdom known as Jâjâhûtî (Jajâhôtî, Jijhôti) to travellers, from Hiuen Tsang in the seventh to Ibn Batuta in the

[6] *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1881, p. 46. The Khangârs are very low-caste people, probably in reality Gôṇḍs. The Gahaṛwârs are regarded by the aristocrats of Râjputânâ as being of impure blood, and there are indications that they are connected with the Bhars (Beames' Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 121 and 123). Bijaygaṛh, where the head of the clan resides, is an old Bhar settlement.

[7] Pûs badi 3, Saṁvat 1788 (*ibid.*, p. 44).

fourteenth century, the Jêjâbhukti (with variants) of inscriptions. The territorial name Jijhôti is not recorded to have been used at any later date, but the limits of the ancient kingdom are still marked by the distribution of the Jijhôtiya Brahmans and Baniyas. In the time of Ibn Batuta, as also in the time of Alberûnî, who completed his book on India in 1031 A. D., the capital of Jijhôti (Jajhôti) was Khajurâho, now a village 34 miles south of Mahôbâ and included in the Chhatarpur State.

The same name, Jijhôti, evidently is represented by **the Chinese Chih-chi-t'o** (Watters= Chi-ki-to of Beal), which was visited and described by Hiuen Tsang in 641 or 642 A. D.[8] The pilgrim states that Chih-chi-t'o lay more than 1,000 *li* to the north-east of Ujjain, and more than 900 *li* to the south of Mahesvarapura. He adds that 'this country was above 4,000 *li*, and its capital about 15 *li*, in circuit; the soil was rich, the crops were abundant, and pulse and wheat were products. The majority of the people were not Buddhists, but there were some tens of monasteries with a few Brethren; there were above ten Deva-temples and 1,000 professed adherents of the other systems. The king, who was a Brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit, and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers' (*Watters*, Vol. II, p. 251). This description is so indefinite that little use can be made of it for fixing the position of the capital. But if we assume that the distance from the kingdom of Ujjain is reckoned from its capital, the indications given will bring us to the western frontier of Jijhôti, on the Bêtwâ river westward from Sâgar. Usually, the assumption is made that Khajurâho must have been the unnamed capital referred to by Hiuen Tsang. But the fact that that town was the capital of the kingdom in the eleventh century is very little reason for assuming that the same place was the capital in the seventh century. Supposing the distances to be estimated as from capital to capital, Khajurâho will not suit the indication given by Hiuen Tsang, because it lies S.-E., not south, from Gwâlior, which seems to be Mahesvarapura, and is too far from Ujjain. If we assume that **Êraṇ (Êrakaṇa)**,[9] on the Bîna river, a tributary of the Bêtwâ, 45 miles W.-N.-W. from Sâgar, was the capital of Jijhôti referred to by Hiuen Tsang, all his distances and bearings will agree sufficiently well. Êraṇ is practically due south from Gwâlior, and about E.-N.-E. from Ujjain. At the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, it certainly was an important place, as is proved by the inscriptions of Budhagupta and Toramâṇa, and it may well have been **the capital of Jijhôti in the seventh century**, a hundred and forty years after the approximate date of Toramâṇa's inscription. The required position should be a little more distant — some 20 miles — from Ujjain than from Gwâlior. This condition is fulfilled accurately by Êraṇ.

The earliest proof of Chandêl occupation of Khajurâho is the inscription dated 1011 S. = 954 A. D., recording the erection of the magnificent Lakshmaṇjî or Chaturbhuj temple there. The latest known Khajurâho inscription of the Chandêl times is No. 22, recorded on a Jain image during the reign of Madanavarman in 1215 S. = 1157-8 A. D. Yaśôvarman, father of Dhanga, is said in inscription No. 2 to have conquered Kâlañjar, and it is probable that Khajurâho was not occupied by the Chandêls much earlier than his reign which began about 930 A. D. The Chandêls were recognized as Râjpûts (Kshatriyas) and were orthodox Hindus; but the king of Jijhôti in the seventh century was a Buddhist Brahman; and there is no special reason for believing that the Râjpût kings of the tenth century necessarily retained the capital of the Brahman king in the seventh century. **I am of opinion that Êraṇ probably was the capital of the kingdom of Jijhôti in the seventh century, and that Khajurâho was not occupied by the Chandêl Râjâs before 900 A. D. The oldest dated inscription at that place is that incised on the pedestal of a statue of Hanumân, which is dated in the year 316.** This date must be referred to the Harsha era, and is consequently equivalent roughly to 922 A. D.[10] This dedicatory

[8] See the author's 'Itinerary,' in Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 336.

[9] Êrakana or Êrakaṇa on coins; Êrakina in Prâkṛit inscription at Sâñchi; Airikina in Sanskrit inscription at Êraṇ (Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 18; Bühler, *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 96).

[10] Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 64, Pl. XVI, with erroneous interpretation; Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, (1897), p. 30; date corrected by D. R. Bhandarkar in *Arch. S. W. I. Progress Rep.* for 1903-4, p. 47.

inscription, which has no apparent connexion with the Chandêls, affords some evidence that the kingdom of Jijhôti had been included in the extensive dominions of Harsha (606—48 A. D.). It is not likely that his era would have been used in a place outside the territories which he had once held. Without laying stress upon this argument, we may be confident for other reasons, that Jijhôti was comprised in the empire of Harsha. **The oldest temple is the hypæthral granite structure dedicated to the 64 Jôginîs,** which possibly may be slightly earlier in date than the Hanumân, but the script of the brief inscriptions on its walls does not indicate a period much, if at all, anterior to 900.[11] I am inclined to believe that the Jôginîs' temple and the Hanumân statue are almost contemporary, and that both were erected between 900 and 950 A. D., probably in the reign of either Harsha or Râhila.

Tradition places the original home of the Chandêls at Maniyâgaṛh in the Chhatarpur State, one of the eight Chandêl forts. These are enumerated as being — (1) Bârîgaṛh, now in the Charkhârî State; (2) Kâlañjar, in the Bândâ District; (3) Ajaygaṛh, in a Native State of the same name, 20 miles to the S.-W. of Kâlañjar; (4) Maniyâgaṛh, in the Chhatarpur State;[12] (5) Mârphâ, in Pargana Badausâ, Bândâ District; (6) Maudhâ, in N.-E. of Hamîrpur District; (7) Gaṛhâ, near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces; and (8) Mahiyar (Maihar), a Native State to north of Jabalpur; or, according to other accounts, Kâlpî in the Jâlaun District.

The boundaries of the Chandêl dominion, of course, varied from time to time. In the reign of Madanavarman (1128—1165), a Chandêl governor stationed at Balihri[13] in the Jabalpur District, administered the surrounding territory, including the Sâgar and Damôh Districts, where the 'Chandêlî-Râj' is still remembered.[14] From about 930 A. D. up to the date of Parmâl's (Paramardi's) death in 1203 A. D., that is to say, for more than two and a half centuries, the kingdom always included Khajurâho, Kâlañjar, and Mahôbâ. The first named town, with its group of magnificent temples, may be regarded as the religious, the second, with its strong fortress, as the military, and the third, with its palace, as the civil capital. No traces of the Chandêl rule have been found in *parganas* Hamîrpur and Sumerpur in the north of the Hamîrpur District, and it would seem that those *parganas* were covered with jungle during the Chandêl period, and sparsely inhabited by aboriginal tribes, who were displaced by Râjpût immigrants during the fourteenth century and afterwards.[15]

The name Khajurâho is sometimes written Khajurâhâ, but in the Bundelkhaṇḍî dialect final *o* represents *â* of ordinary Hindî, so that the ending in *o* may be regarded as the more correct. The name is Sanskritized as Kharjûravâhaka in inscription No. 7. The derivations which have been suggested are merely guesses.[16]

The buildings at Khajurâho have been described in some detail by Cunningham,[17] whose accounts have been supplemented by the author and other writers. But no really adequate account of the remains has been prepared. Cunningham's plans are on a scale much too small, and not

[11] See *Rep.*, Vol. X, p. 57, Pl. XX. Five temples dedicated to the 64 Jôginîs are known, *viz.*—(1) the Khajurâho one, which is peculiar in being oblong; (2) Bhêra Ghâṭ near Jabalpur (*Rep.*, Vol. IX, p. 74); (3) Surâdâ in the Pâṭan or Paṭṭana State, one of the Tributary States of Orissa (*I. A.*, Vol. VII, p. 20); (4) Râṇîpur-Jurâl in same State (*Rep.*, Vol XIII, p. 132); and (5) in Coimbatore District, Madras (*Rep.*, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 74, without exact indication of locality). Nos. 2—5 are circular. Surâdâ is in the Pâṭan State, not in the Kâlâhand State; as also is Râṇîpur-Jurâl (*Rep.*, Vol. XIII, p. 128; erroneously placed in the 'Karund' State, *ibid.* Introd.).

[12] Maniyâgaṛh was the ancient fort of the town of Râjgaṛh, situated on the Kên, and so lay in a westerly direction from Khajurâho (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. XLVIII (1879), p. 286).

[13] This is the spelling of the Gazetteer. Others write Bilhari, etc.

[14] *C. P. Gaz.*, 2nd ed. (1870), p. 176; *Brief Account*, para. 19; *J. A. S. B.*, Part I (1881), pp. 18 and 20, quoting Sleeman.

[15] *Brief Account*, para. 19.

[16] The village of Pahra, about 14 miles from Mahôbâ, has the alternative name of Khajurâha (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. XLVIII (1879), p. 296). The name might arise anywhere if date palms (*khajûr*) were abundant. Many villages are named Piprâ and the like from a conspicuous *pîpal* tree (*Ficus Religiosa*).

[17] *Rep.*, Vols. II, X, and XXI.

always accurate. The remains are well worthy of a special volume fully illustrated by adequate plans and photographs, but enoug h has been done in the way of description to render it unlikely that anybody will undertake the task of preparing a special and satisfactory work on the subject. Here it will suffice to note the principal monuments as proofs of the magnificence of the Chandêl kings. The remains, more or less complete, of more than thirty temples are traceable at Khajurâho and the neighbouring village of Jatkari.

The largest building is the fine Saiva temple, called Kandâriya or Khandâriya Mahâdêo by Cunningham (properly Kandariyâ) which stands 116½ feet high, and seems to have been erected during the tenth century (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 62). The temple known as Viśvanâth or Lâlajî contains the two inscription slabs dated, respectively, 1059 and 1058, of which the former doubtless belongs to the building. This record, which contains the posthumous panegyric of King Dhanga, commemorates the erection of the temple, which must have been built during his reign, towards its close. The Lakshmaṇjî, Chaturbhuj, or Râmachandra temple, with the date 1011 (= 954 or 955 A. D.) was built by Dhanga's father Yaśôvarman. The Jain temple of Jinanâth, with an inscription of the same year, was built in the beginning of Dhanga's reign. The Ghanṭâî Jain temple, so called from the bells (*ghanṭâ*) carved on the pillars, is an incomplete mediæval restoration made up from older materials. The original temple probably was erected in the tenth century (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 61). A Buddhist statue now lost was found on the site, which possibly may have been occupied originally by a Buddhist building. The temples described by Cunningham under the names 'Devî Jagadâmbî' and 'Kuṅwar Maṭh' are among the best, and, like the others, may be assigned to the tenth century (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 62 and 63). The temple of Mṛitang Mahâdêo is remarkable for its large dome of overlapping stones, with a diameter of 22 feet, without extraneous support. The similar dome of Kuṅvar Maṭh is 14′ 9″ in diameter. The domes of the other large temples are supported by extra pillars.[18] Khajurâho luckily lay out of the path of the Muhammadan iconoclasts, to which fact we owe the preservation of **the finest group of Hindu temples in Northern India.** Many of the buildings have been repaired extensively from time to time, and the Jain temples, especially, have been continually altered and restored.

From what has been said about the buildings it is clear that **the splendour of Khajurâho** reached its highest point in the tenth century during the reign of Dhanga (950—1000 A. D.). His successor Gaṇḍa was twice defeated within his own territories by Maḥmûd of Ghaznî, first in 1019-20 A. D. (410 A. H.),[19] and again in 1022-3 A. D. (413 A. H.).[20] It is not unlikely that, as Cunningham conjectures (*Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 438), **the decline of Khajurâho** may date from that time. But the inscription of Jayavarman dated 1117 A. D. (No. 11) shows that the later kings did not wholly neglect Dhanga's favourite town. The memory of Paramardi (Parmâl) and his grandfather Madanavarman is associated chiefly with Mahôbâ. After Parmâl's time the only allusion to Khajurâho found in mediæval writers is the mention by the traveller Ibn Batuta in 1335 A. D., that the place was frequented by long-haired Jôgîs with a reputation for skill in magic.[21] At the beginning of the nineteenth century the site was overgrown with jungle, although, no doubt, a small population continued to cling to it. The local Chandêl zamindars claim to be autochthonous and boast kinship with King Parmâl. At present Khajurâho is a village, with less than 2,000 inhabitants.

Mahôbâ, now a small country town in the Hamîrpur District, 54 miles to the south of Hamîrpur, and 34 miles to the north of Khajurâho, is associated by tradition very closely with the Chandêl dynasty. The name of Parmâl (Paramardi) is in everybody's mouth, and the legend of his war with Pirthîrâj Chauhân (Prithvî Râja Châhumâna), as told by Chand Bardâî in the *Mahôbâ Khaṇḍ*,

[18] See V. A. Smith and F. C. Black, 'Observations on Some Chandel Antiquities,' in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. XLVIII, 1879, pp. 285—293 ; correcting and supplementing Cunningham's remarks in *Rep.*, Vol. II. Plates XVII and XVIII give plans of the Jinanâth, Ghanṭâî, and Mṛitang Mahâdêo temples.

[19] *Ṭabakât-i-Akbarî*, in Elliot, II, p. 463.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[21] *Travels*, translated by Lee, quoted in *Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 438.

a canto of the Chand Râesâ epic, is familiar to every native. Many spots and buildings at and near Mahôbâ are undying memorials of the names of Chandêl kings and princes. The reigning kings can be identified from inscriptions, but other princes who do not happen to be mentioned in the inscriptions, and are remembered only for having formed a lake or built a temple, cannot be assigned a precise position in the genealogy of the ruling clan.

The earliest sovereign locally commemorated by existing material works is **Râhila, the fifth of the dynasty,** who reigned from about 900 to 915 A. D. No inscriptions have been discovered which can help the determination of his date with greater accuracy. The Hanumân dedication at Khajurâho dated in 922 A. D. does not mention the name of the reigning king. The Râhilya Sâgar, or lake, two miles to the south-west of Mahôbâ and the fine, although much injured, cruciform granite temple on its embankment, undoubtedly, are monuments of the reign of Râhila. Cunningham (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 63) observes that the Kuñwar Maṭh, or Prince's Temple, at Khajurâho, which has a granite plinth and sandstone superstructure, agrees very closely with the Râhilya shrine, and may be referred to the same period, the early part of the tenth century. According to Mr. Beglar (*Rep.*, Vol. VII, p. 47) one of the tanks in the Ajaygaṛh fort is ascribed by some people to Kîrtivarman, and by others to Râhilavarman (Râhil Brihm) whose name is said to occur on several stones of one of the temples; but Cunningham does not mention these alleged facts. Tradition, as recorded by the poet Chand, ascribes the foundation of the ancient fortress of Râsan in Bândâ, about 20 miles N.-E. from Kâlañjar, to Râhila.

The Kîrat Sâgar lake, a mile and three-quarters in circumference, which lies to the west of Mahôba, was the work of **Kîrtivarman,** the thirteenth king (*c.* 1060—1100 A. D.). Cunningham found near the Dargâh some remains of a temple of Śiva, which probably was built in the reign of Kîrtivarman (*Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 441). Another Kîrat Sâgar, no doubt, contemporary, exists at Chandêrî in Lalitpur.[22] The name of Kîrtivarman is also connected with buildings at Ajaygaṛh and Kâlañjar.

Madanavarman, the seventeenth king (1128—1165 A. D.), is commemorated at Mahôbâ by the Madan Sâgar on the south side of the town, by Madan Khêrâ, a small mound at Mâhilpur about three miles to the east, and by three Jain images, on which the dedicatory inscriptions mention him as the reigning king in 1155, 1157, and 1163 A. D. The granite temple, known as the Kakrâ Maṛh, which stands on a rocky island in the north-west corner of the Madan Sâgar, escaped Muhammadan destructiveness, and is still fairly complete. It is equal in size to the largest of the sandstone temples at Khajurâho. The Kakrâ Maṛh, which was dedicated to Śiva, and a second temple dedicated to Vishṇu, called Madâri, the ruins of which exist on a second islet in the lake, may be ascribed safely to the reign of Madanavarman. His name is found also on buildings at Kâlañjar and Ajaygaṛh.

The eighteenth king, Parmâl or Paramardi, as already observed, is remembered by popular tradition at Mahôbâ more distinctly than any other member of his family. The remains of his palace on the top of the slightly fortified hill known as the fort are still pointed out, notwithstanding their conversion to the purposes of a mosque. The dedication on a Jain image dated in 1168 A. D. mentions him as the reigning sovereign, and the Baghârî inscription, found at Singhanpur-Baghârî near Mahôbâ, commemorates the erection of temples dedicated to both Vishṇu and Śiva, by his ministers in 1195 A. D. A hymn of praise to Śiva, recorded on a slab at Kâlañjar in 1201 A. D , professes to be the composition of Paramardi himself.

When he was driven out of Mahôbâ in 1182 A. D. by Prithîrâj (Prithvîrâja), most probably he retired to Kâlañjar. The imperfect inscription from the fort wall at Mahôba, which records the building of a temple in 1240 S. = 1183 A. D., the year after the Chandêl defeat, does not seem to contain any king's name, and it is impossible to say under what circumstances it was recorded.

[22] Cunningham spells *Chânderi*, but wrongly, I believe. His spelling *Chândel* certainly is erroneous.

Except as above stated, and a tank at Ajaygaṛh and a gateway at Kâlañjar, no particular building or artificial lake is definitely connected with the name of Parmâl, although loose popular tradition attributes to him in a vague way many of the antiquities of the country.

According to Chand and local tradition, Parmâl was succeeded at Mahôbâ by his son Samarjit, who retained the control of the local administration until he was killed by a Muhammadan named, Binâe-ud-dîn (see note 49 *post*). Although the name of Samarjit is not mentioned in the inscriptions, I do not see any special reason for disbelieving the tradition. The incursion of Prithîrâj seems to have been a merely temporary raid, which did not imply any permanent conquest of Jejâkabhukti, and the epigraphic evidence indicates that **Trailôkyavarman,** the recognized successor of Parmâl as sovereign, had his headquarters at Ajaygaṛh. Samarjit may have been his younger brother, and may have held Mahôbâ as best he could until 1203 A. D., when both he and his father were overwhelmed by the Muhammadan invader.

The fortress of Ajaygaṛh stands in the State of that name to the south-east of Mahôbâ, to the south-west of Kâlañjar, and a little north of east from Khajurâho. The irregular quadrilateral formed by these four places was **the centre of the Chandêl power.** The dynasty, which arose at Maniyâgaṛh and Mahôbî about 831 A. D., seems to have occupied Khajurâho about 900 A. D., and certainly seized Kâlañjar, in the reign of Yaśôvarman, the seventh king, about 930 or 940 A. D. Ajaygaṛh, if Mr. Beglar is right, was held by Râhila, the fifth king, at the beginning of the tenth century. Cunningham's description of Ajaygaṛh (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 46—54) must be read with caution, as his account of the inscriptions contains many errors. A private dedication (inscription No. 19), which mentions Madanavarman as the reigning king in 1151 A. D., is the earliest Chandêl record at this site. A tank in the fort is ascribed to Parmâl, and there are inscriptions of his successors Trailôkyavarman, Vîravarman, and Bhôjavarman. It seems that after the capture of Kâlañjar by Kuṭb-ud-dîn in 1203 A. D., the Chandêl chiefs resided ordinarily at Ajaygaṛh, twenty miles distant. Inscriptions No. 35*a* and 35*b*, as interpreted by Cunningham, indicate that they sought compensation by pushing eastward into Rêwâ, but his interpretation is open to doubt.

The history and antiquities of the famous fort of Kâlañjar have been related and described by Cunningham in Volume XXI of his *Reports*, making use of the earlier accounts by Pogson and Maisey. From very ancient times the hill had been a favourite resort of Śaiva ascetics, and it is said to be included in a list of nine holy places of Northern India given in the *Padma Purâṇa*. It is impossible to say when or by whom it was first occupied as a fortress. Cunningham's theory that the Kalachuri Era of 249 A. D., commemorates the occupation of Kâlañjar at that date by the Kalachuri kings of Chedi is not supported by the most recent researches, which indicate that the era was used first in Gujarât and the Ṭhâna District near Bombay.[23] Inscription No. 2 of my list distinctly affirms that Yaśôvarman, the seventh Chandêl king, annexed the hill of Kâlañjar. There is no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, and we are consequently justified in believing that the Chandêl connexion with the fortress began about 930 or 940 A. D. After that date the titles of the Chandêl kings usually include that of 'lord of Kâlañjar,' which was also assumed by some of the kings of Chedi, the rivals, and at times the enemies of the Chandêls. The Chandêl inscriptions at the fortress mostly belong to the reigns of Madanavarman and Paramardi (1128—1203 A. D.); but a tank, named the 'Budhi or Burhyia Tâl' by Cunningham, is associated by tradition with the name of Kîrtivarman (*c.* 1060—1100 A. D.). This king is believed by the people to have been a leper, and to have recovered his health by bathing in this tank at Kâlañjar. The fortress was taken by Kuṭb-ud-dîn Îbak (Aibak) in April, 1203, from Parmâl (Paramardi), who died immediately afterwards. The Musalmans held it only for a short time, and it was then recovered by the Hindus, as is proved by inscriptions Nos. 41 and 43.

[23] Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 566.

The buildings at Kâlañjar do not seem to possess any high degree of merit as architecture. The upper gate, leading to the outwork in the middle of the west face, where the great *lingam* of Nîlakantha stands, is attributed by local tradition to king Parmâl (1165—1203 A. D.). The Muhammadan attacks on Kâlañjar will be discussed more fully subsequently.

Ajaygaṛh and Kâlañjar are the best known of the eight Chandêl forts (*ante*, p. 132), but it will be well to add a few remarks on the remaining six. I have no information about **Bârîgaṛh** in the Charkhârî State, distant about ten miles from Mahôbâ, except that it possesses a fort ascribed to a prince named Bâlavarman (Bâr Brahm), who is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but is given an early position in the dynasty by the bards' lists.[24] The Barsî tank and mound at Pahra (also called Khajurâha) fourteen miles N.-E. of Mahôbâ, preserve the name of the same prince.[25] **Maudhâ**, in the north-eastern corner of the Hamîrpur District has no ancient remains of interest now visible. **Maniyâgaṛh**, already referred to as the original seat of the Chandêl clan, according to Khajurâhô tradition, is described by Beglar and Cunningham (*Rep.*, Vol. VII, p. 43; Vol. XXI, p. 69) as a large ruined fort, situated on the left bank of the Kên river, on a hill overlooking the town of Râjgaṛh in the Chhatarpur State. The fort derives its name from a shrine of Maniyâ Deo (? Devi). This goddess was regarded as the tutelary deity of the Chandêls, and another shrine dedicated to her exists at Mahôbâ. I have shown reason for believing her to be a tribal deity of the Bhars, one of the so-called aboriginal races, formerly numerous in the Hamîrpur District, but now merged in the general low-caste population. The Bhars and Gônḍs seem to have been closely akin, and the Chandêl clan probably shared in both Bhar and Gônḍ blood (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. XLVI (1877), p. 233; *Rep.*, Vol. VII, p. 44; *Brief Account*, p. 2).

The little known fort of Mârphâ in the Bândâ District, twelve miles to the N.-E. of Kâlañjar, is comparable in size with the fortresses of Ajaygaṛh and Kâlañjar, and was considered by Tieffenthaler to be even larger than the latter. The site is overrun with jungle, the haunt of tigers and leopards, and so is not convenient for archæological exploration. I believe it to have been the stronghold of the **chieftain called by the Muhammadan historian Dalaki-wa-Malaki** who was the opponent of Ulûgh Khân in 1248 A. D. There is little doubt that he was a Bhar.[26] **Gaṛhâ**, four miles west of Jabalpur, is well known as the traditional early seat of the Gônḍ dynasty, but does not seem to possess any buildings of importance, except the late castle known as the Madan Mahal.[27]

Mahiyar, now a station on the Allâhâbâd and Jabalpur Railway, commands a pass over the Kaimûr range, and possesses a famous temple of the goddess Sarasvatî, or Sârdâ Devî. No Chandêl remains are recorded.[28]

Some traditions substitute Kâlpî for Mahiyar in the list of Chandêl forts. It is situated in the Jâlaun District on the southern bank of the Jamna, to the N.-W. of Hamîrpur; and, if ever held by the Chandêl kings, can have been in their hands for a very short time. The existing remains are Muhammadan.[29]

The origin of the Chandêls, like that of all the Râjpût clans, is obscure and uncertain. The Chandêls themselves have a silly legend to the effect that they are descended from the union of the moon (Chandra) with a Brahman maiden. The only significance of the myth is its implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation, which was best attained

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[24] *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. L (1881), p. 19. The bards' lists are given in *Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 449.

[25] *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. XLVIII (1879), pp. 295 and 296, Pl. XIX.

[26] Cunningham did not visit Mârphâ, which he believed to have been 'explored' by his assistant, Messrs. Beglar and Carlleyle. But Mr. Beglar did not even succeed in finding the place (*Rep.*, Vol. VII, p. 21); and Carlleyle does not mention it. The position is fixed by Cunningham (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 18, Pl. I). Tieffenthaler erroneously places it seven miles to the S.-E. of Kâlañjar (*Géographie de l'Indoustan*, French transl., Berlin, 1791, p. 247). For Dalaki-wa-Malaki, see *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. L (1881), p. 37.

[27] *C. P. Gazetteer* (1870); *Rep.*, Vol. XVII, p. 52. [28] *Rep.*, Vol. IX, p. 33. [29] *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 131.

by including it in the group of 'moon-descended' Râjpûts, and adding respectability by inventing a Brahman ancestress. As a matter of fact, the Chandêls are still regarded as a clan of impure descent. It seems quite clear that the ancestors were not immigrants from the north-west, and had nothing to do with the Huns and such people, who appear to be largely represented in the present day by the 'fire-descended' Râjpûts, the Chauhâns, and others.[30]

The indications are fairly distinct that **the Chandêl clan originated in the midst of the Gôṇḍs,** with whom other similar tribes were intermixed. The Chandêl Zemindars of Khajurâho claim to be autochthonous and trace their origin to Maniyâgaṛh, the ancient ruined fortress on the Kên river, not many miles distant. This tradition is confirmed by the fact that Maniyâ Dêo [? Dêvî], whose shrine exists at Maniyâgaṛh and gives the place its name, was the tutelary deity of the Chandêls. When they occupied Mahôbâ, early in the ninth century, they brought with them the worship of this goddess, who appears to be akin to the Gôṇḍ deities. The third and only other known shrine dedicated to her is at the village of Barêl in *pârganâ* Râth, Hamîrpur District, which probably was formerly occupied by Bhars. The poet Chand associates Maniyâgaṛh with a Gôṇḍ chieftain. As late as the sixteenth century the Chandêl princess Durgâvatî married the Gôṇḍ chief of Gaṛhâ Mandlâ. Without going further into detail, I may say that I still hold the opinion which I published thirty years ago, that 'the Chandêls really sprang from an aboriginal stock; whether this stock was called Bhar or Gôṇḍ we cannot say, and if I am right in thinking the two tribes to be very closely connected, the question is of no importance.'[31] **The Gahaṛwârs,** with whom the Chandêls are also connected by tradition, and **the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chêdi** probably came to the front in the same way, as successful adventurers among some one or other of the 'aboriginal' races, who after attaining power, claimed the rank of Kshatriya, Râjpût, or Ṭhâkur — all synonymous terms in practice — as Gôṇḍ chiefs do to this day. **I accept the Khajurâho tradition that the original seat of the Chandêl clan was Maniyâgaṛh on the Kên river in the Chhatarpur State.**

The newly formed clan, the Chandêls, then spread northwards to Mahôbâ, taking with them the worship of their tutelary deity, from which town they gradually extended their rule over all Jêjâkabhukti, the modern Bundêlkhaṇḍ. I do not believe that the Chandêls ever were very numerous during their period of sovereignty. They formed a ruling caste, holding in more or less complete subjection various races, including a crowd of Goṇḍs, Kôls, Bhîls, and other so-called aborigines, whose former presence under those names can be traced in scores of village traditions, specimens of which are recorded in my early publications. These people are not known now by the old names in the Hamîrpur District, where I studied the subject, but they certainly form the principal element in the existing low-caste population of that district, under the names of Chamârs, Khangârs, Ârakhs, and so forth. I have, no doubt, that investigations of a similar kind in other districts of Bundêlkhaṇḍ would yield similar results.

The Chandêls were only one of several clans which attained eminence during the ninth century, and, in virtue of the *de facto* exercise of sovereign powers, claimed to rank as Kshatriyas or Râjpûts, whatever might be the flaws in their pedigrees. The exact process by which these clans came to the front nearly at the same time is not known, and is not likely to be ascertained. It is easy to see that the death in 648 A. D. of Harshavardhana, paramount sovereign of Northern India, loosed the bonds which had held together for a time a multitude of separate States, and so gave free play to the action of local ambitions. We know as a matter of fact from the strange story of Wang-Hiuen-tse, the Chinese envoy, that the death of

[30] Jackson, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I (1896), p. 468; followed by Hoernle, in Hoernle and Stark, *Hist. of India*, p. 62; *E. Hist. India*, 2nd ed., pp. 373—81.

[31] *J. A. S. B.*, Part I (1877), p. 234. 'The fort of Rehuta [or Gûrgi-Masâun in Rewâ] is unanimously ascribed to Raja Karan Dahariya, who is supposed to have been a Bhar chief. But his very title of Dahariya shows that he must have been the famous Karṇa Deva, the Kalachuri Raja of Dâhal or Chedi' (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 149).

Harsha was followed immediately by serious disorder;[32] but information concerning the course of political events from the middle of the seventh to the beginning of the ninth century is so scanty that it is impossible to trace fully the steps of the development of all the new powers, which were well established by the middle of the ninth century. A summary of the present state of knowledge on the subject will be found in Chapter XIV of the Second Edition of the *Early History of India*, and the development of the Parihâr clan from a section of the Gûrjaras is worked out in my essay on the Gûrjaras of Râjputâna and Kanauj, which will appear this year in the *J. R. A. S.*

There can be little doubt that the province or kingdon of Jêjâkabhukti was included in the empire of Harsha, and that the local Brahmaṇ Râjâ mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in 642 A. D. must have been a feudatory of the paramount power. But nobody can tell what happened to the Brahmaṇ Râjâ. The Chandêl clan, as already explained, seems to have originated among the Gôṇḍs and cognate tribes in the territory now known as the Chhatarpur State. The early Chandêl Râjâs probably were subordinate to the powerful State formed by the Gûrjaras — a tribe of foreign origin — which attained its greatest extent under Bhôja I in the middle of the ninth century, when Kanauj (Mahôdaya) was the capital. In this connexion it is relevant to note that tradition represents the Chandêls as having succeeded a Parihâr (Pratihâra) kingdom, which had its capital at Mau-Sahaniyâ between Nowgong (Naugâon) and Chhatarpur. These Parihârs probably were Gûrjaras connected with the White Huns, descended from the armies of Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula.[33] The subordination of Jêjâkabhukti to Kanauj may be assumed to have lasted until the end of the reign of Râhila, the fifth Râjâ (about 915 A. D.) who is not known to have carried his arms beyond the limits of his ancestral province. But his son and successor, Harshadeva, the sixth Râjâ, is recorded to have placed (or replaced) on the throne a Râjâ named Kshitipâla, who must be the king of Kanauj known from other inscriptions under the names of Mahîpâla and Herambapâla. Taken in connection with the ascertained fact of repeated subsequent wars between the Chandêls and the rulers of Kanauj, the inference may be drawn that Harshadêva waged a successful war with the kingdom of Kanauj, defeated its king Kshitipâla (Mahîpâla), and, before returning home, replaced him on his throne.[34] These events may be dated approximately about 917 A. D., which may be assumed as being very nearly the correct date for the development of the Chandêl power as the equal and rival of Kanauj, which had lost its predominant position soon after the death of Bhôja I about 890 A. D. Recent researches have demonstrated that the kingdom of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty and clan lay immediately to the south of the western provinces of that of Kanauj (Mahôdaya), and that Indra III, Râshṭrakûṭa, in or about 916 A. D. attacked Kanauj successfully, and drove its king, Mahîpâla, from his throne.[35] It is possible that the victory credited to Harshadêva Chandêl may have been won by him in alliance with the Râshṭrakûṭa prince, who makes a similar claim to martial success. But it is more likely that the Chandêl king, notwithstanding his usual rivalry, came to the rescue of the Kanauj sovereign, and delivered him from the hand of the Râshṭrakûṭa invader. Neither of the powers to the south of the Jamnâ was strong enough to hold permanently the kingdom of Kanauj. Both the Chandêl and the Râshṭrakûṭa had to be content with the glory of a successful invasion and the credit of having dethroned and replaced king Kshitipâla (Mahîpâla).

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[32] *E. Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., p. 327.

[33] D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Gûrjaras,' *J. Bo. R. A. S.*, 1903; Jackson, *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), Vol. I, Part I, App. III, 'Bhinmâl'; Hoernle, in Hoernle and Stark, *Hist. of India* (1904), p. 62. Mr. Jackson's learned and original essay, published in 1896, which first announced the discovery of the 'Gûrjara Empire,' as Dr. Hoernle call it, attracted little notice until lately. For Mau-Sahaniyâ, see *J. A. S. B.*, Part I (1881), p. 6.

[34] Inscriptions No. I and II in *E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 121, 123, 171.

[35] Bhandarkar, 'Gûrjaras,' p. 11 of reprint; *E. I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 30, 43.

Yaśôvarman (Lakshavarman), the seventh Chandêl king (c. 930—950 A. D.) greatly increased the power and confirmed the stability of his dynasty by his conquest and occupation of the fortress of Kâlañjar. The possession of this strong place, with which all his successors closely associated themselves, substantially enhanced the rising influence of the Chandêls, who were henceforth undoubtedly free from all dependence on Kanauj. In fact, the rise of the Chandêls seems to have been one of the principal factors in the political decadence of that kingdom. When Yaśôvarman built his magnificent temple to Vishṇu at Khajurâho, he obtained the image for the shrine from king Dêvapâla of Kanauj, the successor of Kshitipâla or Mahîpâla, who had been defeated by Yaśôvarman's father, Harshadêva. This incident probably means that the ruler of Kanauj was not in a position to refuse a favour to his southern rival.

Internecine warfare between rival local potentates has always been the normal condition of India when left free to follow her own devices, and the sufferings resulting were accepted as a matter of course. But she was now about to be called upon to endure unwillingly the cruelties of a foreign invader, and we must turn aside to consider **the progress of Muhammadan advance** from the north-west in order to understand the causes of the ultimate overthrow of the Chandêls and the other mediæval Râjpût powers.

The Amîr Alptigîn, who previously had been governor of Khurâsân under the Sâmânî dynasty of Persia and Bukhârâ, occupied Ghaznî in 933-4 A.D. (322 H.) and so became the neighbour of the powerful Hindu State in the Indus Valley and Pañjâb, of which the capital was Baṭhinḍah (Bhatinda). In either 366 or 367 H. (976-8 A. D.), **the Amîr Sabuktigîn** wrested Ghaznî from the hands of a Muhammadan governor named Pîrey. The Hindus of the adjoining kingdom on the east could not allow the Musalmân advance to proceed unchecked, and, as early as 363 H. (973-4 A. D.), they had attempted the invasion of Ghaznî, but were repulsed by Pîrey. The name of the Hindu leader on that occasion is not recorded. A few years later, in 369 H. (979-80 A. D.), **Jaipâl, king of Baṭhinḍah,** whose dominions extended from the mountains west of the Indus to the Hakṛâ, the 'lost river' of the Indian desert, and so included a large part of the modern provinces, the Pañjâb and Sind, advanced towards Ghaznî, but came to terms with the Amîr and retired. In 376 H. = 986-7 A. D., Sabuktigîn raided the Indian frontier and collected much booty. A year or two later in 378 H. = 988-9 A. D., Jaipâl repeated his invasion of the Musalmân territory, but lost most of his army from the excessive cold, and was again compelled to retreat. The terms settled between him and Sabuktigîn provided that the Indian king should pay a large cash indemnity, forfeit a hundred elephants, and surrender four fortified towns to the west of the Indus, in the direction of Ghaznî.[36]

Jaipâl was also required to give hostages, and to receive commissioners empowered by Sabuktigîn to take over the cash, elephants, and fortresses in accordance with the treaty. But when he reached his own territory, Jaipâl violated the compact, detained Sabuktigîn's commissioners as hostages, and failed to carry out the terms agreed on. 'On becoming aware of this conduct, Sabuktigîn mustered his forces to take vengeance upon the Hindu for this piece of treachery. He entered Jaipâl's territory, and carried slaughter, plunder, and devastation wherever he went. Idol temples were overturned and masjids (mosques) erected on their ruins, and the Lamghân territory and Nang-Nihâr (Jalâlâbâd), which were the most western parts held by Jaipâl — the more level tracts in comparison with the old Afghân country —

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36 The terms are as stated by Raverty. Al 'Utbî in the *Târîkh-i-Yamînî* (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 21) says that the Amîr was promised '1,000,000 dirhems of royal stamp, and fifty elephants, and some cities and forts in the middle of his country.' The spelling 'Ghaznî' is correct, but alternative forms, 'Ghaznîn,' etc., are used by some writers.

were reduced under his sway. After this success Sabuktigîn returned to Ghaznî.'[37] In the narrative of these proceedings the historians make no mention of allies of Jaipâl. That prince seems to have relied upon his own resources, and was compelled to recognize the fact that they were unequal to the task of stopping the progress of the foreigner.

Soon after, **probably in 989 A. D., Jaipâl resolved to make a supreme effort** to save his country, and, according to Ferishta, summoned to his aid the Râjâs of Delhi, Ajmîr, Kâlañjar, and Kanauj (Elphinstone, 5th ed., p. 321). The combined forces are said to have numbered 100,000 men. This huge army engaged Sabuktigîn somewhere between Bannû and Ghaznî, probably in the Kurmah (Kurram) Valley, and was destroyed. Successive charges of cavalry produced the effect wrought long ages before, by the similar tactics of Alexander the Great, and so demoralized the Indian host, that it broke before the final general attack. The Hindus gave way, and were pursued with dreadful slaughter to the Indus. Sabuktigîn obtained rich plunder in this camp, and levied heavy contributions from the neighbouring districts. He also occupied the city of Peshâwar and appointed a governor to rule it, but the bulk of the Hindu dominions west of the Indus was not finally annexed to the kingdom of Ghaznî until the reign of Sabuktigîn's successor, Maḥmûd.[38] The Râjâ of Kâlañjar, whose contingent shared in this disastrous defeat, was Dhanga.

The Muhammadans did not attempt to attack Jêjâkabhukti or the other internal parts of India during the reign of Dhanga. During the tenth century the kingdom of Jêjâkabhukti seems to have been decidedly stronger than the rival realm of Kanauj.

Inscription No. 2, dated 954 A. D., informs us that Dhanga's father, Yaśôvarman, who annexed Kâlañjar, had waged successful wars with the Gauḍas, Khaśas, Kośalas, Kaśmîras, Mithilas, Mâlavas, Chêdis, and Gûrjaras. No doubt the boasts of the official panegyrist must be subjected to considerable discount, but, allowing for this, we may accept the fact that Yaśôvarman was an aggressive monarch who caused the weight of his arm to be felt by most of the northern powers between the Himâlaya and the Narbadâ. The reality of the conquests ascribed to him, at least to a large extent, is proved by Jaipâl's call on Dhanga for assistance. Unless the Chandêl king had attained an admitted place among the leading powers of Northern India, he would not have been invited to send a contingent to fight in a region so remote as the Afghân frontier. Recent investigations show that the Gûrjaras referred to must mean, at that date almost certainly, the Gûrjara-Pratihâra rulers of Kanauj or Mahôdaya.

The same record which enumerates the conquests of Yaśôvarman gives valuable information concerning the **extent of the dominions of his son Dhanga, the ally of Jaipâl,** which shows how quickly the chiefs of the petty Mahôbâ State had developed into the masters of a powerful kingdom, extending north and south from the Jumna to the Narbadâ, or at least the Kaimûr

[37] Raverty, *Notes on Afghânistân and Part of Balûchistan* (1888), p. 320. See also his transl. *Ṭabaḳât-i-Nâsirî*, pp. 71—74; and Elliot, *Hist. of India*, Vol. II, pp. 18—24. Jaipâl (Jayapâla), king of the Indus Valley and Southern Pañjâb, who had his capital at Baṭhinḍah (Bhatinda), now in the Patiâlâ State, seems to be confused by some writers with a supposed king of Delhi or Kanauj of the same name. Miss Duff (*Chronology*, p. 303) inserts him in the list of 'Hindu Shâhiya kings of Kâbul,' whose capital actually was at Ohind (Waihand, Udabhâṇḍapura) (see *Catal. of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 245). The dominions of Jaipâl lay further south than those of the Shâhiyas. Jaipâl was defeated finally by Mahmûd of Ghazni on Thursday, 8th Muharram, 392 H. (27th November, 1001), whereas the last of the Shâhiyas, Trilôchanapâla, was not defeated until about 1013 A. D., at the Tosi river. Jaipâl, 'the greatest of the Râes of Hind,' was taken prisoner and detained in Khurâsân. After his release and return to his own country, he committed suicide by burning himself on a pyre. He was succeeded by his son Ânandpâl, who, with his son, Brahmanpâl, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Mahmûd in 399 H. (1008-1009 A. D.) See Raverty, transl. *Ṭabaḳât*, pp. 81 and 82; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 446; and Al'Utbî, *ibid.*, pp. 27 and 33. Rājyapāla was the name of the Râjâ of Kanauj which has been misread as Jaipâl (*E. Hist. India*, 2nd ed., p. 354, *n.*)

[38] Raverty, as cited in notes 36 and 37. Elphinstone (5th ed., p. 321) locates both the battles between Sabuktigîn and Jaipâl in 'Laghmán, at the mouth of the valley which extends from Peshâwer to Cábul'; but Raverty shows good reasons for believing that the fighting took place in or near the Kurmah (Kurram) Valley, on the road to Ghaznî.

Range, and east and west from the frontier of the kingdom of Benares (Kâśî) to the Bêtwâ river. We are told that Dhanga's western frontier was marked by the town of Bhâsvat on 'the river of Mâlava,' which seems to be meant for Bhilsa (Bhêlsâ) on the Bêtwâ. His northern boundary was the Jumna, which, of course, separated his dominions from the Gûrjara (Pratihâra) kingdom of Kanauj. On the north-east his frontier touched, and perhaps included, Gopâdri, or Gwâlior, which Vajradâman wrested from the grasp of the Kanauj sovereign, and probably held as a feudatory of Dhanga. Dhanga's southern neighbour was the king of Chêdi, whose capital was at Tripuri (Têwar,) near Jabalpur. The frontier may have been either the Kaimûr Hills on the Narbadâ river. The kingdom thus described was sufficiently extensive and wealthy to supply its monarch with an ample revenue and considerable forces.

The time limits of Dhanga's reign are fixed by the inscriptions within very narrow limits of possible error. He certainly was on the throne prior to 954 A. D. and had died a little before 1002 A. D. His reign, therefore, must have occupied the second half of the tenth century, and may be assumed to have covered the period from 950 to 1000 A. D. His life was prolonged beyond the ordinary term. We learn from Inscription No. 7 (v. 55) that Dhanga had passed the age of a hundred years, where he died at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna at Prayâga (Allahâbâd), 'closing his eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra (Śiva). and muttering holy prayers.' [39]

The northern style of temple architecture, characterized by the curvilinear steeple, to which Fergusson gave the rather inappropriate name of 'Indo-Aryan,' **reached its climax in the noble temples erected at Khajurâho** during the reigns of Yaśôvarman and Dhanga (*c.* 930—1000 A. D.), which are justly entitled to be regarded as the standard models of the style, worthy of admiration for their harmonious design, massive dignity, and rich decoration. The finest of the group is the temple of Kandariyâ Mahâdeô, but the temples dedicated to Viśvanâth and Chaturbhuj are little inferior.

In the year 387 H. (997 A. D.), almost exactly at the same time as the aged king Dhanga transmitted his crown to Gaṇḍa, the Amîr Sabuktigîn was succeeded on the throne of Ghaznî by his celebrated son, the **Sulṭân Maḥmûd,** who devoted all his energy during a long reign to the task of harrying the Indian idolaters. Authorities differ concerning the exact number of his incursions into India. Elliot, after careful study of the texts, came to the conclusion that Maḥmûd's raids were seventeen in number. According to that computation, his expedition in the year 399 H. (September, 1008 — August, 1009 A. D.) was the sixth.

It was undertaken in order to punish **Jaipâl's son and successor, Ânandpâl,** who had opposed the recent Muhammadan invasion of Multân. That prince, following his father's example, summoned the other Indian powers to his aid, and was joined by contingents from the kingdoms of Ujjain, Gwâlior, Kâlañjar, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmîr. The combined forces which advanced into the Pañjâb under the supreme command of Ânandpâl formed an army greater than any that had ever taken the field against the Amîr Sabuktigîn. The host, already enormous, daily grew in numbers, and received a specially valuable re-inforcement in at least 30,000 fierce warriors of the Khôkhar tribe. Battle was joined; according to the contemporary historian Al'Utbî, on the bank of the Indus not far from Ohind (Waihind), and a successful rush made by the Khôkhars, during which, in a few minutes, three or four thousand Musalmâns were killed, very nearly decided the fortune of the day in favour of the Hindus. But the sudden flight of Ânandpâl's riding elephant, which had been wounded, caused a panic in the Indian ranks. They broke, and were pursued for two days, suffering a loss of eight thousand killed. Thirty elephants and immense booty of all kinds fell into the hands of the victors, who transmitted the spoil to their master, the Sulṭân. In this fight **Brahmanpâl.**

[39] The language of the inscription that the king 'abandoned his body' does not necessarily imply suicide. It is merely the 'ordinary civil way of announcing a death' (Râjêndralâla Mitra, *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. XLVII, p. 47). A similar phrase occurs in Inscription No. 24, v. 40.

son of Ânandpâl, took a leading part. The Râjâ of Kâlañjar, whose contingent shared in the defeat of the allies, was Gaṇḍa, but whether or not he was present in person is not known.[40]

During the course of his **twelfth expedition,** in January, 1019 A. D. (409 H.), Sulṭân Maḥmûd accepted the **submission of the Râjâ of Kânauj, Râjyapâla,** who purchased the clemency of the invader by the payment of an indemnity of a million dirhems, equivalent to a quarter of million of rupees, and the surrender of thirty elephants. The Sulṭân then passed on to the city of Mathurâ, which he plundered, and thence returned to Ghaznî with twenty millions dirhems in cash, three hundred and fifty elephants, and fifty-three thousand captives. When the raider had departed, the Chandêl king, Gaṇḍa, sent his son Vidhyâdhara, aided by allies, against Kanauj. The allied forces captured the city, and slew its Râjâ as punishment for his too ready submission to the foreigner. This vigorous action must have taken place in April or May, 1019 A. D. When Maḥmûd heard of Gaṇḍa's audacious defiance, he resolved to avenge the king of Kanauj, and started from Ghaznî in the autumn of 1019 A. D. (410 H.). Kanauj being distant three months' march from Ghaznî, the Sulṭân must have reached the Jumna in January, 1020 A. D. An ally of Gaṇḍa, whose identity is obscured by the imperfection of the Persian alphabet, but almost certainly was Trilôchanpâla, son of Râjyapâla, and Râjâ of Kanauj, attempted to defend the passage of that river, but failed. Maḥmûd crossed the stream, captured and sacked the town of Bârî, and then advanced towards the south in order to chastise Gaṇḍa within his dominions. The Chandêl king, in accordance with the usual Hindu practice, assembled an unwieldy host, said to have comprised 36,000 horse, 105,000 foot, and 640 elephants. The sight of such an enormous force, outnumbering his small army many times, naturally caused the Sulṭân to feel uneasy and entertain doubts as to the prospects of victory. But his anxiety was soon relieved, for during the night Gaṇḍa 'fled with some of his personal attendants, leaving all his baggage and equipments. The next day the Sulṭân, being apprized of this, rode out on horseback without any escort, and carefully examined the ground. When he was satisfied that there was no ambush or strategical device, he stretched out his hands for plunder and devastation. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Musalmâns, and five hundred and eighty of Nanda's [Gaṇḍa's] elephants, which were in the neighbouring woods, were taken. The Sulṭân, loaded with victory and success, returned to Ghaznî.'[41] The locality of Gaṇḍa's craven flight is not specified; and it is not easy to understand why a prince, who was so eager to punish the king of Kanauj for submission to the invader, should himself take to flight without striking a blow. We have no Hindu account of the event, and must be content to take the Muhammadan version as it stands.

The cowardice of the Chandêl king, and the richness of the plunder taken from his camp encouraged Maḥmûd to renew the invasion of Gaṇḍa's territory. Accordingly, he again marched from Ghaznî in the autumn of 1022 A. D. (413 H.), and made his way to Gwâlior early in 1023. The ruler of that fortress, perhaps Kîrtirâja, made his submission, and so left open the road to **Kâlañjar,** which Maḥmûd proceeded to invest, probably in the month of March or April. Gaṇḍa again played the part of a coward, capitulated without fighting, presented three hundred elephants and immense treasure to the invader and was content to accept from his hands the investiture of fifteen forts, including Kâlañjar. 'The Sulṭân then victoriously and triumphantly returned to Ghaznî' in 1023 A. D.

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[40] Al'Utbî, in Elliot, *Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 33; Ferishta, *ibid.*, p. 446. The latter author, as translated by Elliot, calls the tribesmen on the Indian side by the name of 'Gakkhars.' But, long ago, Raverty showed reason for believing that their name should be read as 'Khôkhars,' and his conclusion is confirmed by Mr. H. A. Rose in his paper entitled 'The Khokhars and the Gakkhars,' *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 4.

[41] Nizâm-ud-dîn, in Elliot, Vol. II, p. 463. The Chandêl king's name is written in the Persian erroneously as 'Nanda.' The name which I interpret as Trilôchanapâla was read as Tarû Jaibâl in Elliot's manuscript. In Persian writing there is not much difference between تروجيبال and ترلوچنپال. The dropping of the *l* is enough to make the name unintelligible.

Notwithstanding the successes gained so easily by Maḥmûd, the Chandêl kingdom was not again attacked by the Muhammadans until a hundred and eighty years had elapsed, and Gaṇḍa's successors were left free to manage their own affairs, or fight with their neighbours, as they might feel inclined.

Little is on record concerning **the short reigns of Gaṇḍa's successors, Vidhyâdhara, Vijayapâla, and Dêvavarman,** which cover the period from about 1025 to 1060 A. D. The only contemporary document is the deed granting a village in 1056 A. D., which alone reveals the existence of Dêvavarman, who is not mentioned in the genealogical inscriptions, because he died apparently without issue and was succeeded by his brother. We learn from Inscription No. 16 that Vidhyâdhara continued the hereditary war with Kanauj, at that time under the rule of Trilôchanapâla. Vidhyâdhara is also alleged to have terrified Bhôjadeva, the famous Paramâra king of Mâlava, who reigned from about 1010 to 1050 A. D., but it is impossible to say whether or not this statement is a mere rhetorical flourish.

Kîrtivarman, brother of Dêvavarman, who came to the throne about 1060 and reigned for about forty years, evidently was **one of the most notable members of his dynasty.** He was contemporary during part of his career with **Karṇadêva, or Lakshmîkarṇa,** the powerful king of Chedi, with whom he engaged in protracted hostilities. At first Karṇadêva had the advantage, and even succeeded in driving his rival from the throne, probably annexing Jêjâkabhukti to his own dominions for a time. But in the end Kîrtivarman gained a decisive victory. Inscription No. 10 declares emphatically that Kîrtivarman 'acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm Lakshmîkarṇa [= Karṇadêva], whose armies had destroyed many princes.' This statement is verified by the prologue to Krishṇamiśra's play entitled *Prabôdhachandrôdaya*, 'The Rise of the Moon of Intellect,' which recites that Kîrtivarman had overcome and crushed the armies of Karṇa, who was 'as terrible as the fire at the end of the world to the multitude of all princes.' Inasmuch as Kîrtivarman did not come to the throne until about 1060 A. D., previous to which date Karṇadêva had been reigning for some twenty years, it is obvious that the defeat of the latter must have taken place at some time in the closing decade of Karṇa's reign, between 1060 and 1070 A. D.

The only dated record of Kîrtivarman's reign is the Dêogaṛh Inscription (No. 9) of 1154 V. E. = 1098 A. D., at which time his power was well established, and his reign drawing to its end. The inscription was set up by the king's hereditary minister, Vatsarâja, who had himself wrested the Dêogaṛh district from an unnamed enemy, probably Karṇa, and built the fort which he named Kîrtigiri in honour of his master. Dêogaṛh stands in a strong and picturesque position at the western end of the tableland of the Lalitpur range of hills, overhanging the river Bêtwâ, in N. lat. 24° 32′, E. long. 78° 18′.

The play entitled Prabôdhachandrôdaya, above mentioned, was performed before Kîrtivarman at the command of his Brahmaṇ general, Gopâla, who had defeated Karṇa immediately before, and replaced Kîrtivarman on the throne, which he had lost for a time (*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 220). The final victory of Kîrtivarman and the production of the play must have taken place in or about 1065 A. D., some appreciable time after the accession of Kîrtivarman about 1060 A. D., and prior to the death of Karṇa some ten years later. The drama so performed in honour of a brilliant victory is not of the kind that might be expected on such an occasion. It was composed in honour of the god Vishṇu and the Vêdânta philosophy, with an elaborate plot in which all the personages are allegorical. The play ends triumphantly with the reunion between King 'Discernment' and Queen 'Theology,' who had been long at variance, and their coming together is blessed by 'Faith in Vishṇu' (*Vishṇubhakti*).[42]

Tradition ascribes the foundation of the town of Balihri (Bilhari) in the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces to Râjâ Karṇ Ḍâhariya (*i. e.*, Ḍâhâl or Chedi), by whom Karṇadeva must be meant.[43] The subjugation of Karṇadeva by Kîrtivarman probably involved the cession

[42] M. Sylvain Lévi gives a lucid summary and appreciative criticism of the play in *Le Théâtre Indien* (Paris, 1890), pp. 229—35. On the authority of Râjaśekhara he mentions that another king of Kâlañjar named Bhîmaṭa was reputed to be the author of five plays, including one named *Svapnadaśânana* (*op. cit.*, pp. 229, 263, App. p. 85). This king Bhîmaṭa is not known from any other source of information.

[43] *Rep.*, Vol. IX, p. 34.

of Balihri to the latter; and there is reason to believe that the town continued in possession of the Chandêls at least up to the end of Madanavarman's reign. Nothing is recorded concerning the political events of the **short reigns of Sallakshaṇavarman, his son Jayavarman, or his brother Pṛithvîvarman,** from about 1100 to 1128 A. D.; except an allusion to a war carried on by Sallakshaṇavarman in the Doâb or Antarvêdî country between the Ganges and Jumna, probably against the kingdom of Kanauj (Inscription No. 24, v. 38).

Madanavarman, who reigned about thirty-seven years from 1128 to 1165 A. D., certainly was **one of the most distinguished members of his house.** The testimony of early tradition, as embodied in Chand's epic, agrees with that of the inscriptions in describing him as a successful warrior, who largely extended the Chandêl dominion. According to Chand and a late inscription at Kâlañjar, which has not been edited satisfactorily, he defeated **the king of Gûrjara.**[44] The works of the Gujarât historians prove that the king of Gûrjara referred to must mean the famous monarch, **Siddharâja-Jayasiṁha,** of Western Gujarât (Anhilwaṛa), who died in 1142 or 1143 A. D. Although the Gujarât authors do not admit the defeat of their sovereign as claimed by the Chandêl king, one of them (the author of the *Kumârapâlacharita*) seems to suggest that Siddharâja was compelled to come to terms and make peace.[45] Towards the south Madanavarman's dominions included both Balihri (Bilhari), already mentioned in connexion with Kîrtivarman, and the fortress of Singaurgaṛh. Sir William Sleeman found at Kôndalpur, three miles west of Balihri, a stone slab recording the dedication of a temple by 'Râjâ Mulun Deo' in Samvat 815. If the obvious correction is made of substituting Madanadeva for 'Mulun Deo,' and the date is interpreted as being expressed in terms of the Chêdi era, the approximate equivalent will be 815 + 248 = 1063 A. D. The figure 8 may easily have been a misreading for 9, and if this further correction be made, the resulting date will be 1163 A. D., towards the close of Madanavarman's reign. Sir William Sleeman also noted the tradition that Singaurgaṛh, a fort situated twenty-six miles north-west of Jabalpur had been held, as well as Balihri, by a Chandêl Râjâ from Mahôbâ. Other traditions connect both Balihri and Singaurgaṛh with a Râjâ Bêl or Bêlo Brahm (Bêlavarman), who is also remembered as having constructed the embankments of the great Bêlâ lake at Jaitpur in the Hamîrpur District. The traditional date for the formation of that lake as stated to both Mr. Wigram and myself is 1200 S. = 1143 A. D. But the figure looks as if intended only for a round number. Another enquirer was given the date as 1268 S. = 1211 A. D., which is too late for the execution of a work of such magnitude. In 1211 A. D. the Muhammadans were in possession of Mahôbâ.[46] Such evidence as is available suggests that Bala or Bêlavarman, although not mentioned in the inscriptions, was a real person and most likely a contemporary and member of the family of Madanavarman. Of course, there can be no doubt that the Madan Sâgar, or lake, at Mahôbâ with its two granite temples, one of which is still standing, was formed by Madanavarman. The Mau inscription (No. 24) records the alleged facts that Madanavarman defeated the king of Chêdi in battle, exterminated the king of Mâlava, and kept the king of Benares (Kâśî) in friendly alliance. The statement as to Chêdi agrees with the other evidence, and there is no reason to doubt the allegation that Madanavarman maintained amicable relations with his eastern neighbour of Benares. The king of Mâlava referred to must have been one of the Paramâra dynasty, probably Yaśôvarman, Jayavarman, or Lakshmîvarman, but there does not seem to be any independent record of his fate.[47]

Madanavarman had a younger brother named Pratâpa (Inscription No. 43), and a son named Yaśôvarman, corresponding with the Kîrtivarman of the bards, who evidently predeceased his father. The name of Yaśôvarman is preserved only in Inscription No. 33.

44 Maisey's No. II, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII (1), pp. 317—320; No. 43 of my list.

45 In the time of Dhanga and Gaṇḍa the principal Gûrjara kingdom meant Kanauj, which was then ruled by the Pratihâra dynasty; but the contemporary of Madanavarman was the powerful king Gôvindachandra Gâhaḍavâla (Gâhaṛwâr), whose father, Chandradêva, had acquired the sovereignty of Kanauj shortly before 1100 A. D. The Pratihâras were a branch of the Gûrjara tribe (*Gurjjarapratihârânvayaḥ* in Râjôr inscription of Mathanadêva, *E. I.*, Vol. III, p. 266, v. 4; Sāgar Tāl inscription, *Archæol. S. Annual Rep.*, 1903-4, p. 277). The testimony of the Gujarât historians is summarized in *Bomb. Gazr.* (1896), Vol. I, Part I, p. 178.

46 *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. L (1881), p. 19; *C. P. Gazetteer* (1870), *s. v.* Balihri and Singaurgaṛh.

47 Known epigraphic dates for Yaśôvarman are 1134 and 1135 A. D.; he was succeeded by Jayavarman, who was succeeded by Lakshmîvarman, with known date, 1143 A. D. (Kielhorn, *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 15).

The immediate successor of Madanavarman undoubtedly was Paramardi, who must have come to the throne in or about 1165 A. D. and who died after the occupation of Kâlañjar by Kuṭb-ud-din Îbak (Aibak) early in 1203. His name in the vernacular form Parmâl is well remembered throughout Bundêlkhaṇḍ, being kept alive by the poem of Chand, the *Mahôbâ Khaṇḍ*, with which everybody in that country is more or less familiar. The Muhammadan historian calls him 'the accursed Parmâr.'

Popular tradition represents **king Parmâl** as a coward, and gives all the credit for the stout fight against the army of Prithîrâj Chauhân to Alhâ and Udal, the Mahôbâ heroes of the Banâphar clan. Many localities are associated with the names of the champion brethren. A very ancient fortified dwelling-house, supposed by Cunningham to date from the eighth or ninth century, situated at Chillâ in the Allâhâbâd District to the south of the Jumna is believed locally, and no doubt erroneously, to have been the abode of Alhâ and Udal, whose fame has travelled far beyond the limits of Bundêlkhaṇḍ.[48] The war between the Chauhân prince and the Chandêl probably began in October, 1182 A. D., and certainly ended in the Vikrama year 1239 = 1182-83 A. D. by the decisive defeat of Parmâl on the field of Sirswâgaṛh on the Pahûj river, a tributary of the Sind, now in native territory to the west of the Jalaun District.[49]

The vanquished Chandêls were pursued across what is now the Hamîrpur District, as far as Mahôbâ, when a final, but ineffective stand was made. **Mahôba was occupied for a time by Prithîrâj.** According to Chand, his lieutenant, Pajûn, was driven out from the town by **Samarjit, a son of king Parmâl,** aided by Narsingh, an officer of Râjâ Jaychand of Kanauj. The same authority affirms that Samarjit ruled the country between Kâlañjar and Gayâ, and was ultimately killed by a Musalmân named Binâe-ud-dîn.[50] But no reliance can be placed on the details of such traditions. The fact and date of the conquest of Jêjâkabhukti in 1239 V. E. = March 1182 to March 1183 A. D., fortunately are established definitely by the short inscriptions recorded by order of Prithîrâj at Madanpur in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhânsî District (No. 29). Evidently these inscriptions were set up in the spring of 1183 A. D., when Prithîrâj was on his way home from his successful raid. Madanpur had been founded by and named after Madanavarman Chandêl. In those days it was an important town commanding a pass on the road from Sâgar (Saugor) to Gwâlior (*Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 173). Chand represents the defeat of Parmâl as so overwhelming that only two hundred of his warriors escaped, but this tale must be a gross exaggeration; because twenty years later, the Chandêl king still possessed considerable forces and was able to offer a stout resistance to the army of **Kuṭb-ud-dîn Îbak (Aibak). This attack of that Muhammadan general is the second noteworthy event in the reign of Parmâl.** It has been described from the victor's point of view by Ḥasan Nizâmî, the contemporary author of the Tâj-ul-maâṣir, or 'Crown of Exploits.'

In the year 599 H. = September 1202 to September 1203 A. D., the year in which Sulṭân Ghiyâṣ-ud-dîn died, and his brother Muizz-ud-dîn (otherwise known as Shihâb-ud-dîn, or Ghorî, son of Sâm) became supreme sovereign, Kuṭb-ud-dîn, accompanied by Shams-ud-dîn Muhammad Iyaltimish ('Altamsh,' afterwards Sulṭân of Delhi) proceeded to invest the fortress of **Kâlañjar.** The 'accursed Parmâr,' we are told, retired into the fort after a desperate resistance in the open, and then surrendered. Evidently the resistance had been stout, for the Musalmân leader accepted his submission and an undertaking to pay tribute and deliver a number of elephants, on terms similar to those enforced by Sulṭân Maḥmûd against Parmâl's ancestor, Gaṇḍa. The Chandêl king, however, died a natural death before he could fulfil his engagements. His minister, Ajadêva, thought he would be able to renew the resistance, but was

[48] *Rep.*, Vol XXI, p. 8, Pl. V.

[49] 'Others place the scene of this battle at Bairâgaṛh, 14 miles to the south-west of Urai. The position indicated is on the Betwa midway between Sirswâgaṛh and Rahat, and about 10 miles to the east of Erich (*Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 455).

[50] *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. L. (1881), p. 30. The name Binâe-ud-dîn seems to be a mistake for Bahâ-ud-dîn. 'Thus the dominions of the Ghúrián Sulṭáns became divided into four States — the fourth was in Central India, under Malik Bahâ-ud-dín, Tughril, another *mamlúk* of the Sulṭân' (Raverty, *Notes on Afghânistan*, p. 572).

compelled to capitulate owing to a failure of the water supply. On Monday, the 20th of the month Rajab (April, 1203 A. D.) the garrison came out in 'an extreme state of weakness and destruction' and surrendered unconditionally. Thus was taken the fortress which was 'celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander.' Elephants, cattle, and countless arms became the spoil of the victors, the temples were converted into mosques, fifty thousand men 'came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus.' **Kuṭb-ud-dîn then occupied Mahôbâ,** and after conferring the government of Kâlañjar on Hazabbar-ud-dîn Hasan Arnâl, marched northwards to Budâon.[51]

The history of the Chandêl dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India ends in 1203 A. D. with the death of Parmâl and the capture of Kâlañjar and Mahôbâ by the Muhammadan invaders. Trailôkyavarman succeeded his father Parmâl as a local chieftain, holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom, and in due course was succeeded by Viravarman and Bhôjavarman. But no man can take interest in these purely local chiefs, and it is not worth while to discuss their scanty records in detail. Kîrat Râi, who was Râjâ of Kâlañjar in 1545 A. D., when Shêr Shâh laid siege to the fortress and besieger and besieged both perished, presumably was a Chandêl. **The last glimpse of the old ruling house** is afforded by the romantic history of the princess Durgâvatî, daughter of the Chandêl Râjâ of Mahôbâ, who married the Gôṇḍ Râjâ Dalpat Sâ of Mandlâ, and was killed fighting the Muhammadans under Âsaf Khân in 1564.[52] The Chandêl clan dispersed after Parmâl's defeat and death. The fortunes of the scattered clan, and the obscure traditions concerning the rulers of Mahôbâ in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are fully discussed in my paper entitled 'Contributions to the History of Bundêlkhaṇḍ,' published in 1881, and written while I was saturated with local information. I have nothing to add now.

In order to complete the review of the subject I append a summary of all that is known concerning the Chandêl coinage. It is unnecessary to give a plate, the coins having been fully illustrated in other publications.

The Chandêl Coinage.

Although the genealogy of the Râjâs of the dynasty of Western Chêdi or Ḍâhâla who belonged to the Haihaya or Kalachuri clan, and had their capital at Tripuri (Tewar) near Jabalpur, contains fifteen names, coins have been found of only one Râjâ, **Gângêyadêva**, who assumed the title of Vikramâditya, and reigned from about 1015 to 1040 A. D. He was **the father and immediate predecessor of Karṇadêva, or Lakshmîkarṇa, the enemy and rival of Kîrtivarman Chandêl,** who defeated Karṇadêva about 1065 A. D. Gângêyadeva, who was contemporary with the Chandêl kings, Gaṇḍa and Vidhyâdhara, was a powerful chief, and seems to have extended his influence over a good part of Northern India. His coins are fairly common in the eastern and southern districts of the United Provinces, and he is mentioned in the colophon to a manuscript from the Champâran District as reigning in 1019 A. D.[53] However, it is not easy to understand how he could have exercised authority so far east as Champâran. No documentary evidence of his conquests is extant, but the abundance and distribution of his coins cannot be explained except on the assumption that he carried his arms into the country north of the Jumna. The disturbance caused by the raids of Sulṭân Maḥmûd of Ghaznî may have given him the opportunity.

The type of coinage introduced by Gângêyadêva was novel, and very simple. The obverse is wholly occupied by the Râjâ's name in bold characters, not differing widely from modern Nâgarî, arranged on the larger coins in three, and on the smaller, in two lines. The reverse type is a rudely

[51] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 231; Raverty, transl. *Ṭabaḳât-i-Nâsirî*, p. 523. Raverty makes a blunder in translating the personal name 'Parmâr' as 'of the Pramarah race.'

[52] The story of Durgâvatî was well told by Sleeman in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 628; and is quoted at length in *Rep.*, Vol. IX, p 52.

[53] Bendall, 'Hist. of Nepâl,' *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1903, p. 18, of reprint; V. A. Smith, *E. Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., p. 362. The only known inscription of Gângêyadêva is in a valley called Piâwan, 25 miles N.-N.-E. of Rêwâ, dated 789 (Chêdi or Kalachuri era)=1037 or 1038 A. D., and is a brief record of adoration at a spot sacred to Śiva. It has been roughly edited, without facsimile, by Cunningham, *Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 133, and is mentioned by Mr. Garrick, *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 71. It proves that Gângêyadeva's rule extended as far as the Vindhya range, fifty miles from Allâhâbâd.

executed figure of a goddess seated cross-legged, and facing, presumably to be interpreted as Lakshmî, but Cunningham calls her Durgâ or Pârvatî. The coins of Gângêyadêva are most commonly met with in gold, which varies in quality, sometimes being yellow, and apparently of high standard, but usually much debased. Some specimens seem to be intended for silver, but it is not easy to draw the line between metal apparently silver and the extremely debased gold of many examples. Copper coins of the same type as the gold and silver are rare. The largest coins are Attic drachmæ in weight, perhaps slightly reduced. The heaviest specimen in the Indian Museum weighs 63 grains (4·082 grammes), the Attic standard being about 67·5 grains (*Head*). The other denominations are the half, quarter, and one-eighth of a drachma. The small coin of good gold in the Indian Museum (*Cat.*, Vol. I., p. 252, No. 9) which weighs only 5·6 grains (about ·360 of a gramme), seems to be intended for one-eighth of a drachma or *dramma*, and to have lost weight. The huge inscription from Sîyaḍoṇî, or Sîr ôn Khurd, in the Gwâlior State, some ten miles W.-N.-W. of Lalitpur, which contains ten dates, ranging from 960 to 1005 V. E. = 903-4 to 948-9 A. D., frequently mentions coins called *dramma*, and enumerates several species of them (*E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 168). The *Śrîmadâdivarâha dramma* of line 37 is the coinage in base silver issued by Bhôjadêva I, the Gûrjara-Pratihâra king of Kanauj (Mahôdaya) and N. India, who reigned from about 840 to 890 A. D. Fine specimens of this coinage weigh up to 63·4 grains and thus agree in weight with the coins of Gângêyadêva.[54] The Indian Museum Catalogue describes nine gold and three copper coins of Gângêyadêva. Cunningham had two specimens in gold, eight in silver (or apparently silver) and five in copper. Three of the 'gold' coins in the Indian Museum, which to my eye seem to be very base gold, were labelled by the late Mr. Rodgers as 'silver.' Probably, however, some specimens really were struck as silver. The smaller coins in gold or silver, that is to say, the half, quarter, and one-eighth *dramma* pieces, are rare. All the known copper coins are *drammas*. The one-eighth *dramma* in gold, and the half and quarter dramma in silver have not been recorded yet.

The foregoing detailed description of Gângêyadêva's coinage has been given because it applies exactly to **the Chandêl gold (and silver?) coinage, which is an accurate copy of Gângêyadêva's,** the king's name only differing. Close examination is necessary to distinguish a Chandêl from a Gângêya coin. Cunningham mentions a silver coin of Jayavarman Chandêl, said to be in the British Museum, but no such specimen can now be traced. Dr. Hoey has a quarter *dramma* of Madanavarman which seems to be silver. I have never heard of or seen any other Chandêl coin which could be described as silver.

The reverse of the Chandêl copper coinage is distinguished from that of Gângêya by the substitution of the figure of Hanumân for that of Lakshmî. The Hanuman type may have been suggested by the boar-headed figure on the *Śrîmad Âdivarâha drammas* of Bhôjadêva I of Kanauj, to which it bears a general resemblance.

All the Chandêl coins are rare. In 1897, when I collected the notices of all the recorded coins, I could not enumerate more than 41. The Indian Museum has seven specimens, all in gold. The Lahore Museum possesses one gold quarter *dramma* of Madanavarman. I have no information concerning the contents of the Lucknow Museum cabinet. Altogether, about fifty or sixty specimens of the coinage of the dynasty are known to exist. The Chandêl coinage begins with Kîrtivarman, the thirteenth Râjâ (*c.* 1060—1100 A. D.), and ends with Vîravarman, the twentieth Râjâ (*c.* 1245—1287 A. D.). It is extraordinary that so few specimens should be extant of a coinage struck during a period of two centuries by eight kings.

Reason has been shown for believing that the conquest of Karṇadêva, king of Western Chêdi, or Ḍâhâla, by Kîrtivarman Chandêl occurred between 1060 and 1070 A. D.; and, presumably, it was at this time that Kîrtivarman adopted the type introduced by Karṇadêva's father, Gângêyadêva. The earlier Chandêl Râjâs and their subjects, of course, must have used some other kind of money, and the probability is that they utilized chiefly the various sorts of Indo-Sassanian *drammas* in base silver, such as are mentioned in the Sîyaḍôṇî inscription. Similar anonymous *drammas* are extremely

[54] For other mediæval inscriptions mentioning *drammas*, see Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 50. But I cannot trace the inscription dated in a year equivalent to 1216 A. D., which, according to him, was found at Jaunpur, and mention *shadbôddika drammas*.

abundant. Small change may have been supplied partly by the so-called 'Gadhîyâ pice,' which, also, are of Indo-Sassanian descent. The extensive and prolonged series of Indo-Sassanian issues owed its origin to the White Hun, or Ephthalite, invaders at the close of the fifth century, and, in one form or another, continued to be issued up to the end of the twelfth century, chiefly, if not exclusively, by the ruling clans of foreign origins.

The coinage of **Kîrtivarman** (*c.* 1060 to 1100 A.D.) is recorded in gold only, and in no more than two denominations, the *dramma* and half-*dramma*. I know three examples of the latter, *viz.*, I. M., Cunningham (now B. M.), and Hoey. The *dramma* is a little less rare.

Sallakshaṇavarman (*c.* 1100-1110) spells his name Hallakshaṇa on the coins. Cunningham had one copper *dramma*, unique, so far as I know. His gold *drammas* are very rare, but I have noted 5 specimens of the quarter *dramma* in that metal. The alleged silver coin of Jayavarman (*c.* 1110—1120) cannot be found. Eleven of his copper *drammas* are recorded, but nothing else.

The coinage of **Pṛithvîvarman** (*c.* 1120—1128) is known only from Cunningham's two copper *drammas*. (*Reports*, Vol. II, p. 459; but in *Coins Med. I.* he mentions only one).

Dr. Hoey has a quarter *dramma* of **Madanavarman** (*c.* 1128—1165) apparently of silver, which is believed to be unique. Cunningham's copper quarter-*dramma* likewise is unique. About six specimens of the quarter-*dramma*, and two of the *dramma* in gold are recorded.

The base gold *dramma* of **Paramardi** (*c.* 1165—1203), obtained at Khajurâho, and now in the Indian Museum, is the only coin known of his long reign.

The late Mr. Rodgers described two gold *drammas* of **Trailôkyavarman** (*c.* 1203—1245) as existing in the Indian Museum, but only one was sent to me, when I was preparing the catalogue. Dr. Hoey's copper *dramma* from the Bândâ District is unique. The Indian Museum gold *dramma* of **Vîravarman** (*c.* 1245—1287), from Khajurâho, likewise is unique.

The following **bibliographical references** for the subject are, I think, complete:—

Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol. II, p. 458; Vol. X, p. 25, Pl. X.: *Coins Med. India*, pp. 76—80, Pl. VIII.

V. A. Smith, 'Numismatic Notes and Novelties,' No. 2, in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. LXVI.; (1897), pp. 307—9, Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 12 (Vîravarman).

Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, pp. 252—4, Pl. XXVI, figs. 7—10.

Dr. Hoernle, *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. LVIII (1889), p. 34, Pl. XXVI, figs. 8—10 (Paramardi and Vîravarman).

Allusions to the coinage in other publications are unimportant.[55] Several other dynasties issued similar coins, which are duly noticed in Cunningham's *Coins of Mediæval India*, and in the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM ORINGALL BETEELAHS.

THE word Beteelah has been fully discussed by Yule. In the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson*, under Piece-Goods, it is suggested that "Oringal (cloths) probably take their name from the once famous city of Warangal in Hyderabad." This surmise is correct, because the proper form of the name of Warangal is the Telugu Orungalla. Warangal therefore represents the Europeanised form of the Telugu name for the place. There are many 17th century references to Oringall Beteelahs, or Veilings from Warangal, among the India Office Records:—

17 June 1669. "As for the . . . . Oringall Batillas . . . . it must needes rest upon you." Letter from Fort St. George to Masulipatam. *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* Vol. 16.

17 Jan. 1675. "Wee have . . . . 15 Bales Oringall Beteelaes three quarters done, but cannot get Packers to finish them." *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 10.

15 Dec. 1676. "In particular provide 5000 Oringall Betteleez . . . . at Metchlepatam." Letter from the Court of Committees to Fort St. George. *Letter Book,* Vol. 5, p. 373.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[55] The allusion in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 65, is wholly erroneous. No such person as 'Sallakshanapála I, the Chándel monarch of Mahoba,' ever existed; nor was Madana Varmmadeva 'his grandson.' See *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1890, pp. 1—4.

LEGENDS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE AND H. A. ROSE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXV., p. 302.)

II.

THREE LEGENDS OF THE MUGHAL COURT.

1. A Legend of Akbar and Mîrzâ Jamîl Bêg of Dehlî.

ONE day King Akbar was sitting in *darbâr*, when Nawâb Jain Khân[8] said: — "I have heard that the products of India are not exported to Khurâsân, nor are those of Khurâsân imported into India. If your Majesty orders it, armies may be sent to invade Khurâsân."

The King sent for Râjâ Tarwar Tilôk Chand,[9] the Governor of Kângṛâ, and said to him:— "I have heard that the goddess, Devî, plays *chaupaṛ* with you. So you better get me permission from your goddess, Bhawânî."

The Râjâ replied: "Some sinner must have deceived you, but since your Majesty is my master, I must explain everything clearly. The gods are, as it were, the horses of the air and no one can control them. To-night I will enquire from the goddess."

At night the Râjâ made his whole army keep a fast. At midnight Devî appeared at her own (appointed) time, and addressed him thus: — "Râjâ, why have you given me so much trouble?"

The Râjâ said:—"Mother, some sinner has slandered me to the King, what am I to do?"

The goddess said: — "Râjâ, on the eighth day from to-day shall be the conquest of Nûrpûr, the fortress of Râjâ Bâsû Paṭhânî.[10] You may join in the attack."

In the morning the Râjâ related all this to the King, and he at once sent his army to attack the stronghold of Chittaur. There it remained for twelve years, but the fort remained untaken. The King in great amaze said to his courtiers: — "Twelve years have passed and this place has not yet been taken, what plan should we adopt?"

On the other side Rânâ Kômal Dê in his fort sent for his commandant and asked him what to do, saying: — "The emperor has been encamped here with his army for a long time." He answered: "Fight well." At last a battle took place and the King gained a victory and returned to Dehlî.

[When Husain[11] Sarsî, King of the Turkîs, invaded Dehlî and fought with Akbar, he (Husain Sarsî) fled, after writing these lines upon the gate:—"The empire of Dehlî is great, I will never again invade Dehlî. King Akbar is very powerful."][12]

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8 Zain Khân Kokaltâsh is meant — for a full account of his life see Blochmann's *Aîn-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 344-45: also *History of India*, by Elliot and Dowson, Vols. V and VI.

9 Râjâ *Tarwar* Tilok Chand appears an impossible name. No Tilok Chand of Kângṛa is traceable, but possibly Tilâksî (Tilok Sain?) the Kachhwâhâ is alluded to, but he was not governor of Kângṛa according to the *Aîn* (Vol. I, p. 398).

10 For an account of Râjâ Bâsû, Pathâniâ, Zamîndâr of Mau and Paithân, see *ante*, Vol. I., p. 264.

11 Husain, *Sarsî*, probably Ibrahîm Husain Mirza, one of the sons of Muhammad Sultân Mirza, a descendant of Taimûr. This family, as claimants presumably to the throne of Tamerlane, gave much trouble in Akbar's time: see *History of India* (Elliot and Dowson), Vols. V and VI: also the *Akbar-nâma*. The legend makes Husain (titular) King of Turkey, doubtless as a pretender to Taimûr's domains. Sarsî is inexplicable. Ibrahîm Husain is repeatedly referred to in the *Aîn* also.

12 [This seems to be an interpolation unconnected with the story.—ED.]

Akbar gave permission to all the Râjâs to return home. When they had got mid-way, Nawâb Jain Khân said to the King :—"Your Majesty has dismissed all the Râjâs, though it is reported that the road to Kâbul is not yet open."

The King asked : — "Where wert thou when the twenty-two Râjâs were here present ?"

Jain Khân said : —"May it please your Majesty, even now your orders are but awaited."

The King ordered him to recall all the Râjâs, and they all returned. The King then put down a folded betel-leaf, called *birâ*, and a naked sword, with the order that no one should come to pay his respects to him, until he had pledged himself, by taking up the betel-leaf, to go to Kâbul. Eight days passed without anyone going to salute the King. Râjâ Bâsû Pathânî, Governor of Nûrpûr, then came and bowing to the King took up the betel-leaf. The King was greatly pleased at this and said : — "Râjâ Bâsû, thou art a very brave man."

Râjâ Bâsû took a large force and set forth to invade Kâbul. When they reached Bhairônwâl, a place on the Bîâs, that same backbiter Jain Khân, who was with him, plotted with some of his rascals by night, saying : — "We are under the orders of this Râjâ. Let us kill him and take his place."

Râjâ Bâsû heard of this talk and said to himself : — "This is the villain who slandered me to the King. He must be punished somehow."

Thus they fell out, and while the Râjâ with his troops made for his home at Nûrpûr, Jain Khân set out for Dehlî. On reaching Dehlî the King asked him : — "How did you people go and why did you come back, and where is Râjâ Basû ?"

Jain Khân answered that he had had an altercation with the Râjâ, who had gone off to his home. The King enquired about the affair from his officers and ascertained that it was due to Jain Khân's baseness. So Jain Khân was imprisoned, and again a folded betel-leaf was put down in the same way, with the announcement that only he might come to salute the King who would attack Râjâ Bâsû. Eight days elapsed without anyone coming forward to do so. Then the King remarked: — "Among so many is no one willing to go ?"

Tâsh Bêg[13] was present and the King addressed him, saying : — "Mirzâ Tâsh Bêg, thou wilt, I hope, attack Râjâ Bâsû."

The Mirzâ urged that he was old, but Mirzâ Jamîl Bêg, his son, was also present. He was really the King's son by a slave girl who had been bestowed by the King on Mirzâ Tâsh Bêg. He made obeisance and said : — "My Lord, my father is old, but if your Majesty be pleased to order me, I will cut off the Râjâ's head and bring it hung on to the end of my bow, to your Majesty's feet."

The King was extremely pleased and said : — "I am highly pleased with thee. Ask anything of me."

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[13] Tâsh Beg Khân Mughal (Tâj Khân) advanced against Râjâ Bâsû of Mau without waiting for the other contingents to come up, and his son, Jamîl Beg, hastily attacked Bâsû, but fell with fifty of his men at Paṭhân (koṭ) : Blochmann's *Aîn*, Vol. I, p. 457. It will be noticed that the legend is inclined to make Jamîl Beg Akbar's own son ! The whole legend is based on a confused recollection of events in Akbar's reign. Curiously enough Manucci has a somewhat similar tale about Akbar's siege of Chittaur, which he, however, connects with the well-known legend of Jaimal and Fatah : *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 124.

He placed 30,000 men under his command and the Mirzâ marched with them to Kâlânaur, near Gurdâspur, and having encamped there sent an envoy to Bâsû, challenging him to fight. The Râjâ said that he would fight in eight days, but this proposal was rejected by Jamîl Bêg who marched his forces and took possession of Gurdâspur and thence seized the fort of Paṭhânkôṭ. When the Râjâ came to know this, both sides commenced to fight. The young men of the Râjâ's army fought hard, and some of Jamîl Bêg's army fled, while the remainder became weary of the campaign. Thus the Râjâ was victorious and Mirzâ Jamîl Bêg fled.

Kabit.

Ek same bâj hâth, bajte naqâra sâth.
Ek same shîsh pâṅw bôjh haiṅ jô saheṅ.
Ek same pânâṅ miṭhâî se auzîrâṅ hot.
Ek same anâj kî mûth bhî nâ bhaeṅ.

Ek same mangat kî dwârâṅ par bhîr hot.
Ek same par dwâr âp jâe baheṅ.
Hârîye na himmat; bisârîye nâ Har nâm.
Jâhû bidh râkhe Râm, tâhû bidh rahîye.

Verse.

A time when the hawk sits on the hand to beat of drum.[14]
A time when the feet bear the burden of the head.
A time when betel and sweets give indigestion.[15]
A time when even a handful of grain is not obtained.

A time when a crowd is begging at one's door.
A time when one sits at another's gate.
Lose not thy courage : forget not the name of God.
Where God places (thee) there remain.

2. A Story of Râjâ Amar Singh, Ruler of Amargaṛh in the Dakhan.

RÂJÂ AMAR SINGH[16] was the owner of the fourth foot of the throne[17] of Shân Jahân, King of Dehlî, and was specially employed in guarding the King's bed in the royal mansion. One Râjâ Chitrsâl, Chief of Girdmâlâ in the Dakhan territory, was the owner of the second foot of the throne, and enjoyed the rank and salary of Rs. 24,000[18]. He gave his daughter in marriage to Râjâ Amar Singh. Râjâ Amar Singh had started with his newly married Rânî, but halted in a garden and had not yet reached his palace, when the emperor sent for him. Having sent the Rânî to his palace, the Râjâ went to Dehlî and took up his office. A period of twelve years elapsed, during which the Râjâ never thought of his home or palace. Then Rânî Hâdî wrote a letter to Râjâ Amar Singh to say that "since our marriage we have not seen each other's faces. 'Tis a pity that my unworthy father married me to a man who cannot find leisure

[14] Signs of royal dignity.

[15] Signs of affluence.

[16] For an account of Amar Singh, who is probably meant, see the *Wâki'ât-i-Jahângîrî* in Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI. The legend has no traceable historical foundation.

[17] These may be regarded as the grades of councillors and advisors to the throne.

[18] In the courts of Indian kings the rank of grandees used to be regulated by the amount of their salaries! So says a commentator on the legend, but he is wrong. Commander of 24,000 *men* must be meant, though no such rank is mentioned in the *Aîn*.

from service." When the Rânî's letter reached the Râjâ he read it, and represented to the King that since his wedding day, twelve years before, he had never gone home and that he must go that day. The King ordered him to make up his accounts and receive his salary for the twelve years. The Râjâ said :—" I will settle the accounts on my return, as I must needs go to-day."

Salâbat Khân Nawâb, who was present, suggested to the King :—" Your Majesty may grant the Râjâ leave, but ask him in how many days he will return."

Râjâ Amar Singh said he asked for seven days' leave, and Salâbat Khân told him that if he failed to return within seven days he would be fined a lakh of rupees for each day's absence.

Having taken his leave Râjâ Amar Singh went to his home and entered his palace, but he forgot all about his leave and his office and fourteen days elapsed instead of the promised seven. Salâbat Khân informed the King that Râjâ Amar Singh had gone on leave of absence for seven days, whereas fourteen had now elapsed. The King said : — " Write a letter to Amar Singh and say : 'If he is obedient, he will return at once, otherwise we will have him arrested and brought back here.'"

According to the King's order the letter was written and sent to Râjâ Amar Singh. It reached him at dead of night, when he was resting in his private apartments, and he and his wife were conversing together. No sooner had the Râjâ read the letter than he prepared to start for Dehlî. When the Râjâ was about to mount his horse, the Rânî took hold of the reins saying :—" 'Tis no time to attend court at midnight. Amar Singh, drink a cup of wine and do not be anxious. Don't worry about the seven lakhs, I will give you nine. I will sell my ear-rings and necklace worth nine lakhs. If I write to my father he will send us many lakhs more."

The Râjâ would not listen to any of her suggestions, but taking off his ring threw it down and then asked the Rânî to pick it up; then, as she knelt down to do so, the Râjâ shook up his horse and rode away. When he reached Dehlî and went to the imperial court, Salâbat Khân, who was seated there, said to him : — "Thou Lout (*Gaṅwâr*), go no further, but first pay your fine and then seek admittance."

Kabit.

Un mukh se 'gaggâ' kahâ, un kadhî jamdhâr.
Yeh 'rarrâ' kahnâ na pâyô, jo jamdhâr utrî pâr.
Ânkar Salâwat ne zor se janâî bâl: bôlat ne mîthe; bin bôlat badh rûkhe.
Pakar jamdhâr ghusal-khâna par dîno jhâr: pîle haiṅ hâth, rang râte sab sûkhe.
Mâmlâ mohîm par hâṭho nahîṅ, Amar Singh châṅdî ke bajâe dâm dene lâgâ loh ke.
Lohu ki kîch par kûdat haiṅ Amar Singh; ek ek ghâû dîna sagne sipâhî, jî.
Na ḍhâl kî panâh, na dîwâl kî panâh; eke nimak kî panâh se bachio hai Dehlî Pattshâhjî.
Dehlî Pattshâhjî ke charan bhae, chalwâ ko ghâzî Amar Singh jân kî bât bahiṅ bahîṅ bâr kî.
Kahat Manî Râm, woh to tharak tharak lot lothan se âr kî.
Hindân kî ḥad sad bandh gaiô Amar Singh karke; sarâhoṅ kî sarâhoṅ jamdhâr kî!
Pâû ser lohe kî kaṭâr se hilâ dînî badshâhî: hotî shamsher rang Hôrî kâ khilâûtâ.
Amîr umrâo sab baiṭh rahe, ek ko na jâne detâ; sabhî ko gerâûtâ.
Duhâî Sadâsubhî kî! Mahârâj biswâs kane, nimak kî na haṭî, sâr gaḍh ko chukâûtâ.

Verse.

This said *gaggâ*,[19] that drew his dagger.

This had begun to say *rarrâ*,[20] when the dagger was out.

Salâbat showed a stern face : his speech was not sweet ; without speech his mien was harsh.

Seizing his dagger (Amar Singh) smote him in the bathing place: (he) whose hands were fair were red with blood.

Amar Singh went not back on his exploit, instead of paying silver[21] he began to pay the price in iron (sword).

Leaping the mire of blood, Amar Sing gave a wound each to all the soldiers, sir.

It was not the protection of the shield, nor the protection of walls ; it was only the protection of loyalty[22] that saved the King of Dehlî.

The King of Dehlî fled while the brave Amar Singh's sword triumphed over life.

(Saith Manî Râm[23]), corpse was jammed and hidden under corpse.

The rank and dignity of the Hindus were upheld by Amar Singh: praise upon praise to his dagger !

With a dagger of a quarter *sér*[24] of iron he shook the kingdom: had there been a sword it would have been like a Holi play.[25]

Of all the nobles sitting there he would not have let one go : he would have slain all.

Protection of the Eternal Siva ! The Mahârâjâ[26] paused, lest he should fail in his loyalty, or the whole fort would have been slain.

When Salâbat Khân called Amar Singh a lout and demanded payment of the fine, the Râjâ was roused to anger, because he was the son of a Râjput, and he thought :—" If to-day this man calls me a lout in open court, to-morrow he will abuse me." Taking a dagger from his waist he slew Salâbat Khân and twelve other youths who were present in the imperial court. The King was afraid and applauded the Râjâ, who replied : — " I have eaten your salt, else I would have killed your Majesty also."

The King went to his palace and ordered his troops to surround the Râjâ, promising to bestow the rank of commander of 24,000 on anyone who should capture Amar Singh, and bring him alive to the King ; and the rank of commander of 12,000 if he were brought in dead. One, Arjan Gaur, sister's son to the Râjâ, was employed as an officer at the porch of the royal palace. He represented to the King that he could only bring in Râjâ Amar Singh, if he killed him first. The King said : — " If you bring him in dead I will give you the rank of commander of 12,000, and if alive of 24,000."

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19 '*Gaṅwâr*,' rustic: a term of reproach. *Gaggâ*, the letter *g*, the first letter of *ganwâr*.

20 *Rarrâ*, the letter *r*, the last letter of *gaṅwâr*.

21 By way of blood-money.

22 *Lit.*, salt : the meaning is that it was Amar Singh's loyalty to his sovereign that saved the King.

23 The writer of the verses.

24 That is, 'with a dagger containing about half a pound of iron.'

25 Flashing sword play is frequently used at the Holi and other festivals.

26 That is, Amar Singh.

So Arjan Gaur set out to capture Amar Singh and said: — "My dear uncle, all the doors are shut, but I will make a hole for you by which you can escape."

Amar Singh said: — "Your line is notorious for treachery. You are my sister's son, leave my presence and send some one else to me."

Arjan Gaur said: — "Uncle, surely Mother Ganges is between you and me. I would not deal treacherously with you."[27]

The Râjâ said: — "Go you from my presence! You will assuredly act treacherously."

Arjan Gaur again said: — "Uncle, Almighty God is surely between you and me if I deceive you."

When he had thus taken God's name, the Râjâ went with him, and Arjan made a hole, and told him to go out by it. When the Râjâ had thrust both his hands into the hole, and nearly half his body had passed through it, Arjan smote him in the back with his sword and cut him in two. But a little life still remained to him, and sitting in the hole, he held himself together, and uttered the following words: — "Thou hast proved treacherous according to the tradition of thy family. Well, take this dagger of mine."

When Arjan had spread out his skirt, the Râjâ threw his dagger so that it cut his forehead and nose. The Râjâ soon expired and Arjan then cut off his head and took it to the King, who asked how he had obtained it. Arjan related the whole story and described what had passed between him and the Râjâ. The King said to him: — "Since thou hast treacherously slain so brave a youth, get thee from my presence."

And he bade his *wazîr* to banish him, after blackening his face. Thus was he driven away, and Râm Singh, Râjâ Amar Singh's nephew, took charge of his body and carried it to Amargaṛh.

3. A Legend of Aurangzêb, King of Dehlî.

THERE was a King of Dehlî, named Shâh Jahân, who had four sons, namely, the Crown Prince Dârâ Shikôh, the *dhotûîn*[28] Murâd, Sultân Shujâ, and Aurangzêb. Shâh Jahân had two ministers, one of whom was Ali Mardân Khân by name, the other Nawâb Wazîr Khân, who built the mosque in Lahore.

One day, when a royal *darbâr* was being held, the King asked: — "Which of the four princes is fit for the royal throne?"

In accordance with the King's orders Nawâb Wazîr Khân visited each of the four princes to prove him. First he went to the Crown Prince Dârâ Shikôh, who received him with respect, bade him be seated, and gave him a reward of Rs. 15,000 with a horse. The Wazîr took the reward, thinking to himself that the prince was totally unfit, since he first seated him with all honour and then gave him a reward. Should an enemy happen to invade the kingdom, he might give him his daughter. In the same way he went to the second prince, who also gave him a reward; and to the third who acted in the same way. But, when the Wazîr went to Aurangzêb Shâh, he found a sentinel standing at his gate, who stopped him, saying that it was a royal *darbâr*, which no one could enter without the King's order. The Wazîr asked to

[27] That is, I assure you in the name of Mother Ganges that I will not deal treacherously with you.

[28] A curious instance of a purely Hindû title applied to a Mughal prince. For the term itself, see *ante*, Vol. XXXIV, p 272.

be announced to the King, and the sentry went and did so. The prince bade him tell the Wazîr to come to him only on the day of Shâh Jahân's death, or when an enemy invaded the kingdom, as it did no good to come aimlessly in the way. Thence the Wazîr returned to Shâh Jahân and reported the unfitness of the three elder princes, saying that Aurangzêb would succeed to the throne of Dehlî, put to death the other three princes, and his Majesty, as well as both his ministers.

The King then sent for the superintendent of the elephant-shed and bade him bring a mad elephant. Every Friday all four princes used to attend the royal court to pay their respects to the King, who gave order to the elephant-keeper that, when the four princes came, three of them should be told to turn back, but that the mad elephant should be let loose on Aurangzêb to kill him. When prince Aurangzêb came, the elephant-keeper, in accordance with the King's order, let loose the elephant.

As Aurangzêb was facing the elephant, his mother looked out of a window in her palace and uttered a

Kabit.

Kâche ghare meṅ bilâî ke chetwa ḍhatwâe ; kumhar ne âwâ chaṛhâe.
Chahuṅ oṛ te mukh mûnḍh dîo ; bahutero kîo kuchh râh na pâî.
Jab ṭêr suni makrand ne, Pirbhû, ap ne koṭ leno bachâî.
Merî bine bane na bane bane, Brijnâth, tihârî banâî.

Verse.

The kittens were placed in an unbaked pot ; and the potter put it on his kiln.
He shut it down on the four sides ; however much they tried they could find no way out.
Lord, when thou heardst the cries of the elephants, thou didst hear and protect (my son).
I can make nothing but thou canst make everything, Lord.[29]

Kabit.

'An laṛe gajrâj', mahâbalî Sâhib Shâhjahân farmâio.
Ab toṛ zanjîr Qalindaî[30] kî tîr ; ab toṛ zanjîr sarosar dhâio.
Sâng saṅwâr dîye, sar meṅ girio gaj, Aurang Shâh girâio.
Rohar kî â lul chhûṭî, naḍi jaisi bân phûṭî ; dek dek jo gunî ne, 'jai, jai' kar gâio.

Verse.

Said the great lord Shâh Jahân, 'let the elephant come to the fight.'

Now he has broken his chain on the banks of the Jamnâ ; now he has broken his chain and rushed forward headlong.

Poising his spear, it fell a yard into his head and Aurang Shâh felled him.

A stream of blood gushed out, as a stream it burst forth ; when the crowd saw it, they cried 'victory, victory.'

So by the grace of God, Aurangzêb killed the mad elephant, and the three princes also and the King, and placed himself on the throne.

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29 Allusion here to two well-known Hindu tales of the pot-full of kittens saved from the kiln 'by the grace of God,' and of Vishnu saving the life of an elephant from a crocodile.

30 The Jamnâ.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Concluded from Vol. XXXVI., p. 179.)

A LITLE further & low in the valley is a caue wheere 8 of ye Appostles hid themselues when or savior was led from Gethsemain.[10] Over ye doore of ye Cave is 8 roses Cut in ye naturall rock in memory of ye place; other marks wthin ye Cave are through tyme worne out. ffolloweinge the vaile, we caime to that of Jehoshaphat, wch is but narrow, yet reacheth to ye Dead Sea, wch is about 20 Engl miles from Jerusalem. Att this place, by a small buildinge & part of an Old ruin howse, is a deepe well [the well of Nehemiah] wherein the Jewes, when they weere carried into Babilon Captives, hid the holly fyer & at theire returne found it theire in an Oyly substance, wch by them beinge spred on the wood vppon the Alter, fyer from heaven [came] & Consumed the wood.[11] The water in that well, neare 30 yards below the Top, doth Over flow once in two yeares,[12] thereby portending great plenty. ffratre Thomas, in 10 yeares wch he had lived in Jerusalem, hath knowne it Overflow 4 times, & ye effects seene as aforesaid. Neare this place was the tree, & now an other grows theire, wheere Isaah [Isaiah] fled to from Manasses, wch tree opened to receive him from the pursewers & closed againe, but the pesewers seing wheere he went sawed him wth the Tree in two.[13]

Siloa [Siloam] is hard by, wheere the man borne blind washt & was restored to his sight. Theire I washt. Neare this is ye hill [on which] Sollomon built a temple to ye Idoll Molock[14] & by yt is the fountaine Modona [Madonna].[15] A litle aboue yt is the place wheere Judas hanged himselfe [Aceldama] And a litle further is many Selpulchers of the Jewes. Theires the Sepulcher of Zacherias cut out of a great rock & stands now as in the time when first finished, a verrie large place of One intire stone sepated from ye rock 10 yds & is as bigg as many Chappells in England. A stones cast from it is the Sepulchre of Absolon cut out of the rock in his life tyme, & stands vndefaced as in or Saviors tyme. Neare this is the tomb of Jehossephat in a valt.[16] A valt neare this in ye rock, in wch St James Junior [the Less] hid himselfe. A litle aboue these is ye heade of Brooke Kydron, now noe water runs theire, by wch heade they show in a stone the print of or Saviors foote in a rock,[16] & theire touch theire heads & Crosses & Kisse it and pay Devotions. Wheere Gethsemain was is now a wild wood, near wch is ye place, wheere or Savior left 8 Appostles when he went to pray in ye Garden[16]; against this was ye Golden gate. Neare this they show ye place ye Virgin Mary prayed for St Stephen. And the place where ye Virgin Mary let fall her girdle to St Thomas.[17] A litle further is ye groat [grotto][18] in wch or Savior swett drops of blood & in ye groat we all pd or devotions.

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[10] See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 137.

[11] See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 137, and Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 424, for variants of this legend.

[12] "They told me that sometimes it overflowed." Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 424.

[13] Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 137, "a little higher in the valley, on the left hand, you come to a tree supposed to mark out the place where the evangelical prophet was sawn asunder." Pococke says the tree was a white mulberry, *Travels in the East*, p. 423.

[14] *i. e.*, the Mountain of Offence. See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 424.

[15] *i. e.*, the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin. See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 137.

[16] All these places are described by Maundrell.

[17] Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 141, "Near the bottom of the hill is a great stone, upon which, you are told, the Blessed Virgin let fall her girdle after her assumption, in order to convince St. Thomas, who, they say, was troubled with a fit of his old incredulity upon this occasion."

[18] Maundrell remarks, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 153, "Almost all passages and histories related in the Gospel are represented by them that undertake to shew where everything was done, as having been done most of them in grottos.

In a Chappell vnder ground into wch we descend by 49 large flagg stone steps, & seuer[all] nations haue theire Chappells in it, & men are Constantly in it to keepe the lps [lamps] Continewally burninge, wch are many accordinge to Chappells, saints & holly places in it. Theires the Sepulchre of ye Virgin Mary & Joseph, S Anna[19] and S Joakim. Aboue this is the place wheere St Stephen was stoned to death wthout ye Citty.[19] The gate in ye Citty wall cald the gate of St Stephen.[19] The Pooll of Bethesday wthout ye Citty wall, or rather a hollow wheere was yt pooll, but now drie.[20] The howse of Anna wthin the Citty, who was Mother to ye Virgin Mary, who was borne theire.[19] The howse of Symon the Pharrisee. The dolorous way,[19] soe cald by reason or Savior was led that way to be Crusefyed, the lenth about 800 paces. The Pallas of Pylat.[19] The place wheere or Savior was scorged & Crowned wth thorns.[19] The arch on wch Pylat stood when he said behold ye Man.[19] The place wheere or Savior let fall his crosse & Symon compeld to carrie it.[21] The pallas of Kinge Herrod.[21] The howse of ye rich Glutton, the howse of Lazarous ye poore man against it. The howse of St Arronnica [Veronica] wheere or Savior had ye blood wiped from his face.[21] The gate of Justice leading to mount Calvery.[21] The preson of St Peeter.[21] The beautifull gate of the Temple.[21]

2d days p̃gresse. 10 July 1669. Wee went out at Damaskus gate beinge the 10 day July 1669 and see first the groat of Jeremiah, in wch he composed his lamentations.[21] A litle further we Crept into a groate, in wch we see in seuerall roomes or valts 7 or 8 [of] the Sepulchres of 42 Kings since Sollomons tyme. At ye enterance of ye first is a round stone lik a Milstone but thicker, by art turns to stop ye enterance. Theire are severall doores all stone hewne out of the rock & Turne on theire naturall hinges to admiration, lett into ye rock aboue and below at ye mouth of the tombs, soe artifitially neither I nor anie wch haue seene them before vnlerstand how they are made to moue.[22] A peece of One I brought away wth me. We returned by ye gate of Herrod, wch is a litle One.

3d day, Beinge 11th July 1669. We went out at ye gate of Bethlem. On the left hand is Mount Sion, wheere or Savior instituted the holly Sacramt. Theire ye hollygost descended at Pentecost. Theires ye Sepulchres of David & Sollomon, [on] wch place now the Turks haue built a Moske.[23]

On ye west side of ye hill is the buriing place for xpians, and many Tombs.[23] The xpians theire, espetially Greeks & arminyons goe to ye graves of theire dead relations & in Company, 7 or 8 or more. Some tymes I haue seene 30 in a Company Kissinge the grave & howleinge; This not for one day but many days. And theire is One wch gennerally begins ye crieinge note, or leade ye murm̃g tone & ye rest follow. The crie is to this purpose, wouldst thou die yt had wife, Children & lands, & did this & thother good deede. On this mount is ye Pallas of Caiphas & ye place wheere Peeter warmd himselfe & the Cock Crew.[24] We enterred back by the gate of Mount Sion & vewed the Pallace of Anna [Annas]. The armenion Church in a litle grote of wch is ye boddy of St James maior [the Apostle] interred, whose heade was cut of.[24] We staid Mass & observed theire Musique wth simballs & brass beaten thin put on a long staffe, wth moueing wch they make musique. They haue Images in theire Churches but give noe adoration to them. The howse of St Thomas neare it, now a Morgue [mosque]. The howse of St Marke, now ye Church of yee Sirrians. The Iron gate at wch ends the Old Citty.[24] The howse of Zebbede.[24]

4th day. The 12 July 1669. We went out at ye gate of St Steephen to Bethlem. In ye way stood ye figg tree or Savior Curssed. The howse of Symon ye Leaper [24]. The sepulchre of Lazaras[25] neare his Castle, the ruins of wch stand to this day.[24] Halfe a mile further is the howse of Marry

19 All these places are mentioned by Maundrell.

20 *Cf.* Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 145, "It (the Pool of Bethesda) is 120 paces long, and 40 broad, and at least 8 deep, but void of water."

21 All these places were seen by Maundrell and Pococke.

22 Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, pp. 102—104, has a long description of the sepulchres of the kings.

23 These places are mentioned by Pococke.

24 All these are mentioned by Maundrell.

25 Lazarus, the brother of Martha and Mary.

Magdelen,[26] neare wch is a stone in the ground in the forme of a Dolphim, wch or Savior sat on when they told him Lazaras was deade. The howse of Martha neare it.

From thence we went vp to Mount Calverey, from wch Mount we see p̃fectly ye Dead sea & river of Jordan. Thence we went to Bethage [Bethphage] wheer or Savior sent for the Asse. Theirs a Church, & in it they show ye print of or Saviors foote he left when he assended.[26] Great devotions we pay theire. Neare this, a bow shot of, is the place or Savior made ye Lds prayer, & the place or Savior wept over Jerusalem. A groate hewne out of a rock wth a Church & 12 Arches, in wch ye Appostles made ye Creede.[26] By this in [? is] a rock, in wch is the Tombs of 47 Proffetts.[26]

We returned by the gate Sturkelena, neare wch is the howse of St Jno ye Evengelist now a Convent. The Citty we Compassed; they say its 3 Eñgl miles round, but I iudge them not aboue two.[27] The wall was built about 100 yeares since by a Genoa Runagado, And hath 7 gates. 1. The golden gate was wald up. 2. The gate Sturkelena.[28] 3. Mount Sion gate. 4. Bethlem gate. 5. Damaskus gate. 6. Herrods gate. 7. St Stephens gate.

5th day. We enterred the Temple, being ye 13 day July 1669, every P̃son Payinge 17½ Lyon Dollers.[29] 1st place we see is on Mount Calverey, on wch Abram offerd his sonn Jsaac, but this is wthout ye temple gate & a Chappell to it. 2. The stone of vnction, wheere they annoynted or Saviors boddey when taken from the Crosse. On this stone is spent abondance Kisses & prayers and much Merchandize hallowed, as Lynnen webbs, beads & many other things, & all reliques. 20 Lamps burne Over it, & are verry large & rich, being all of Silver, & some set out wth rubies & other Jewells. 3. The holly Sepulchre, in wch burne Continewally 42 great Lamps, all Silver, & set wth Jems & verry ligg. 4. The stone, Noli me tangere for or Savior had not then assended. 5. The Chappell of the Apperition. 6. The Alter of Scorgeinge. 7. The Alter of the holly Crosse. 8. The preson where or Savior was putt. 9. The Chappell where they devided or Saviors garmts. 10. The Chappell of St Hellen where ye 3 Crosses were found. 11. The Chappell of ye inuention of the holly Crosse. 12. The assent to Mount Calverey.[30] 13. The Chamber where Christ was naled to ye Crosse. 14. The place where he was Crusefyed. 15. The rent in the rock impossible to be don by art. 16. The Navell of ye world. 17. The Stone where the Angell sat. 18. The Chappell of ye Lattins. 19. The quire of the Chuich. 20. The Sepulchre of ye Kings Died in ye Holly band. 21. The Chappell of ye Abbisseens [Abyssinians]. 22. The Chappell of ye Arminyons. 23. The Chap: of ye Greeques. 24. The Chap: of ye Copties [Copts]. 25. The Chap: of ye Jacobites. 26. The Chap: of ye Gregorians. 27. The Cha: of ye Nestorians. 28. The Chappell of ye Marrionites [Maronites]. 29. The Sepulchre of Joseph of Arematheа & Necodemus. 30. The Rock where they say ye head of Adam was found; they show ye heade.

July the 14th 1669. 1. We went out at Bethlem gate for Bethlem, formerly cald the gate of Hebron. On ye left hand is the village wheere the Jewes tooke Counsell against or Savior. 2. In the way is ye place where the Turpentine [terebinth] tree grew.[31] 3. The Cisterne of the

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26 All mentioned by Maundrell.

27 Maundrell gives the dimensions as 2½ miles. *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 148.

28 Usually called the Dung Gate. See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 148. Compare Della Valle, *Voyages*, Vol. I, p. 319, "Nous arrivâmes à la porte de la ville appellée Sterquiline, parce que de ce Costè-là elle est purgée de toutes ces immondices par un conduit ou esgout qui y est."

29 Maundrell says, "None enter in but such as have first paid their appointed caphar . . . . For Franks it is ordinary 14 dollars per head." *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 90.

30 These and the following places are mentioned by Maundrell and Pococke.

31 "In the road (from Jerusalem to Bethlehem) you meet . . . . the famous turpentine tree, in the shade of which the Blessed Virgin is said to have reposed, when she was carrying Christ in her arms, to present him to the Lord at Jerusalem. Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 116 f.

Magy.[32] 4. The place wheere ye Prophett Habbakkuke was taken vp by the heare of the heade & Carried to Babbilon.[32] 5. The Convent of the Greekes where ye Prophett Elias dwelt; neare it is a stone wheere they say he lay, & theirs seemeingly a print of a Boddy in ye stone.[32] 6. The howse where Jacob Lodged when he caime from Mesopotamia to Hebron.[32] 7. We came to Rama Ephrata where is ye ruins of ye sepulchre of Rachell.[32] 8. Bethlem, a mile from it, is seuerall systerns belonging to K. David, wch in his tyme weere kept lockt, now open, but the springs that fed them most stopt. 9. Att Bethlem is A monastrey of ye ffranciscans, & by it is a Large Church built by Q. Hellen, & afterwards by St Paula Romana,[33] in wch are 44 large Marble pillers in the boddy of ye Church, such as are rarely now in anie other place to be seene for lenth & bignesse. We weere showne tymber at Joppa, wch they sd was to repaire the roff of it; pitty its it should lie as it now does. 10. Att ye vpp [upper] end of this church is (downe 6 steps) ye place where stood ye Manger, & ye Virgen Mary was delivered of or Savior. 12. On the right side of ye place ye virgin was delivered in, is a great Marble Stone in wch Marble they show, & its lik ye picture I genlly see drawne for St Jerrom in the naturall stone Naturally theire. 13. Next is the Chappell of ye virgin Marter St Katherine, whose heade & Chappell the[y] haue showne me in Spaine[34] in the Dukd [dukedom] of Tuskany. 14. The Alter of Joseph. 15. The Sepulchres of the Innocents. 16. The Sepulchre of St Eusebius,[35] all in the same grote, & round wch we went in p̃restion [procession] wth Kandells in or hands, singing according to ye bookes then in or hands, & kneeling soe often ye p̃testant [protestant] knees weere not a litle weary. 17. The place where St Jerrom Translated ye bible out of hebrew into lattin, & St Jerroms Sepulchre. 18. The Sepulchre of St Paula & Etochia[36] hir daughter. 19. Goeing out of the Church on the left hand is the scholes of St Jerom. 20. A bow shot south from this Church, is ye grote ye virgin Mary fled to wth or Savior for feare of Herrod and as she past into the Grote, wch is in a rock, some of hir Milk spurtled agst ye side of ye groate, wch, by its vertue, hath Chainged them into Milkey earth, wch they make into Cakes & sell to pilgrims for ye virgins Milke, & being pulverated, they give to Catle or nursses wch want Milk, & it increases theire Milk, or if lost, recovers it.[37]

15th day July. We went to the fountaines of Sollomon, cald the sealed fountaines, 3 Miles from Bethlem west, & by them are 3 large fish ponds of grt depth, And below them are, in ye valley, ye Gardens of Sollomon. The sealed fountaine we went downe into, ye spring som̃e 10 yards lower then the surface of ye earth & a large valt in wch is a great Cisterne, from whence by aquaducts its carried throw daile & over rock to Jerusalem, being about 8 english miles from it.[38] Neare these are ye village of the shepherds. Next to them the howse of Joseph. Next thing showne vs the place wheere the Angell appeared to the sheperds, now a ruined Church theire in memory first built. A place on a hill wheere St Paula Dyed.[39]

16 July 1669. We returned back to Jerusalem by ye Mountaines of Judea; in ye way we rid over ye plaice wheere Senacharibbs army was incamped & ye Angell slew 1,000,000 in a night; ye place is verry litle, & in reson vnlikly to containe halfe ye nomber; its about 5 Mile fr̃o Jerusalem.

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32 See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 435, for all these places.

33 S. Paola Romana was abbess of the convent of Bethlehem in the fifth century.

34 The author is confusing Saint Catherine of Alexandria with Saint Catherine of Siena. The former, martyred in the fourth century, was said to have been transported to the monastery founded by St. Helena on Mt. Sinai; the latter was buried in Spain in the fourteenth century.

35 St. Eusebius, a bishop of the fourth century, was killed by an Arian woman with a stone, and was afterwards canonized.

36 St. Eustochia was superior of a monastery at Bethlemen and was martyred in A. D. 419.

37 Maundrell gives this legend, and adds, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 122, "the virtue ascribed to the chalk perhaps may be true enough, it being well-known how much fancy is wont to do in things of this nature."

38 See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, pp. 118—120, for a description of Solomon's Pools.

39 "An old desolate nunnery, built by St. Paula, and made the more memorable by her dying in it. Maundrell, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Distant from this is a village now, & many years agoe, is & was inhabbited by Christians, & the Turks haue attempted to live among them, but die all in verry short tyme after theire comeinge among them; Soe now they lett ye xpians live quiet theire.[40] Neare this is ye place ye marble pillers at Bethlem weer hewne out. A mile from this is ye place ye bunches of grapes weere taken from by Caleb & Joshua, vnlikly now to ye eie to beare anie such. A mile further is ye fountaine wheer Phillip Baptized the Eunuke.[41] By this is St Phillips village.[41]

3 mile further is the Desart of St John Baptist. In ye edge of a rocke is his howse,[41] & hewne out of ye rock, & the bed wherein he lay cut out of ye stone, wch the Padrey showes to be his reall bedd. 3 Miles further is the howse where Elizabeth dwelt & the fountaine by wch we dyned.[41] Neare it a stones cast the howse wheere St Jno Baptist was borne.[42]

Next that a mile on ye rocks is the Sepulchres of ye Maccabees. Some few Miles from that, & about one Mile froms Jerusa, is a Convent of Greekes called ye Conuent of the holly Crosse. The tree on wch ye Crosse was made or Savior sufferd on being Cut thence. Over wch place was built by Queen Hellen a faire Church, in ye vpper end of wch they, the Greeks wch now hold it, tho ye xpians of xpiandom did formerly, show the hole out of wch it was digged, & pmitt not vs to goe neare it wth or showes On, they esteeme ye ground soe holly. We refresht or selfs theire wth good water & one howers stay, being almost spent wth riding in the heate. Betwixt this & Jerusalem is Mount Guibeon, on wch Solloman was crowned Kinge, alsoe is a faire fish poole cald Sollomons. We entred ye Citty at ye gate Bethlem, & as at every Mile & some tymes less, we pd a doller & ½ a doller & 3 dollers a man for Copher headmoney,[43] Gards & usance, Soe now, coming from Bethlem, they at ye gate took 3 a ps as usence Money.

17 day July 69. The Ceremoneys of the Convent, wheere all this while we sate and dranke & lodged, for, tho abroad, or pvitions attended vs from that Conuent (saue at Nazareth & Bethlem wheere ye 2 Conuents belonge to them), being pformed, & Leaueing or Gratuitys of 30 Dollers a man, we Mounted for Rama. Litle of note in ye way, saue ye howse of Jeremiah & the good theifs, neare wch we lay in the wide rocks, & had Jacobs pilloe & not soe much plaine ground as to lie at lenth in. Att Ramah we got by sun rise ye 18, at wch place the villann druggerman of Joppa lives yt tooke 28 Dollers a heade to Gide vs 50 Mile & sent Only one footeman. The Druggermans [Dragoman's] name is cald Abram [Ibrāhīm], a grand Roge, for he is for this money to give vs a Meale of good treat at goeing & ye same at or returne And send wth vs a good gard of Jennesarys & Mount vs well, none of wch we had.

18 July. Arriveing at Joppay, we hyred a boate for Mount Carmell but or landinge place was Capha,[44] a mile beyond it. Soe we took horsse & paid 2 dollrs pr head for Copher & horsses; ye Arrabbs take it, being theire Commandrs. Arriveinge at ye top of Mount Carmell, wch is 2 Mile from Capha, theire stands ye ruine of an Old Conuent, Alsoe ye groote wheere Elias slept, Kept by 7 Padrey or ffranciscan fryers who live in a small Convent under that ruined, wch is a bow Shott aboue. Att the bottom of this hill, they showed vs a large Grote or Caue hewed out of ye naturall rock, where Elias preched, & wthin yt a place wheere ye Angell appeared to him, both now kept by 5 Indians, wch live theire, Converted in India by the padre Guardian, & caime out of it wth him, & spend all theire tyme in Devotions. Two leagues of, aboue on the Mount, they tell vs of Elias fountaine,[45] & in ye way to yt, ye feild in wch are found ye Stone water Mellons.[45] Telling vs this story, *vizt.*—Elias passing by ye Garden, desired of him a Mellon. The gardner said they weere stones. Replied the pfet [prophet] Elias, stones lett them be, of wch I haue One to show.

[40] "We came to a village called Booteshallah; concerning which they relate this remarkable property, that no Turk can live in it above two years. By virtue of this report, whether true or false, the Christians keep the village to themselves without molestation." Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 123.

[41] All these places were seen by Maundrell. Vol. XXXVI, p. 179 : n. 100.

[42] See Maundrell's explanation of Elizabeth's two dwelling-places. *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 125.

[43] See note on Vol XXXVI, p. 179 : n. 100. [44] See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 76.

[45] See Thévenot, *A Voyage into the Levant*, for these and many of the other sites mentioned by Bell.

19 July 1669. We departed from Mount Carmell for St Jno de Acra, wheere we landed by 10 Clock in the morninge; ye bay is 3 leagues over. But I must not forget or hansom, tho meane, treate at ye Convent on Mount Carmell; ye padrey governedore, being a pious & wise man, prayd for vs, & gaue vs good advice. & wth fish, eggs & fruite & cleane linnen, & box [of] dishes, spoones & forks, as neate as if in a princes Court. Att night we put to sea for Sidon, but put back; ye 22th we attempted againe, & p̃ceeded. In the way we vewed Tyer, wch hath litle to show, being ioyned to ye maine land, tho formerly an Isle. Theirs a small Caine [*khān*] for Marchants; its 7 leagues from Sydon & 3 or 4 Leagues good ground & well Cultured; Ollive trees & walnuts & sẽuall Towns in ye way.

We arrived at Sydon at 4 Clock in ye afternoone 23 day, & weere respectfully treated by ye french marchants theire.[46] In ye towne is litle of acct saue ye bashaws Serallia, wch we had ye p̃viledge to se & drinke a dish Coffe wth him; 2 Castles it hath wthin in ye sea, wth a bridge from them to ye towne, Its forme[r] Circumference yet to be seene, wch I iudge 5 English miles, but now not One.

23 day July. Att 8 Clock at night, we imbarqued for Byrute, wch is 8 leagues from Sydon & on ye sea coast. We arrived theire before day of the 24th July 1669. The trade of it ye french haue Tottally, wch is for silk & is ye fynest turkey makes. The price Currant, when wee weere theire, was 10 Lyon Dollers the Rotteloe,[47] since falne to 9. Theire Rottilo makes 3 Engl̃ great pounds at 24 ounces to ye pound habberdepoyze [avoirdupois]. Its well stored wth variety of good fruite, And hath many Mulberrie trees about it, wth good plaines about a mile brode & a mile longe. Its a small Towne but hath seuerall vessells belonginge to it. One, when I was theire, on the stocks, iudged would cost to put to sea 7000 Dollers. Its much ruined, as appeares by large howses of fre stone wch are not inhabbited, & decays more & mor as ye Marchts told me. Eight of the longest & biggest Pillers of blew stone all of a peece lie wthout the towne,[48] 4 & 4, [and] stand at some distance one from an other but not in anie order as when sett in the building the[y] did belonge to, of wch they only remaine to tell yu theire formerly was on[e] in or near the place they now lie & stand in.

About a mile from Barute they show the place wheer St George slew the dragon, and honor St George as theire Champion.[49]

July, 25 1669. Wee imbarqued from Barute at assara[*'aṣr*],[50] wch is 4 Clock in ye afternoone, & arrived at Trippelo in Sirria next day, 25 July 1669, at One Clock in the afternoone, At Consul Waggoners [Wagner's] howse, a Dutchman.

In the way, wch is betwixt Byrute & Trippilo 10 Leagues, we se seuerall small townes on ye Mountaines adioyneing Mount Lebanus, wch are inhabbited by the greekes & better cultured then anie place of ye Turks seene by vs since we p̃ted from Jeruselem till we caime theire.

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46 We were met by several of the French merchants from Sidon; they having a factory there, the most considerable of all theirs in the Levant." Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 59.

47 Compare Thévenot, *A Voyage into the Levant*, ed. 1687, Part II, p. 32, "The weights that are used in that Country (Aleppo) for gross commodities are the Rottle and the Oque. The Rottle weighs commonly 600 Drachms, or 500 Pound weight of Marseilles. The Rottle of Persian Silk, contains 680 Drs or five pound and a third of Marseilles weight, the Rottle of Aleppo is of 720 Drs, or 5 pound weight and a half of Marseilles."

48 At the east end of Beroot are to be seen seven or eight beautiful pillars of granite, each foot long, and three in diameter." Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 56.

49 Maundrell, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

50 Compare *The Travels of Certain Englishmen into Foreign Countries*, 1600—1611 (*Collection of Voyages and Travels*, p. 791), "The third time for public prayer, every day, is at the tenth hour of the day, called by the Turks, Kindi, by the Moors, Assera, about three or four of the clock, afternoon.

Att Trippeloe, Consull Peeter Waggoner, a noble spirritted & Gennerous p̃son, both for Company & his entertainemᵗ, wᶜʰ I tasted of, staying theire till the 27 day July. I found theire Seuerall Engl̃ Marchants of Alleppo, french & Dutch, Chased away by ye sicknesse theire. Mʳ Blunt & Mʳ Hemsworth, my fellow travellers into ye holly land, then p̃ted wᵗʰ me. They for Mount Lebanus to a greke festivall & I for Scanderone. This feast the Greeks call ye feast of Expiation in Commemoratiõ of oʳ Savioʳˢ Transfiguration.

In the Cittie of Trippiloe are severall faire buildings. It stands a mile from the Sea, a place of good trade for Loge silk, & the Bashawe hath a Doller for every Rottelo[51] shipt out & sends his sarvᵗ to se it weighed before baileinge. Theirs 5 Castles or towers on the Marreene, wᶜʰ is a mile from ye Citty,[52] & On the Marreene is a large Caine [*khān*] for all marchants goods to be put in, or saifly laid up.

27 July 1669. I imbarqued for Scanderoone in a boate I hyred, all ye Marreners turkes, & I all alone, Consull Peter Waggoner haueing sent aboard p̃vitions & wyne for 3 tymes my voyage vnknowne to me. It was 8 Clock at night when I imbarqued, & at 7 Clock in the morninge on ye 29 day July I arrived at Scanderroone, haueing had a fresh gaile all ye way. Its betwixt these two places 45 Leagues. In the way is only one litle towne for we saile terra terra for feare of ye Malteze ; The land towards the sea verry high & mountanous, always haueing Clouds dwelling on them.

Thursday 29 July 1669. I went aboard Captᵗ Dyer Bates,[53] who would not let me goe for Cyprusse as I had hyred the boat to doe, but Captᵗ Kerrington sent hir theire to meete Captᵗ Midleton & Captᵗ Morris to haue theire Company for England.

4ᵗʰ Augˢᵗ on yᵉ Wedᵈ 1669. With Captᵗ Bates, Mʳ Baalam, Mʳ Steele we tooke horsse fro Scanderoone for Alleppo at 6 Clock afternoone. Mʳ Alexandʳ Travell, Mʳ Pine, Mʳ Hussey & 7 More set [out] for Alleppo the day before. We lay the first night at Byland, wᶜʰ is 10 Engl̃ miles from Scanderoone & in oʳ way weere much hinderd or stopt by a great Carravan from Mekay [Mecca], wᶜʰ weer from first to last a days iurney longe, in Cammells, mules & horssmen. At Byland, by ye cold waters, we pitched, and had ye Musique wᶜʰ the Jackalls made who are theire verry many, & 20 Cuple of deepe-mouthed hounds in a feild make not halfe the noyse. Theire barqe is like a Contrey Curr.

5 Augᵗ 1669. Thirsday, noone, we over tooke ye worshipˡˡ ye Consull of Alleppo[54] the p̃son [parson], Mʳ fframpton[55] and about 20 of the Alleppo Engl̃ factorey, who had beene in the mountaines dureing the heate of the Contagiᵒ at Alleppo and weere returneing to Alleppo, pitched at a place Cald the Cold waters. They ingaged oʳ stay in theire Tent, for oʳ owne being put on a vnruly Mule run away wᵗʰ it & spoiled it.

6 Augˢᵗ. We pitched at ye brinke of ye River Ephraim & at sun sett remoued, And Caime by sun set on ye 7, for we lie still all the day & ride in the night, for yᵗ the heate is not to be indured to ride in in the day time.

7 Augˢᵗ. We pitched at A Church & ye ruins of a famous Monastery Cald Sᵗ Symons.[56]

8 Augˢᵗ. We arrived in Alleppo by Sunn riseing in the Morninge, but in oʳ way weere assalted by the Arrabbs, who see wee weere to strong after ye fyreing some pistolls & long Guns ; [they] weer invisable to vs but as we past ne[ar], theire stones heere & theire out of theire slings caime amongst vs. The Crack they gaue told vs they weer not farr of, but the(y) weere in ye rocks soe safe we

[51] See note on p. 161, n. 47.
[52] See Thévenot, *Voyage to the Levant*, ed. 1687, p. 221.
[53] See Vol. XXXVI, p. 174, n. 71.
[54] *i.e.*, De Lannoy, see Vol. XXXVI, p. 134, n. 60.
[55] See Vol. XXXVI, p. 134, n. 61.
[56] "The Monastery of Sᵗ Simeon the Stylete with the remainder of his so famous Pillar, which is still to be seen." Tavernier, *Travels*, ed. 1684, Vol. I, Book II, p. 56.

could not find them. In Alleppo, Tho inuited by the Consull to accept his howse, yet I did excuse my selfe[57] & made bold wth Mr Jno Shepherd,[58] a marchant theire, whose entertainemt, for five weekes dureing or stay was bountefall, & he thought not his owne howse entertanemt enough, but betwixt Meales, morne & night, treated vs, either in gardens or some other place, wth raritys of drink & meat & other Novells of pleasure.

Alleppo is esteemed One of the best & fynest built Cittys in ye Turkish Empire. Its a place of great trade, Many Carravans comeinge to it wth Druggs, Calls, falladoes, Goats Wooll, But silke ye Chiefe.[59] In ye Bazars or Shopps, wch are in streets intire, & all tradesmen together, are more variety of Commodities then in anie other Citty in ye Empire. The Bashaw was at my being theire at Candia, & ye subbashawe Gouernr. The streets are full of Doggs, wch ye people haue great Charrity for, & give money for them, as we to or poore. The great number of these doggs make theire Citty stinke, for when anie die, they never berry them, but one eats an other; & in every place his Carkasses, wch are Noysom. It stands in as good an Aire as anie Citty in the uneversse, not a Clude [cloud] to be seene six Months in ye yeare neare it. Its well served wth fresh water, fruits of all sorts verry good, wth Beefe, but espetially Mutton. For goodness I never Tasted anie in my life Soe pallatable & fatt. The sheepe follow ye shepherd in those p̃ts as a dog his Mr in England, & haue tailes to ye houghs that weigh 20, 15, some 25lb weight, all fatt.[60] What is more then can be eaten they make Candles of, wch are ye best of Tallow in the world. Theire Wyne is alsoe verry good, This Citty is 50 Engl̃ Miles from anie p̃t of the Sea.

The factories recreation is Coursinge at ye Season wth Grayhounds, & they beginn ye 15 September, & soe haue hunting till March following. Theire Chiefe officer in ye ffeilde is cald ye Cope of ye Hunt.[61] He hath 2 assistants & seuerall other officers. They haue genlly 10 brace of grayhounds in ye feild at once And seldom lesse English in the feild then 50 English. Many turks at Certain tymes attend their sports, some french and Dutch. Theire Course is often after the pusse [hare] 3, 4, & 5 Engl̃ miles wth a brace or leace [leash] grayhounds after hir, & she often out runs them all. The Cope fynes all ye observe not order in ye feild. Some tymes they hunt ye wild boare, of wch they haue many & furious [as] many of theire horsses show. I need not Commend theire horsses, for genll faime spaires me ye Charracter. Theire grayhounds are like or Monggrell Grayhounds in England, Corse shapt, and theire feete more longe & large and will endure besides beinge rapid & swifter, a larger Corse.

The factorey Consistes of *vizt.*—1. The Worshipll Jno De La Noy, Consull. 2. The Minister, Mr Tho fframpton. 3. The Chuce [Chians], Mr Hen: ffutton. 4. Mr Jno Shepherd. 5. Mr Jno Varne. 6. Mr Tho Boddington. 7. Mr Steele. 8. Mr Bloodworth. 9. Mr W Carey. 10. Person [? Parson] Chappell. 11. Mr Mun Browne. 12. Mr Edwin Browne. 13. Mr Edward Browne. 14. Mr Wm Hussey. 15. Mr Harrington. 16. Mr Blunt. 17. Mr ffra. Hemsworth. 18. Mr Pooley. 19. Mr Steereman. 20. Mr Richard fflyer. 21. Mr Baull. 22. Mr Metcalfe. 23. Mr Jno Taffnell. 24. Mr Northley. 25. Mr Anto Baalam. 26. Mr Smith. 27. Mr Langley. 28. Mr W Ashhby. 29. Mr Edw Hartopp. 30. Mr Aron Goodyeare. 31. Mr Ivett. 32. Mr Stubbert. 33. Mr Nicolls. 34. Mr Sam Godscall: keepe[s] ye bowling allies [alleys]. 35. Downes, ye Barber. 36. Mr Edw Vame. 37. Mr Wm Vame. 38. Docter Harper.

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57 See Vol. XXXVI, p. 134, for John Campbell's complaint of his treatment by De Lannoy.

58 See Vol. XXXVI, p. 134.

59 See Tavernier, *Travels*, ed. 1684, Vol. I, Book II, p. 57 f., and Thévenot, *Voyage to the Levant*, ed. 1687, p. 30 ff.

60 Fat-tailed sheep, *dumbā*.

61 Compare Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, Vol. II, p. 334, "Chasse Anglaise . . . . Election d'un Maître de la Chasse . . . . Il y en a toujours un de cette nation qui porte le nom de capo, parce qu'il est le chef de la Troupe. Il a deux assistants et un Tresorier pour l'aider pendant son exercice."

Mr Allexander Travell, Mr Arther Pine, Mr Rosse Wood, Mr P Rockesley, Mr Lee, Mr Gravesner, Mr Kinge, Mr Wm fframpton, facter Marreen. These 8 persons Died at the tyme of my beinge theire, 2 of ye sicknesse, 6 of the Scanderroone sicknesse.

In discorse wth Mr Shepherd, ye King of ye Arrabbs haueing then given him a vizit, told me its theire Custome to say, when anie euell thought comes in theire heade (as to take life or estate), they say, stoffiloe [*istaghfiru'llāh*], wch is in Eng, God forbid I doe it[62]; yet none more redy. And in discorse concerning the Devell, they Defend theire honoring him, and when reproved, Ask ye what he was. Yu say, a great Angell in ye Cort of heaven, & for his disobeadience cast out. Why, say they, then should we not feare him. He is but a courtier out of favor & may be reced in againe, soe its good to keepe frends. The Arrabbs wch are cald ye wild, defend theire robbing as iust, & declare themselues the oftspring of Esau. And Jaacob, haueing got all the good blessings, Easaw, say they, caime, & his father had not ought to give him, soe bid him goe a broad & Catch what he could. Soe they at this day doe. And when they rise in ye morninge, they turne to ye Sun riseing and pray that some good thing may come theire way, Carravan, or passengers, or other bootey, wch they take as if god had sent it them; for, say they, its not reason thou should haue soe much & I soe litle, & live to this day by rapine.

Att 12 Clock at noone, wch the Turks call Assarah [*ṣāra'ldhahar*,[63] noon]. They, on theire steeples wch haue terrets, but no belly [belfry], crie wth great noys, somes tymes 5, 6, 7, or more, for then all must pray where ever they are. The men in ye great Mosk steeple crie in the Turks lingua, glory to ye great god & prases to theire great pfett, wch is ye light of god elce would sit in Darknesse & words to this purposse. They haue songs at eight or 12 Clock at night And at 4 Clock in ye morninge, some times an hower, some tymes two or more together, Some tymes for safty of some from Meca, there pfets tomb; some tymes they sing, or howle rather, for some sick or deade, & will doe both verry lively. They haue psons they hier wch does it, & soe they are many or few at one place or 2 or 3 for longer or shorter space.

The Turks thinke they offend not when they cheate or breake faith wth the ffranks, for the on[e] trew beleivers thother Doggs. And if money be in the way they care not to keep peace wth Kings. They say anie wind will blow away that paper thats not fastned wth bagg of Money on it.

Min[s]ter xpians [*i. e.*, christian ministers] ought to be of Currage for otherwise they get noe esteeme. A xpian embassador, [was] affronted by a basshaw appoynted to dispatch him, [who] demanded a great some & woud not dispatch him. Soe ye xpian became troblesome, often thrusting himselfe before ye Bashaw when he would [have] had him elce wheer. On wch ye Bashaw said, did he not see or feare his attendants, who commanded his life at a word. Sd ye xpian, does not thou feare to tell me soe, when thy life in yt word is in my hand, psenting a dagger at his brest. He, seing yt currage, Commended it, and Granted his dispatch.

In the Gaule Caine [? *Ghall Khān*, Corn-market] The Cammells hurds wch come thether wth goods are lett at 1000 Lyon Dollers pr an [annum] to ye Bannian men.[64]

One night at Supper on ye tarras, some in waggery threw a ps [piece] of a tile among vs, wch begot a discorse, & Mr Shepperd affirmd it common to be among ye turks for great stones, potsherds, tiles & such like to come among them as if it rained them, And yt on theire tarras among them Once it was soe, but hurt to none, wch thing[s] are Cast by the Spirritts.

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62 *i. e.*, God keep me from the very idea of it: see Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, s. v. ghafur.*

63 See p. 161, n. 50. 64 The author shows his *Indian* training. By 'Bannian men,' he means merchants.

The people cald ye Turkemen [Turcomans] are great Grasiers & reputed a Cast of honest people. They Graise from Bagdat to Stambole in a yeare, & pass wth numberlesse herds of Cattle & droues of sheepe. Some tymes a part of them are 10 days passing a towne. The[y] spreat [spread] aboue 100 [? miles] in the Contrey & furnish all places as they pass & Travell wth theire fammilies.[64a]

10 August 1669. I wth Mr Downs betwixt 5 & 6 Clock in the morning rid around ye Citty of Alleppo & vewed ye graves of ye deal, at wch weere 100ds weepeing over ye graves of theire dead freinds. That day Mr Langley, Mr Godscall, Mr Goodyeare weere chased ashore by a Corseir of Malta, & robd the vessell of all, & after sunk hir. They came from Trippelo in Assiria, but lost all theire robes. I, the weeke before escaped narrowly.

Seuerall words I lernt of ye Arrabbs.[65]

Ish ish ma haddah	[*aysh ism hadda ?*]	What call yu this
Ish ish mack	[*aysh ismak ?*]	Whats yor name
Subbolk heir	[*Subḥ-al-khayr*]	Good morrow
Mishalk heir	[*misā' al-khayr*]	Good night
Shitack Haddah	[*shītak hadda*]	Is this yours
Shite	[*shītī*]	It is mine
Became or Escod toman	[*bi-kam* ? (how much ?)] [*aysh hadda taman* ? What is the price of this?]	What price or for how much
Kittier	[*kathīr : kettīr* (colloq.)]	It is too much
Gibb	[*jīb : gib* (colloq.)]	Goe, fetch, or bringe
Roe	[*ruḥ*]	Goe
Autane	[*a'ṭī-nī*]	Give me
Tawell	[*ṭawīl*]	Longe
Cosseir	[*qaṣīr*]	Short
Hyke	[*hayk*]	Thus
Halcod	[*hīkadda*: like this]	Thus much
Haddah	[*hadda* (colloq.)]	This
Haddack	[*haddak* (colloq.)]	That
Howne	[*hawn* (colloq.)]	Heere
Howneke	[*hawnīk, hawnīkī* (colloq.)]	Theire
Hatme Beed	[*hāt-nī bīd* (colloq.), give me wine, *'aṭī-nī-imbīd*]	Give me wyne (wthout water)
Sheele	[*shīl*]	take away
Ish hallock	[*aysh ḥālak*]	how doe you
Tybe	[*ṭayyib*]	well
Cow Mille	[*kāmil*]	verry well
Orack	[*waraq*]	Paper
Gambouhes	[*bābūsh, bābūj* (colloq.) = Pers. *pā-pūsh*]	slippers
Mille	[*malīḥ*]	Good

[64a] The chief meat-supply of Egypt still comes through Syria in this way.

[65] I have to thank Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge for much generous help in solving the riddles of this list. The author took down his words in the Syrian colloquial form of Arabic (*vide* Crow's *Arabic Manual*, Luzac's *Oriental Grammars*, Series IV), apparently, from a Jewish guide or dragoman.

Moimille or Wakesh	[*mā-malih*] [*wahish*]	Badd / Badd
Emtee	[*aymtā* (colloq.)]	When
Helwack	[*hallak* (colloq.)]	now
Ashan	[*ahsan* (colloq.)]	Better
Eigh	[*ay*]	Yes
La	[*lā*]	Noe
Is youn	[*al-yawn*]	today
Amsee	[*ams*]	yesterday
Godde	[*ghadī*]	tomorrow
Imberhahb	[*emlārih*] (colloq.)]	Last night
Il-lyle	[*al-laylu*]	This night
Il youn autane sooff	[*al-yawn 'atī-nīṣūf*]	Today give me woll
Godde beteeke hhorrooffe	[*ghadī bi-'atika'l kharūf*]	Tomorrow Ile give yu ye Lambe
Wahad	[*wahid*]	One
temine	[*ithnayn* ; *itnēn* (colloq.)]	two
telatah	[*thalatha, telāta* (colloq.)]	three
Arbah	[*arba'a*]	fower
ham see	[*khamsi*]	five
Sitte	[*sitti*]	six
Subbah	[*sab'a*]	Seaven
Temane	[*thamāniya* ; *temāni* (colloq.)]	eight
Tissah	[*tis'a*]	Nyne
Ashharab	['*ashra*]	ten
Edash	[*hidāsh* (colloq.)]	Elleaven
Tenash	[*itn'āsh* (colloq.)]	Twelue
Telatash	[*talit'āsh* (colloq.)]	Thirteene
Arbatash	[*arb'at'āsh* (colloq.)]	fowerteene
Amstash	[*khamst'ash* (colloq.)]	fifteene
Sittash	[*sitt'āsh* (colloq.)]	Sixteene
Subbatash	[*seb'at'āsh* (colloq.)]	Seaventeene
Temane tash	[*tamunt'āsh* (colloq.)]	Eighteene
Tissa tash	[*tis'at'āsh* (colloq.)]	Nyneteene
Ashhereene	['*ishrīn*]	Twenty
Telateene	[*talātīn* (colloq.)]	30
Arbeene	[*arbā'īn*]	40
hamseene	[*khamsīn*]	50
Sitteene	[*sittīn*]	60
Subeene	[*sab'īn*]	70
Tammaneene	[*tamānīn* (colloq.)]	80
Tisseene	[*tis'īn*]	90
Meash	[*mi'a*]	100
Else	[*alf*]	1000
Asharatellass	['*ashrat-alf*]	10000

ffryday the 9th September 1669. Att 5 Clock in ye morninge, Cap Bates, my Sonn Cambell[66] & my selfe tooke horsse at Alleppo for Scandroon, all ye factory accompaninge vs a league on or way, And returnd all, saue Mr Jno Shepperd, Mr Varne, Mr Hartop & Mr ffyer who

[66] The first mention of John Campbell in this narrative.

accompanned vs to Han Jarr to ye howse of Ruston, ye Carr̃ [? Carrier] where we staid all that night and tooke our leave in ye morninge, being verry merry all ye night. We run some dainger of robbing in the way, but got safe aboard ye *Mary & Martha*[67] the 12 instant. Abondance of Jackalls, partridg & phesant we see in or way.

20 September 1669. Monday. Wee weighed Ancor the Wind at No No W :, litle winde in the midle of the day, but at 6 at night a fresh gaile at Cape hogg,[68] and brought vs by day next morninge at Cape St Andrea,[69] or ye Isleland of Cyprus. The bredth of Cypruse is about 30 Engl̃ Miles, the lenth 150.

23 [September]. Being thirsday, & ye wind faire & fresh till Sunday the 26, at wch tyme we weere becalmed wth in 5 Leagues of Candia, at ye east end, till Weddensday followeinge. Then a fresh Gaile wch held till the Sixt of October, wch day we Ancored before Messena in the Mould[70] And I offered the Jurats for p̃taek [pratique] for my selfe & Sonn Cambell 200 ps of 8 but could not p̃vaile.

Sunday the 10 October 1669. Wee weighed from Messena, & past ye vaire [phare][71] Scicillia On ye One Side, The Callabria On the other, wch is ye popes Contrey,[72] And not aboue 2 Leagues betwixt poynt & poynt, and always seting in a greate Current Betwene Scilla & Charibdis. Scilla is the poynt on the Callabria side & Charibdis on the Sissellyne side.

Monday ye 11 October 1669. We weere becalmd, & lay by Strumbelo [Stromboli], ye burning Isleland, & wthin 3 or 4 leagues 6 or 7 litle Islelands not inhabitted, wch smooke, but yt Cald vulcan [Volcano] most, & now burnes more furiosly then Strumbeloe did, wch at this day flames much most visible in the night.[73]

Tewesday 12 [October]. A faire gaile, wch held till fryday, on wch night we sailed by the Isleland Elba. Part ye Spanyards haue Cald port Langowne [Porto Langore]; thother half ye Legornezes or Ittallians haue Cald port ffaiero [Porto Ferrajo], a Brave port : ye Isleland betwixt 40 & 50 Miles about and lies 12 leagues South of Legorne. We past 5 or 6 small Islelands not inhabbited, And at 12 Clock Satterday none, we weere in the rode of Legorne.

Satterday 16 October 69. We arrived at Legorne, but weere not p̃mitted to goe to ye Lazeretto till Thirsday after, ye 21 October 1669.

Fryday, ye 22 of October 1669. We weere r̃eced into ye Lazeretto by 8 in the morninge, and lodged 4 days in One Chamber, and after remoued to an other. And three days after we had beene theire, I, R. B. was driveing a naile, and on thother side in an other Roome I herd repeated the blowes I had given. I knockt at sẽuall places, other Roomes adioyninge to the places I knockt, & weere empty, yet had what blowes soever I gaue answerd p̃sently [immediately] at ye sd places.

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[67] See Vol. XXXVI, p. 174.

[68] *i. e.*, Ras Khanzir. Compare Della Valle, *Voyages*, Vol. IV., p. 512, "Nous doublâmes le Cap Chanzir, c'est à dire le Cap surnommé Porco."

[69] "Nous nous trouvâmes . . . . au de là du Cap de Saint Andrè de Cypre." *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

[70] See Vol. XXXVI, p. 175.

[71] Compare Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 398, "The narrow Seas, which divide Italy and Sicilia . . . . is called the fare of Messina and fretum Siculum." Compare also *Rawlinson MS.*, C. 799 (Bargrave's *Travels* in 1646), fol. 9, "Having past Strambolo we entred the Fare, sailing between Sylla (a Sand on the Shoar of Cicely) and Caribdis (a Rock on the brink of Calabria), where the Seae divides itself into sundry strong Currents."

[72] See Vol. XXXVI, p. 175.

[73] Compare *Rawlinson MS.*, C. 799 (Bargrave's *Travels* in 1646), fols. 8 and 9, "In open view of Cecilia before we enter the Vare of Messina are the smoaky Islands of Vulcan, the Lipari and furious flaming Strumbolo which casts up fire with a strange violence and a frightfull noise."

Satterday ye 9 Nouember 1669. This Spirrit and till ffryday ye 15 Nouember 1669 continewed knockinge, & soe loud, and at seuerall places, some tymes from 7 to 12 Clock at night; but this night it came & knockt at Mr Cambells bed heade or wall, agst wch this pillow lay (for or bedds weere on the floore), & soe violently as if he would [have] beaten downe the wall. I was then at ye table readinge but minded it not, wch Mr Cambell did, and knoct tunes, all wch was answerd exactly. This Continewed every night for 13 nights, and at last we herd noe more, but on the 10 November 69, at 8 Clock at night, Mr Cambell would knock to see if the spirritt or Devell would answer, wch it did, at ye 3 seũall places Mr Cambell knock at, wth yt violence as if it would [have] beaten downe ye wall & to be herd 40 yds out of ye roome. Mr Cambell tooke a glasse wyne, & said to me, heeres to yu. The spirrit p̃sently said a loud heere to yu, and sd how doe yu, how doe yu Wee then weere struck wth admiration (wonder). The Spirritt, as if he turnd him selfe in Scorne and goeing away, sd in Turkish, Anass & a sictim, wch is in English, sonn of a Whoore, And went away.

Monday the 1st Decembr 1669. I had ye night before taken sõme milk to boyle wth rice & boiled it, & eate a pottenger full, soe did my sonn Cambell, but wthin half an hower after I was taken wth soe violent vommitting as I never had formerly. My Sonns[74] was not altogether soe bad. The Docter had notis of it, and verry Dilygent, in 4 days recoverd me to my former helth, & told me yt the Milk of this Contrey deales litle better wth all Strangers & yt the Contrey people darr hardly medle wth it. My Dyet was Lemmon broth wth egg beat in it for the 4 days. We staid from ye 22th October to ye 2d December in ye Lazeretto, wch is 40 days. We staid in Legorne 10 days, & in it nothinge of note, saue yt its a place of greate trade and a ffree port, And a garrison & Exceeding stronge[75] & ye gards exact in theire dewty, Soe as none an come in, horseman or by Coach, but by ye tinkling of a Bell at ye gate they pass, notis is given Round ye towne to ye gates.

13 December 1660. Wee tooke boate for Peesa & staid theire 2 days, veweinge the Antiquitys of yt Once famous place, but now lost by Legorne, wch steales away all theire trade. In it is a faire Church cald ye Dona [Duomo], & to it 4 paire of Brazen gates, 3 at ye west end of Cast brass, for bigness & rare worke I never saw ye lik; ye 4th paire are sd to [have] been brought from Jerusalem.[76] Neare ye Church stands a Tower [the Campanile] verry high & built Crooked, 8 stories high, and alsoe a Coopeloe [the Baptistery] verry faire at ye west end of the Dome [Duomo]. On ye North side is A place Cald Campa Santa [Campo Santo], by reason ye earth of it was brought from Jerusalem, And ye vertue of it is to swell ye Deade boddy put into it for 2 or thre days and after in 24 howers turnes it to ashes.[77] The next famous Church is yt of ye Knts of ye Order of St Stephen,[78] of wch order ye Grand Duke is of. They weare a redd Crosse in Sattin on theire left side of theire Clokes.

All more is ye Phizique Garden, wch hath noe thing admyrable in it. The Towne is aboute 4 litle Engl̃ miles aboute by ye wall, wch is verry good, and a Cittidell [Citadella d'Artiglieria] by ye river side, wch comes from ffiorrence wth a Garrison in it. From Pisa we tooke hoisse to Sciana

[74] *i. e.*, John Campbell, who was, seemingly, Bell's son-in-law.

[75] Compare *Rawlinson MS.*, C. 799 (Bargrave's *Travels* in 1646), fol. 8, " Legorne is a small City under the Duke of Tuscany but a very valuable one, in respect of its Traffick, its forme and its Strength ; nor does it want the conveniency of a handsome Mold for Shipps, nor the Embellishments of a faire Piazza (from which Ours in Covent Garden took its patterne)."

[76] The ancient Bronze Gates, destroyed by the fire of 1595, were replaced in 1606 by the present doors.

[77] The Campo Santo was founded in 1203, by Archbishop Ubaldo de Lanfranchi, who caused 53 ship-loads of earth to be brought to it, from Jerusalem. The story of the marvellous properties of the earth appears to have no foundation in fact.

[78] Santo Stefano di Cavalieri, built in 1565—1596.

[Sienna] and in two Days got thether. This Citty is 6 miles in Compass, ye streets very faire, and the howses high. The Madona, or Chiefe Church, is, for ye pauemt vnder foote, ye rarest I ever beheld. Its ye Story of ye Old testamt in figures of Marble, all Complexions laid in in naturall stone. The Library in Large booke of parchmt & figuers in gold & other rich Cullers painted verry rare on ye parchmt. Nothinge elce Memorable but ye Chappell of St Katherine, ye virgin saint.

18 December 1669. We tooke horsse for Roome, And in the way Lodged at Monte friscone [Montefiascone], ye place wheere ye Muskadine grape is (ye wyne verry pleasant and good), Next to a fyne Cittuated towne Cald veeta herba [Viterbo] in a plaine, for 2 miles round well Cultured for grapes, Ollives And all other garden herbs.

20 December 1669. We got Roome & Lodged at ye ffortune in the Peacha dispannia [Piazza di Spagna], Jeronemo Martelle, patroon. In Roome we see St Peeters, The Pallas of Prince Deburgueze [Palazzo Borgheze] And ye Queene Sweedens pallas, The Pallasses of seuall Embassadors & Cardenalls, but none Exceeding wthin Roome or wthout prince Deburgueze his pallas wthout ye Citty. Its but litle, but ye walls about it 3 English miles, and braue gardens, wildernesses & walks wthin it & fountaines, none Exceeding it about Roome & in the howse many rarities, as Statues of Purphre & seuerall great vrns and Pillers. Most of ye Eminent Churches and Colledges & theire fests we weere at to see theire Riches & heare theire Musique. We also rid round ye Walls Roome, wch are judged by vs to be 10 English miles, But the buildings wthin fills not a quarter of the Ground. We alsoe vewed ye ruins of Neroes pallas, part of of wch ye English Jesiuts haue for a garden to recreate themselues, lately given to them.

March ye 16, 1669 [1670]. We left Roome and returned to Legorne On some errand yt surprized vs. I continewed in Legorne to ye 13 April 1670 and then tooke a feluke [felucca] for Genoa wheere I arrived thirsday morninge the 17th by 9 Clock in the morninge at ye howse of Zachery Humphreys, An Engl man, & ye only howse for entertainment as an Osterrea [osteria] in Genoa, & hath lived in it 38 yeares. Its 40 leagues betwixt Legorne & Genoa, & wth a faire winde they Gennally make it One Day & night & noe more, but the winde was iust a head & we put to lodge a shore every night; its by land 120 Engl miles, but few travellers goe it for feare of ye Bandereetoes [banditti] and the bad accommodation in ye way.

In Genoa is ye largest artifitiall mold [Molo Vecchio] in Chrissendome, One for shipps one for Galleys, One for Barks or Settees. The new wall about ye Citty is faire & about 15 miles in Compasse; ye Citty qts [contains] 50 parrishes & devided into 4 quarters, One cald St Lawrence [San Lorenzo], One St George [San Giorgio], One St Barnardo, 4th St John baptista [San Gianbattista]. In ye Citty are hundreds of Princeley pallasses Richly furnished wth rarities. Indeed its a Citty of Pallasses & gardens for Beauty & rich furniture, as Cabbinets, Pictures & Looking Glasses, of wch I saw one in a Gentlemns howse Cost 30000 Scowdey [scudi] or Crownes, Marble tables, most Rich & beautifull of all Cullrs. Its a Republique Consistinge of a Duke cald prince Royall or imperiall who is Crowned Kinge of Corseka, 24 Senators, The greate & little Counsell, 400 Gentlemen, out of wch is chosen ye Duke or prince who is Chiefe Only for 2 yeares & then a new One is Chosen out of ye 400. They are all traders & theire Riches is in moneys. Theire Chief Commodities made wthin theire Contrey is wrought silks of all sorts, wch they make in vast quantities & furnish most pts of xendome. Marble good & verry plentifull for Cullers naturall & wch they improve by art. They haue for other things all almost lik London.

Monday 20th Aprill 1670. In discorse wth Mr Zachery Humphrey And Capt. Archer in Relation to ye Citty, Mr Zachery Humphrey, who hath lived in Genoa 38 years, told vs yt in ano 1658 ye plague began in Genoa & ended in August ano 1658 and many days theire

died Thre thowsand a day, Soe that in a Spatious & poppulous Citty in the afore sd tyme was not left a live of all sexes & ages aboue thirteene thowsand & odd hundreds. But now in año 1670 its verry full of people & trade. In año 1650, Mr Zachery Humphreys wife, then fryinge Collops & Eggs, the winde soe strainge, it blew ye tops of howses of, & the frying pan out of hir hand quite away, never since knowne what way it went. It alsoe Blew shipps out of the Mould into ye Sea, & out of ye Sea into ye Mould againe.

The same day a ffemminge rideinge in the new Mold [Molo Nuovo], a Gust caime & carried quite away his Meezen Marst, ropes & yards, soe as it was never herd of or anie part; ye Ship was 600 tuns.

Of Satterday ye 26 April 1670 Arrived from Cailes [Calais] 2 of ye King Engl ffriggotts, ye *Jersey* & *Centurion* wth money for ye Genoez & some for ye Legornez, [which] they, every yeare [on] ye West Spannish India fletes arrivall, Receives for Marchandize & interrest money; ye Kinge Spaine owes vast somes.[79]

END.

TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

BY M. K. NARAYANASAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L., AND T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

No. I. — Nandi-kkalambagam.

A *kalambagam* is a variety of poetic composition in Tamiḻ, in which the hero is praised in a variety of metres on a number of *tuṟais* or topics, and should consist of 100, 95, 90, 70, 50 or 30 verses according as it is in praise of a deity, a saint, a king, a minister, a merchant or a *vêḷâḷaṉ*. The verses should run in *antâdi* fashion, *i.e.*, the last word of each verse should begin the succeeding one.[1] The most famous compositions of this kind are *Tiruvaraṅga=kkalambagam* of **Piḷḷai=pPerumâḷ=ayyaṅgâr** and the *Aḻagar-kalambagam* by an unknown author.

The *Nandi=kkalambagam* is a poem in praise of a king called **Nandi** and contains strangely enough 110 verses, having ten verses more than even the highest number which is prescribed for a deity by the *Paṉṉiru-pâṭṭiyal*. It is commonly ascribed to a younger brother of the hero of the poem, though from the way in which the author speaks of himself this does not appear to be the truth. In the final verse of the poem in describing the hero's death, the poet feelingly says:

"Your countenance has gone to the moon in the heavens,
Your fame has entered the dark ocean,
Your valour has passed to the tiger in the wilds,
Your fingers have attained the *kalpaka* tree,
She of the honeyed lotus flower (Lakshmi) has joined *Hari*,
The ruddy fire has claimed your body,
O! **Nandi**, the all-bountiful! where shall I and my poverty find refuge?"[2].

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[79] The MS. ends abruptly here. I have failed to find any further mention of either of the authors of this work.

[1] See the *Paṉṉiru-pâṭṭiyal* under the head *kalambagam*.

[2] This verse follows the idea of the hymn in the funeral rites portion of the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka*, in which the several elements are asked to take unto themselves their own contribution to the physical body of the dead man. The king's countenance is said to have gone to the moon, because during his lifetime his face rivalled the moon in its brightness, and after his death it is left as the sole heir to all the brightness and beauty, which was once shared by them both. His fame likewise was as vast and unfathomable as the ocean, his valour was like the tiger's, his fingers would yield every request and wish of the suppliant, like the *kalpaka* tree. Lakshmi is said to have re-joined Hari, because during the king's lifetime the Goddess of Fortune was undivided from him. [*Vide Trapâṭaka* 6, *Anuvâka* 1, section 4.]

The impression produced by the verse is also corroborated by the general tenor of the whole work. The hero, Nandi, is described in this work as being a **Pallava king** :— *Pallavar kôṉ Nandi* — verse 2 of Introduction, verses 15, 35, 40, 70, &c., of the poem. (The Pallava king Nandi.) *Pallavar tôṉṟal* — *v.* 1 (born of the Pallava dynasty). *Pallavar kôḷari* — *v.* 59 (a lion among the Pallavas). *Pallavaṉ* — *vv.* 65, 83. *Kâḍavaṉ* — *v.* 29.

In verse 39 the king is said to have belonged to the race of the moon :— *Chandra-kula prakâśaṉ* (the light of the Chandra = kula or the Lunar Race).

His capitals appear to have been **Kâñchi**, the modern Conjeevaram — *vv.* 8, 10, 22, 29 and 80; **Mallai**, [3] the modern Mahâbalipuram, situated in the Chingleput District — *vv.* 1, 3, 46, 54, 72 and 83 ; and **Mayilai**, or **Mailâppûr**, the modern Mailapur, a suburb of Madras — *vv.* 44, 51, 55 and 69.

His rule extended over (1) the Toṇḍainâḍu — *vv.* 4, 5 and 39 ; (2) the country watered by the Kâvêri :— *Kâviri vaḷa nâḍaṉ* — *vv.* 11, 17, 27, 28 and 44. *Poṉṉi naṉṉâṭṭu maṉṉaṉ* — (king of the prosperous country watered by the Poṉṉi, *i.e.*, the Kâvêri). *Śôṇâḍaṉ* — (owner of the Chôḷa country) *v.* 74. (3) Over the Chêra country :— *Śêranâḍaṉ* — *v.* 74. (4) Over the Koṅgu country :— *Koṅgâ!* — *v.* 41. (5) Over the *Aḷagai Nâḍu* : — *Aḷagai nâḍaṉ* — *v.* 39. (6) Over the western regions :— *Kuḍakk= uḍai vênḍaṉ* — *v.* 65.

In verse 28, he is described as "*Kâviri vaḷa nâḍaṉ Kumari = kkoṇgaṉ Gaṅgai-maṇâḷaṉ kuṟai kaḷal vira = Nandi*" — "the valiant Nandi, lord of the prosperous country watered by the Kâvêri, of the sea-coast round Kumari (the Cape Comorin) and the spouse of the Ganges."

He is said to have held sway over the Bâṇa kings :— "*Vaḍa Vêṅgaḍa-nâḍuḍai maṉṉar pirâṉ*"—*v.* 55. "Lord over the kings of the northern Vêṅkata (hills)." See also *vv.* 33 and 67, where he is described as *vaḍa Vêṅgaḍattâṉ* (lord of the northern Vêṅkaṭa hills).

Nandi is said to have won battles at the following places : — (1) *Teḷḷâṟu* — *vv.* 28, 33, 38, 49, 52, 53, 71, 75, 79, 80, 85, 86 and 96. (2) *Kurukôḍu* — *vv.* 2, 35 and 84. (3) *Paḷaiyâṟu* — *v.* 31. (4) *Veḷḷâṟu* — *v.* 23. (5) *Naḷḷâṟu* — *v.* 61.

In verse 27, the Chêra, Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya kings and the kings of the northern regions are said to have paid tribute to him. He had fought with the Chêras and the Chôḷas (*vv.* 42 and 81), and also with the Pâṇḍyas (*vv.* 4 and 81).

In verse 81 he is described as having thwarted the intentions of his younger brothers, thus : —

"*Kula vîrar = âgam = aḷiyat-*
tambiyar = eṇṇam = ellâm paḷudâga veṉṟa talai mâṉa vîrattuvaṉ
Śembiyar Teṉṉar Śêrar = edir vandu mâyach = cheruveṉṟa &c. &c."

[3] In *vv.* 54 and 83, the place is called Kaḍaṉ — Mallai, which is the name by which it is known to the Vaishṇava *Âḷvâr Tirumaṅgai* (see the two decades on *Kaḍaṉ - Mallai - ttalaśayaṉam*, and the decades on *Tiruvâli* and *Tirunaṟaiyûr*). The *Âḷvâr* describes it as a flourishing sea-port (*Tiruneḍun-tâṇḍagam*, verse 9.) The place was also praised by *Bhûtattâḷvâr* in verse 70 of his *Iyaṟpâ*.

"The great hero who conquered so as to destroy the hereditary warriors [who perhaps helped his younger brothers] and so as to defeat the intentions of his younger brothers; and who killed the Sembiyar (the Chôḻa), the Teṉṉavar (the Pâṇḍya) and the Chêrar who opposed him in battle." From this we can infer that the phrase "hereditary warriors" may refer to the Chôḻas, the Pâṇḍyas and the Chêras, who might have helped the younger brothers of Nandi against himself.

Nandi seems to have been a patron of Tamiḻ Literature — *paindamiḻaiy = âygiṉṟa Nandi* (the king Nandi who studies classic Tamiḻ) — *v.* 104. *Tamiḻ Nandi* — *v.* 107.

He is called by several surnames in the poem: — (1) *Avaṉi-Nâraṇaṉ* — verse 4 of the Introduction, *vv.* 18, 22, 64 and 66 of the Text. (2) *Viḍêl-viḍugu* — *vv.* 11, 13 and 74. (3) *Ukkirama-kôpaṉ*[4] — *vv.* 20 and 55. (4) *Kuvalaya-mârttâṇḍaṉ* — *v.* 29. (5) *Mâludayaṉ* — *v.* 48. (6) *Mânôdayaṉ* — *v.* 63. (7) *Varatuṅgaṉ* — *v.* 89. (8) *Mânabharaṉ* — *v.* 109. (9) *Nandi = chchîrâmaṉ* — *v.* 106. (10) *Dêśa-baṇḍâri* — *v.* 96.

Having now summarised all the information of any historical interest in the poem, we shall proceed to discuss them in the light of inscriptions. The king, who is the hero of this poem, cannot be **Nandivarman-Pallavamalla** who was opposed by the Dramiḻas in about 760 A. D., since of the numerous battles which he and his general **Udayachandra** are said to have fought,[5] not one of those given in this poem are mentioned. We are therefore compelled to conclude that he must be the same person as the Nandi, who was the son of **Dantivarman** mentioned in the Bâhûr plates.[6] We have inscriptions of **Nandippôttaraśar,** who fought the battle of Teḻḻâṟu, at Conjeevaram[7] in the Chingleput District, at Sendalai,[8] Kôviladi[9] and Tillaisthânam[10] in the Tanjore District, and at Tiruvadi[11] in the South Arcot District. We know from the poem that one of his surnames was Avaṉi-Nâraṇaṉ. In one inscription to Nandivarman found in the Muktîśvara temple at Kâvêrippâkkam,[12] the place is named simply as Kâvadippâkkam, while in the inscriptions of Nṛipatungavarman and the Chôḻa kings who came after him the place is called Kâvadippâkkam *alias* **Avaṉi-Nârâyaṇa-chaturvêdimaṅgalam.**[13] The inscriptions thus corroborate our poem in these particulars. That "Nandippôttaraśar who was victorious at Teḻḻâṟu" should be the same person as Kô-viśaiya-Nandivikramavarman is evident from the fact that **Kâḍuveṭṭi = Tamiḻa = pPêraraiyaṉ,** who is mentioned as an officer of the one[14] is also mentioned as an officer of the other.[15] The Bâhûr plates say that Nandivarman was the son of Dantivarman. This Dantivarman was a contemporary of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III. (A. D. 782–814). Therefore the Nandi of our poem must have belonged to the middle of the 9th century A. D. We do not propose in this paper to enter into the question of the necessity of postulating a Gaṅga-Pallava dynasty, which has been dealt with by one of us already in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*[16] and which will be dealt with again in detail in a forthcoming paper in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

In the *Bhârata-veṇba* of **Perundêvaṉâr** mention is made of a king who was victorious at Teḻḻâṟu. If this reference is to "Nandippôttaraśar who was victorious at Teḻḻâṟu," we can fairly infer that Perundêvaṉâr was a contemporary of his.

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4 Perhaps *Ugra-kôpaṉ* (a man of fierce anger).

5 *S. I. I.*, Vol. II., pp. 363-364.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 181.

7 No. 12 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1895.

8 No. 11 of the same for 1899.

9 No. 283 of the same for 1901.

10 No. 52 of the same for 1895.

11 No. 36 of the same for 1905.

12 No. 403 of the same for 1905.

13 Cf. Inscriptions Nos. 391, 394 and 395 of the same for 1905.

14 No. 12 of the same for 1895.

15 No. 304 of the same for 1897.

16 *Christian College Magazine* for April, 1907.

As to the country that he ruled over, we find inscriptions of his, as already pointed out, in the Chôḷa, and the Toṇḍḍi-nâḍus, but we have not as yet succeeded in getting any from the Chêra and Koṅgu countries. We cannot say what particular region is denoted by Aḷagainâḍu, but there is a village called Aḷagâpuri in the Pudukkôṭṭai State. That he was a suzerain of the Bâṇas, who ruled over the *Vaḍa Vêṅgaḍa-nâḍu*, is proved by a number of his inscriptions in the Vêṅgaḍa-nâḍu, which is said therein to belong to the Bâṇa country. Nandi's predecessor, Dantivarman, is mentioned as the overlord of the Bâṇa king **Vijayâditya Mâvali Vâṇarâya**,[17] and his successor, Nṛipatuṅga, as overlord of **Vâṇa Vijjâdhara**.[18] Nandippôttaraśar himself in an inscription belonging to the 23rd year of his reign is mentioned as suzerain over **Vikramâditya Mâvali Vâṇarâya**.[19]

The poem unfortunately leaves us entirely in the dark as to the person or persons against whom he fought the several battles mentioned. The following passage in verse 64:— "*Teḷḷâṟṟ = aṭṭaṉṟê poṉ Vaigai muṉinda Nandi*" (Nandi who fought on the banks of the golden Vaigai (river) on the same day as at Teḷḷâṟu), leads us to suspect that about the time of the battle at Teḷḷâṟu, the king's forces must have fought another battle on the banks of the Vaigai river in the Madura District.

Of the king's surnames, we have already dealt with Avaṉi-Nâraṇaṉ. Vîḍêl-viḍugu occurs in inscriptions found at Tiruvallam, Tiruppalâttuṟai, Conjeevaram, &c. The meaning of this term is not clear. But we meet with similar names such as, Mâṟpiḍugu,[20] Pagâppiḍugu[21] for Dantivarman and Mahêndravarman respectively. The last part of the surname means the thunderbolt in the Kannaḍa and Telugu languages. The other surnames given in the poem are not met with in inscriptions.

The following places are mentioned in the poem as the scenes of the king's battles, *viz.*, Teḷḷâṟu, Naḷḷâṟu, Paḻaiyâṟu, Kurugôḍu and Veḷḷâṟu. Of these Teḷḷâṟu is a village in the Wandiwash Taluk of the North Arcot District; Naḷḷâṟu is famous for its Śaiva temple of Darbhâraṇyêśvara, and is situated in the French Settlement of Kâraikkâl in the Tanjore District; Paḻaiyâṟu is perhaps the same as Paḻaiyâṟai, a village about three miles to the south of Kumbhakonam, also in the Tanjore District. There are two places called Kurugôḍu, one in the Bellary Taluk of the Bellary District and another in the Kolar District of the Mysore Province. The former is called simply Kurugode, while the latter is called Doḍḍa Kurugode. In the first mentioned are several ruins, consisting of beautiful temples of the Chalukya style of architecture, a fine fort on a hill, and it was one of the strongholds of Tippu Sultan. The latter is believed to be an old capital of the Gangas. Veḷḷâṟu is the name of two rivers, one of which runs between the South Arcot and the Trichinopoly Districts, while the other passes through the Pudukkôṭṭai State. Which of these two rivers is meant by the poem we are not able to judge from the reference.

The Bâhûr plates assert that Dantivarman, the father, and Nṛipatungavarman, the son of Nandivarman, were devout worshippers of the lotus feet of Vishṇu. The *Kalambagam* describes Nandi as "*Śivaṉai muḻudu = maṟavâda chintaiyâṉ*," verse 97 (one whose mind never forgot Śiva).

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[17] No. 226 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for the year 1903.

[18] No. 228 of the same for the year 1903.

[19] No. 220 of the same for the year 1903.

[20] No. 541 of the same for the year 1905.

[21] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II., p. 341. See also the footnote 5 on the same page.

MISCELLANEA.

THE FAUJDÂRÎ OF BANGASH.

The Bangashât or 'two Bangashes' included Upper Bangash, the modern Kurram Valley, and Lower Bangash or Kohât. Under the Mughals both constituted a *faujdârî* which appears to have gradually been confined to Lower Bangash, *i. e.*, Kohât. Its history can be traced for more than a century.

THE *faujdâr* of Bangash appears to have been independent of the Sûbahdârs of Kâbul, as was apparently the case in all the Provinces of the Mughal Empire. Under Akbar the *tomân* of Bangash[1] had lain in the Sarkâr and Sûbah of Kâbul, but in 1627, after the death of the emperor Jahângîr, Lashkar Khân became *sûbahdâr* of "Kâbul and the Bangashât."

According to another account, however, Sa'îd Khân was *faujdâr* of Bangash in 1627, for in that year he marched from Kohât to relieve Peshâwar, then besieged by the Afghâns, who had risen on the news of Jahângîr's death.

In 1631-32 (1041 H.), Sa'îd Khân superseded Lashkar Khân in the *sûbahdârî*, and Shamsher Khân was made *faujdâr* of the two Bangashes. Three years later in 1634-35, Râjâ Jagat Singh was appointed *thânadâr* or *faujdâr* of the Bangashât, with orders to collect supplies of provisions to send to Kâbul, whither Muhammad Dârâ Shikoh was about to proceed, Shâh Jahân following in person, in consequence of the Persian designs on Kandahâr.

In 1638 Jagat Singh still held this office, or had been re-appointed to it, for in the following year he was directed to pour supplies into Kâbul, during Shâh Jahân's stay there. Shâh Jahân returned to Lahore *viâ* Upper Bangash and Kohât, and the prince was directed to follow later. At Kohât, Jagat Singh got up a hunt, during which 56 *mârkhor*, besides other big game, were killed. How long Jagat Singh continued to be *faujdâr* of the Bangashât does not appear, but in May, 1675, Khanjar Khân became their *thânadâr* or *faujdâr*, apparently superseding Muhammad Wafâ, *thânadâr* of the Resâî Ferry and Kohât, who had been appointed in January of that year. This was after the unsuccessful attack of the Mughals on Sherghar in the Âdam Khel Afrîdî country. In the next year Iftikhâr Khân was appointed *faujdâr* of the Bangashât. He did not hold the office long, for about 1677 we find Ahmad, a Sayyid, brother of Shahâmat Khân,[2] *faujdâr*, and in 1680 Lashkar Khân, who turned the Khaṭṭaks out of Kohât, held the post, but only for a short time, for Tarîn Khân the next *faujdâr* was reduced to great straits by the Malik-Mîrîs of Kohât, who held the Bâlâ Hisâr of Kohât. Then, in 1685, Râjâ Râm Singh became *faujdâr* of Kohât and Bangash, and we find him refusing to obey the order of Amîr Khân, the Sûbahdâr of Kâbul, to arrest Ashraf Khân the Khaṭṭak The next *faujdâr* must have been one Abdu'l-Hâdî. a worthless fellow, son of Iftikhâr Khân. Appointed in or after 1695, he was succeeded by Fakhar Khân before 1706, and about 1708, Allâhdâd Kheshkî was appointed, but he was afraid to take up his office and sent a deputy.

About 1718, Ahmad Beg Khân, Ming-bâshî, was *faujdâr*.

After or in 1722 Yûlbârs Khân became *faujdâr* of Bangash.

H. A. ROSE.

A BAKER'S DOZEN OF CATCHES FROM THE JHANG DISTRICT, PANJAB.

COLLECTED AND TRANSLATED BY M. LONGWORTH DAMES, I. C. S. (RETIRED).

I.

My Wife.

Sāhib dittā jālnā ran kujajje nāl.
Hāthi vāngoṅ patlī, tave vāngoṅ lāl.
Kārā khāndī roṭīāṅ, kunnā pīwe dāl.
Chappar pāyā ghaghṛā, trūā kare rumāl.
Gadhā vangoṅ hingdī, sāre vehṛe dā singār.

Translation.

God has given me to live with a hideous woman,
As slender as an elephant, as red as a griddle.
She eats a basket of bread and drinks a *degchī* of *dāl*.
Her skirt is a thatch and her handkerchief a grass-mat.
She brays like a donkey, and is the ornament of the courtyard.

II

Topsy-turvy Land.

Jaggū sande bol phutte.
Bakriāṅ kasāī kuṭṭe.
Bhaunkan chor 'te nasan kutte.
Vainde chor Kirāṛāṅ muthe.
Mīhāṅ ute chappar uṭṭe.
'Bagal na chik, dāntrī phāṭdī hai.'

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[1] The *mahâll* of Teri Bolâq was a royal *jâgîr*, or fief, which generally pertained to the *faujdârî* of Lower Bangash.

[2] He had a *thana* as post at the Tâpî of Hangû.

Translation.

Let the world hear a topsy-turvy saying.
The goats slaughter the butchers.
The thieves bark and the dogs bolt.
The Kiṛāṛs come and rob the thieves.
The thatch falls upon the rain.
And 'Don't pull the blanket or the sickle will be torn.'

III.

Another Version.

Chor uchakkā chaudhrī, lundī ran pardhān.

Translation.

Thieves and blackguards are headmen, and prostitutes respectable women.

IV.

My Lover.

Mil-gayā yār karoṛī.
Lat-pat vaḍī, muhabbat thoṛī.
Vikhendā darwāza tap-vendā mohrī.

Translation.

I have got a lover of a thousand.[1]
Much talk and little love.
Shows himself at the door and gets out by the drain.

V.

The Jaṭṭ.

Jaṭṭ toṅ bhala mūl na bhāl.
Jaṭṭ vigāṛī murshid nāl.
Jaṭṭ bulāiṅyāṅ khaḍe ghāl,
Sir-toṅ lāh-ke māre bhūīṅ.
Lahnī hik na dewne dūīṅ.

Translation.

Never think a Jaṭṭ good.
A Jaṭṭ will quarrel with his religious adviser.
If you call a Jaṭṭ he will abuse you,
He will take off his head (his turban) and fling it on the ground,
There is neither first taking nor second giving with him.

VI.

The Bad Wife.

Bhaiṛī ran dā bhaiṛā chāl.
Chhule ute ros bāl.
Aṭe ghundeāṅ khurke vāl.
Nak phojindī godiyāṅ nāl.

Translation.

An evil wife has an evil gait,
Her child cries on the hearth,
She scratches her head while she grinds the meal,
And wipes her nose upon her knees.

VII.

Another Version.

Bhaiṛī ran Khudā dī chaṭī
Na māri-vanje na saṭī.

Translation.

A bad wife is a punishment from God;
She can be neither killed nor thrown away.

VIII.

The Wicked Woman.

Hik nār ku-lachan, hāṅ dā sāṛā,
Jherā kendī, vehṛā phāṛā.

Translation.

A wicked woman, burner of the heart,
Stirs up strife and splits the household (*lit.*, the courtyard).

IX.

Misfits.

Trehī kamm kurāh;
Mard nuṅ chakkī;
'Aurat nuṅ rāh;
Sadhe nuṅ gāh.

Translation.

There are three bad roads:
A handmill to a man;
A road to a woman;
Treading out the corn to a bull-buffalo.

X.

Vanity.

Jab gund parāndā, mera jhuggā ujaṛ-jāndā.

Translation.

Do up my back hair at once, or my house will be ruined.

XI.

Bad Habits Stick.

'Illat na vanje 'iltiyāṅ,
Ādat mūl na jā.
Uṭh kanak-ke choṛiye,
Chug jawāhāṅ khā.
Kuttā rāj bahāiye,
Chakkī chaṭan jā.
Bhed ke jāne popale?
Pad-baheṛe khā.

Translation.

An evil custom is not given up,
Nor a habit abandoned.
A camel will leave wheat
And graze on camel-thorn;
If you make a dog king,
He will go to lick the millstone.
What does a sheep know of fruit?
It will eat toadstools.

XII.

Horses and Women.

Madhrī, chaghrī, khānkī,
Mathe ute wat,
Ṭuriāṅ[2] diāṅ eh ṣifatīṅ,
Nārīṅ chaur chapat.

[1] *Lit.*, of a *karoṛ*.

[2] Arabic طره

Translation.

Low stature, fatness, greediness,
And a spot on the forehead
Are good qualities in horses
And very bad in women.

XIII.

Heredity.

Ghoṛe, munsī, hāthīeṅ, rag nānehāri.

Translation.

Horses, men, and elephants take after the maternal grandmother.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE LATE MAJOR RAVERTY'S GENERAL INDEX TO HIS TRANSLATIONS.

THE accompanying list of works by the late Major Raverty in the possession of his widow is published for the information of scholars who may desire to know of them and to communicate with her at Grampound Road, Cornwall, England. They consist chiefly of MS. translations into English of vernacular works on Indian History. The list was compiled by Major Raverty himself.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Volume I.

Habib-us-Siyar, pages 1 to 10.
Conquest of the 'Arabs in Khurasan.
The Race who ruled in Iran.
Tahiris — Kara Khitaes in Kirmān.
Saffaris — Aghwānī and Jarmāe Hazārahs.
Samanis — The Kurat Dynasty.
Ghazniwis — Extracts from Life of Tīmūr.
Ghuris — His Descendants to end.
Khwarazmīs — Saljuks—Chingiz Khān.
Slips inserted "Extracts from Babar as to Hazārahs," etc.

Volume II.

Descendants of Tīmūr to page 278.
Accounts of Zu-ūn-Nūn, Arghūn-Ulugh Beg at Kabul.
Shah Isma'īl, Ṣafawi, and Uzbaks.
Bābar from Tabakāt-i-Akbarī.
Sher Khan — Sher Shāh and successors.
Akbar Badshah.
(*See* also Vol. 7 for extracts from Tuḥfat-i-Akbar-Shāhī.)

Volume III.

Reign of Akbar Badshah.
History of Kashmīr.
Reign of Jahan-gīr.
Reign of Shāh-i-Jahan.
Reign of Aurang-Zeb.

Volumes IV and V.

Contain the reign of Aurang-Zeb.
Reign of Bahādur Shāh.

Volume VI.

Descendants of Aurang-Zeb to end.
(With it are Travels of Ghulām Muhammad).
Translations as to Mansabs and Sarkārs in Aīn-i-Akbari.

Volume VII.

Extracts Geographical from Kitāb-i-Asār ul-Bilād.
Extracts from Tuḥfat-i-Akbar-Shāhī continued from page 320 of Vol. 2 (Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī).
Ibn-al-Wardī.
Extract from Al-Ma'sūdī (Sprenger's).
Tārīkh-i-Haft Iklīm—Geographical Extracts from the Masālik-wo-Mamālik ; more extracts from Haft Iklīm.
Miscellaneous Notes on various Hindū Rulers.
Extracts from Tarīkh-i-Salāṭin—descendants of Bābar in Hind.
Geographical extracts.

Volume VIII.

Abd-ullāh bin Khurdād Bih from the Gardaizī.
(On opposite side Alfi—year 195 H. Some Chach-nāma too).
As to Hindus from Khurdād Bih. Tabari to 84 year — Gardaizī — On ancient rulers of 'Ajam.
As to the Turks—From Lubb one side, from Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh on the opposite page.
The Hākims of Turkistān.
The Ḳarā Khitāes.
Jahān Arā on Turks.

Volume IX.

Yāfa'ī-Khwarazm Shahs, Gūr Khāns and Ilaks.
Gardaizi continued.
Alfi on opposite leaves.
Eras of Different Nations.
Fanakatī on the معرفت of Zamīn-i-Hind. Tibbat too.
Date of Shākamūni's birth and tenets.
Short Geographical extract on Wilāyat of Shāst, etc., the birthplace, residence and place of burial of some saint.
Mīrzā Ḥaidar's Account of Tibbat.
Saljūks from Alfī, including notices of the Bughrā Khan, etc. Hirat also, Ghur, and other places—several years of Alfī.
Part of Tārīkh-i-Rashidi.

Volume X.

Particulars in History of Hirāt and Marw from Fasihī, etc., and events of those parts yearly, up to 744 H. Nikūdarīs too.

Extract from 'Abd-ul-Karīm Bukhārī.

Short Extract on Khwarazm.

Balkh MS. on the Mughals, Turks, and Tattars.

Extracts from Bū-Rihān — titles of different rulers.

Extracts from Bom. Lit. Soc. on Brinjaris, Kattiawār.

Haukil of Major W. Anderson.

Extracts from Accounts of Jammū Rājahs — 8th year of Alfī—Khilāfat of 'Usmān.

Badghais, Ghur, Gharjistan, etc., conquests beyond the Oxus—Turkistān and the Queen of the Turks — The Kābul Shāh and all events up to the death of Ṭāhir-i-Zū-l-Yamanain—More from Tabari.

Volume XI.

On the Afghāns Akhūnd Darwezah and Khush-ḥāl Khān.

Volume XII.

History of Hindūstān from Tabaḳāt-Akbarī, Budāūni, etc.

Bābar from Khāfī Khān with extracts from Alfi and others.

Humāyūn also — extensive extracts.

Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, rough drafts to death of the Changiz Khān.

Kings of Dakhan, etc., independent rulers of Hindūstān.

Volume XIII.

Hindus' History of Hindūstān.

Extracts from Dow and Briggs. Yafa'ī — Short extract on Mu'izz-ud-Dīn.

Volume XIV.

Mīr Ma'ṣūm, History of Sind.

Afghāns of Hind extract.

History of Bābar from his Tuzūk.

History of Humāyūn.

History of Akbar, Zubd-ut-Tārīkh, and others.

Volume XV.

Tārīkh-i-Tabarī, copious extracts.

Kitāb-i-Fatūh — Conquests of the 'Arabs.

Jāmi'-ul-Tāwarīkh

Khalifahs of the House of 'Abbās and notices of Sind, etc.

Extracts from the Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī on early Dynasties, Prophets, etc.

Nizami on same subject.

Kings of Iran, Zamīn.

Ṭabaḳāt i-Nāṣīrī with copious additions from Tarikh-i-Ibrāhimī Tabari, Guzīdah, Jami-ut-Tāwārīkh, Majma'-ut-Tāwārīkh, Rauzat-us-Ṣafā, Ṭāhir Muhammad, etc.

Volume XVI.

Guzīdah — Atabāks — Account of Turks and Mughals from the beginning. Account of Khwārazm Shāhs, of Ṭughril Beg, Saljūkī, and successors, etc.

Saljūks of Kirmān, Yāfa'ī Nur-ud-Dīn, Atabaks, etc. — Guzīdah.

The Īl-Khāns of Irân.

Other Extracts from Baihaki, Jahān Ārā, Guzīdah on "Shārs of Gharjistan." Togha Timūrīs—Gūrgānīahs, Harīrī Ighûr tribes.

Rulers of Ghûr.

Rulers of Turkistān — The Ilak Khān from Hasan—Jūjī Khān's descendants.

Sultāns of Māwarā-un-Nahr Mughals.

Abu-l-Khair (Uzbaks), Sultans of Khwārazm.

Tārīkh-i-Shams-i-Sirāj—Tattâr Khān's descent.

Volume XVII.

Extracts from Rauẓat-us-Saffā.

Rule of Hajjāj in 'Irāḳ and progress of 'Arabs eastwards. Yafai on the same subjects.

Amīr Tīmūr's Life. Afghans submit to him.

Tīmūr's Invasion of Hindūstān.

Mirza Kaidū's doings — Afghāns too; account of Sabuk-Tigīn — The Afghāns and Maḥmud —Life complete, etc., etc.

On the Chronology of Kitāe from Fanakati.

Volume XVIII.

Extracts from Rashīd Khān's Account of Darā Shukoh's Campaign against Kandāhar. "On Mummy" or "Mumiah." Account of the Hazarah District of the Panj-Āb.

Volumes XIX, XX, and XXI.

Translation of the Tārīkh-i-Alfī.

Volume XXII.

The Muhammadan Dynasties.

Volume XXIII.

Jami'-ut-Tāwārīkh on the Mughals, etc.

Volume XXIV.

Ghuzr Turkmāns—History of Jaunpur, etc., etc.

Completed Works.

The History of Hirī or Hirāt, and its Dependencies, from the Foundation of the old city in the time of the Kaiānīān Kings of Irān, and—

The Annals of Khurāsān from its Conquest by the 'Arabs, and Death of the last Akāsirah Monarch down to the Present Day and its Last Investment.

Three MS. Books of Stories, from the earliest times to 916 H. (1510-11 A. D.).

The Mahdi.

A Brief History of the Rise of the Ismāiliah Khalifahs of Afrikiah and also of the Mizariah Isma'iliah of Persia to the period of the destruction of their Temporal Power by the Mughals.

A History of the Mings or Hazarahs of the Chingiz or Great Khan, etc.

Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Conrad of Montferrat from Muhammadan Chronicles.

H. A. Rose.

BOOK-NOTICE.

VINCENT A SMITH. The Early History of India from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the invasion of Alexander the Great. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Oxford: Clarendon Press, [March 9], 1908. 14s. net.

MR. Vincent Smith's History of India has been a great success, and the fact that a new edition has already become necessary sufficiently shows that his work really supplied a long-felt want. There cannot be any doubt that Mr. Smith has many qualifications for undertaking the work and doing it well. He writes with great clearness, and he knows how to impart something of his own enthusiasm for that long-neglected field — Indian History. He has, therefore, rendered a real service in spreading knowledge in circles which did not formerly take any interest in the matter and in providing a handy book of reference.

As everybody knows, Indian History presents extraordinary difficulties, and nobody would expect all of them to be overcome, even in the second edition of a book like the present one, which, moreover, addresses itself to a larger public and not only, or even principally, to the scholar. The remarks which I intend to make in the following are not intended to detract from the value of Mr. Smith's book. They are offered in a perfectly friendly spirit for the consideration of the author, when he will have to prepare a third edition. I offer them with the less hesitation, as his own judgment about the writings of others is often hard, whether he characterises the taste of a famous Indian writer as the worst possible (p. 316), or categorically declares the views of other scholars to be wrong. Even when his verdicts are less definite, I sometimes miss the consideration due to excellent work: thus when he declares Senart's standard work on the Aśôka inscriptions to be "largely obsolete."[1]

To return to the book itself, I think that some objection can be raised against its general plan. The treatment of the different parts is very uneven. Generally speaking, the book almost exclusively deals with Northern India, and it gives the impression of being intended as an interesting sketch of such periods as are comparatively well-known rather than to furnish a well-balanced treatise of Indian History in its entirety. This may be a result of the somewhat popular character of the work, but even so I do not think Mr. Smith is justified in filling 68 out of 429 pages with a description of Alexander's Indian Campaign, though this latter episode "may claim to make a special appeal to the interest of readers trained in the ordinary course of classical studies." Four and-a-half of these 68 pages form an appendix about Aornos and Embolima, with remarks which the author himself declares to have been largely refuted since the first edition of his book was published. Considering the small immediate results of Alexander's expedition, it would have seemed more sensible to devote more space to the history of his successors. In this way it might also have proved possible to make at least some remarks about the ethnographical and political relations revealed by the *Mahâbhârata*, even if "the modern critic fails to find sober history in bardic tales." The fact remains that the *Mahâbhârata* problems belong to the most important ones in Indian civilisation, and it would seem necessary at least to draw attention to them in a book dealing with ancient Indian History.

A more serious objection is that the author often makes categorical statements without quoting his authorities or weighing the arguments that make against his views. The ordinary reader will accept such statements even in cases where Mr. Smith's authority is not comparable with that of his opponents. More reserve would not, I think, have been out of place in many cases. I shall take some instances.

When speaking about the influence of Greek civilisation, Mr. Smith on p. 226 in the text treats the hypothesis of the Greek origin of the Indian drama as a proved fact, and only mentions in a footnote that most scholars are of a different opinion. Most readers do not care about footnotes, and Mr. Smith's remark is sure to produce a wrong impression in wide circles.

On the very next page we read that there is no evidence that Greek architecture was ever introduced into India. It is very difficult to understand what he means in saying so. If he only wants to say that no really Greek building is known to have been erected, the remark seems to be rather superfluous. What he says gives the impression that only a few Ionic pillars can be pointed out as traces of Greek influence.

The remarks about the Gandhâra sculptures are of the same kind. We are told on p. 227 that they are of late date and the offspring of cosmopolitan Græco-Roman art. Scholars know that this is Mr. Smith's private opinion, but general readers will certainly get the impression that it is the accepted theory, which is by no

[1] In this connexion it may not be out of the way to note that a new edition of all the Aśôka inscriptions by a competent scholar, is already under preparation.

means the case. People who know inform me that the technique is certainly Greek and not Roman. Foucher mentions the fish-god with the double tail as one of the Greek elements in Gandhâra art. If this is the case, and I do not doubt it, it will probably be necessary to date the Gandhâra sculptures back to at least the times of Menander, for the same fish-god figures on a Mauryan rail dug out by Mr. Marshall and myself at Sârnâth this winter. It cannot be urged against an early date for the Gandhâra sculptures that they have developed the idea of the Bôdhisattva, because it has not been, and I think cannot be, proved that the Bôdhisattva is a late development in Buddhism. Nor does Mr. Smith's dictum that the Mahâyâna was largely of foreign origin carry immediate conviction. That the Gandhâra school knew other Bôdhisattvas than the prince Siddhârtha, is certain enough. Maitrêya with his flask, sometimes standing and sometimes sitting in European fashion, has long been recognised (thus in the Lahore Museum Nos. 569, 572, 1127, 1211, 2353), and it is probable that also Avalôkitêśvara is represented. But the great variety of stereotype Bôdhisattvas which we find in the Gupta period, does not exist in Gandhâra. There are indications that the development had set in which finally led to the differentiation of the Bôdhisattvas by means of their Dhyânibuddhas. Thus, I have seen small medallions with a Buddha seated in Dhyânamudrâ over the head of some Bôdhisattvas excavated by Dr. Spooner at Sahribahlol and now exhibited in the Peshawar Museum. If this is, as it would be in later art, Amitâbha, the Bôdhisattva is Avalôkitêśvara. And there are, as pointed out by Dr. Spooner, various forms of the head-dress, from which it will perhaps some day be possible to distinguish various Bôdhisattvas. In this connection I may note the curious half-moon in the head-dress of a Maitrêya in the Lahore Museum (No. R. 2017). There are thus indications that the development resulting in the manifold Bôdhisattva types of later times had already set in. But the conception is throughout free, and the stereotype art of the Gupta period seems to be centuries removed from the best Gandhâra school. It must be borne in mind that it is especially the latest phase in Gandhâra art which has been imitated in India, and even in late Mauryan art there are things that point towards the Gandhâra school.

I think it is very risky to base any conclusions on a theory like Mr. Smith's about the age of the Gandhâra school, which does not account for important features and which is certainly not generally adopted. But the author probably wanted the theory for his dating of Kanishka. He states, again categorically and without proofs, that the best examples of Gandhâra art belong to the time of Kaṇishka and his successors, and "numismatic evidence alone proves conclusively that Kaṇishka lived at a time considerably later than the Christian era" I do not think that it is possible to dogmatise in this way. It seems to me impossible to bring Kaṇishka down to the same time as Chashṭana and other princes mentioned by Ptolemy. The fact that the Kushana art in so many points seems to be a direct continuation of the Mauryan, is strongly against such an assumption. And I am unable to see how the Mathurâ inscription of Śoṇḍâsa from Saṁvat 72 can be placed in 105 B. C, while Kushaṇa inscriptions found in the same locality and dated in the same way are brought down to the second century A. D., or later. But I do not feel competent to take up the thorny question of the Kaṇishka era. It still remains one of the most important problems in Indian history, though very much has of late been done, especially by Dr. Fleet, towards its solution. I think, however, that Mr Smith would have done a greater service if he had pointed out more strongly how little advanced our knowledge about the matter actually is. This also applies to other parts of his book where he, apparently, brings order into the chronological chaos. His arguments are not always convincing. It is, *e. g.*, not evident why the traditional period of 100 years assigned to the two generations of the Nandas should be impossible. It is a well-known fact that many Indian kings had exceptionally long reigns. I shall only refer to the fact that the Eastern Gaṅga king, Chôḍagaṅga, who ascended the throne in A. D. 1078, reigned for 70 years, and was succeeded by three sons, who reigned 10, 15, and and 25 years, respectively, while a younger brother of the last one, who is not expressly stated to be a son of Chôḍagaṅga, subsequently reigned 10 years. This brings the total for these two generations up to 130 years. I do not say that the traditional period assigned to the Nandas is correct, but Mr. Smith is hardly justified in putting it aside simply because it does not suit the chronological system adopted.

On the whole I think Mr. Smith's book conveys the false impression that considerably more is known about the ancient history of India than is actually the case. Everything sounds so plausible, that nobody who does not know, understands how great the difficulty really is. In this connection I will also mention the tendency of the author to tell us that there is reason to believe that the development has been such and

such, or that certain solutions of the problems are probable. The ordinary reader will think that there is sufficient proof in such cases, though very commonly there is not. I only wish to call attention to the statement that the oldest Burmese Buddhism was probably of the Mahâyânist form, introduced from India. This theory appears to be very commonly held in Europe, and Mr. Smith already wrote about it several years ago. It was originally started by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, but the proofs adduced by him have failed to convince me. He takes his arguments from Burmese tradition, which is not a very trustworthy source, and, besides, he argues from some archæological finds, which can, all of them, be satisfactorily explained in other ways. And so far as I can see, the whole foundation is so weak that the theory cannot be said to have been made probable. It would lead me much too far to take it up for discussion in this place, and I only want to point out that, in my opinion, it would have been much better not to mention it at all in a book like that under review.

The history of Buddhism does not, on the whole, play a great rôle in the book. The author remarks that his account of the Buddhist leanings of two Gupta kings is new. It has, however, been known for some time that the rule of the Guptas saw the highest development of Buddhist monasteries in India. Not less than three big Gupta monasteries have been found in Sârnâth alone, and we know also that Kumâragupta dedicated statues to the Buddha.[2]

Some of the author's remarks about topography are also misleading. Thus the designation of new Râjagṛiha as the lower town, while the old and new towns are on a level, though the old one is surrounded by hills; the remarks about Kaṇishka's stûpa as situated at Shâhjî-kî-Dhêrî outside the Lahore gate of Peshâwar, though the locality an question lies just outside the Ganj gate, and it is extremely doubtful whether it really marks the site of the old stûpa; and above all, his statements about the site of Śrâvastî. I have personally always thought that the excavation of the famous Bôdhisattva statue at Set Mahet was sufficient proof that that place is the old Śrâvastî, but Mr. Vincent Smith has not admitted this. Now, Dr. Vogel has found the mutilated inscription on the umbrella staff belonging to the statue among the antiquities found by Mr. Hoey in Set Mahet, and deposited in the Lucknow Museum; and Paṇḍit Daya Ram has, some months ago, found a copper-plate in Set Mahet registering a donation to the Jêtavana. I think that most scholars will consider these proofs as sufficient.

I do not think it would be fair to give a complete list of the details where I think the author's statements will have to be modified. The above remarks are only meant to illustrate the most serious defect of the book, the insufficiency with which the author quotes his authorities and gives his reasons. Those who do not know are often unable to decide whether an individual statement represents an established fact or simply a hypothesis by the author. On the whole, however, I think that Mr. Vincent Smith's *Ancient History of India* is an extremely useful book, for which we have every reason to be thankful.

The proof-reading has not always been satisfactory. Compare the nasty misprints *Kushân* (the printer has introduced this form throughout); *Kautalya* (p 38); *Kâṅva* (p. 193); *shâshtra* (p. 199); *Vâśishta* (p. 197); *Kâ-gyur* (p. 250); *jay-askandhâvâra* (p. 367), and so on. Some etymologies offered by the author such as Kharwâr = Gaharwâr; Thânêsar = Sthânvîśvara; Bhîl = Villavar, might also be challenged. But most of them are of no importance for the history of the period. The state of affairs is a little different where he uses the form *Chaḍa* occurring on Andhra coins as a support of the tradition of the Purâṇas that there was an Andhra king Chandra. In the first place I fail to see how *chaḍa* can correspond to Sanskrit *chandra*. In the second place, the actual name occurring on the coins is *Chaḍasâta*, and that this is the real name is proved by an inscription found some time ago by Mr. Rea on the top of a hill at Kodavalu in the Ganjam District. Though the impressions I have seen are insufficient for giving a full translation, it is quite certain that it begins:

sidhaṁ rañô Vâsiṭhîputasa sâmi-siri-Chaḍasâtasa savachharê . . . .

STEN KONOW.

[2] When dealing with the Guptas on p. 276 f., the author makes a curious statement which cannot but create confusion. He first mentions the satrap Rudradâman (middle of 2nd century), and then proceeds to state that Samudragupta (4th century) received an embassy from Rudrasêna, son of Rudradâman, without drawing attention to the fact that this is a different Rudradâman. In connexion with the Guptas I may also mention the questionable use of so common a term as "augmenting and victorious reign," on p. 290. Of similar kind is the printing of a "fac-simile" of Harsha's handwriting on p. 316. I think everyone will agree with the late Prof. Bühler, that "if king Harsha really used these characters in signing all legal documents, he must have been a most accomplished penman, and the cares of government and the conquest of India must have left him a great deal of leisure." Compare also the use made of the word *jayaskandhâvâra* on p. 367.

REFERENCES TO THE BHOTTAS OR BHAUTTAS IN THE RAJATARANGINI OF KASHMIR.

Translations and Notes on the Sanskrit Texts

BY PANDIT DAYA RAM SAHNI.

Notes from the Tibetan Records

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

I.

The References contained in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī.[1]

Kalhaṇa *Rājat.* I, 312 contains a note on a raiding expedition into Kashmir undertaken by impure Dāradas, **Bhauṭṭas**, and Mlecchas in the days of Mihirakula, *c.* 510 A. D.

Kalhaṇa *Rājat.* IV, 168, refers to Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa's expeditions against the **Bhauṭṭas**, probably *c.* 722 A. D.

Kalhaṇa *Rājat.* VIII., 2886-2888. The pretender Bhoja, who rebelled in the reign of King Jayasiṁha, 1120-1149 A. D., is advised by his Dard allies to march through the **Bhauṭṭa territory** to the seat of the powerful Trillaka. Whether he acted according to this advice or not, we do not know.

Tibetan Notes.

It is only with regard to the second reference that any light can be thrown from the Tibetan records.

The Tibetan emperor **Khri-srong-lde-btsan**, who reigned from *c.* 728 to 786 A. D., is said in the *rGyal-rabs* to have conquered all the neighbouring nations, the Chinese, the Baltis, **the Turks**, and the Dards of Gilgit (Brushal).[2] All Western Tibet was in his power. His successful campaigns must have taken place **after 750 A. D.**, for in 751 A. D. **the Arabs** gained a victory over the Chinese and compelled the latter to abandon Gilgit, as well as their other possessions in the extreme West. See Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, Sect. II and III.

That Khri-srong-lde-btsan's name was known in Western Tibet, is made probable by the Balu-mkhar Inscription (see *ante*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 203), where the custom-house officer mentioned in the inscription was plainly called after the emperor, his name being Khri-shong[3] 'abum-ydugs. The power of the Tibetan empire in those days is attested by the *Annals* of the Chinese Tang dynasty, and perhaps also by the eighth century Inscription at Endere in Tibetan, which speaks of a victory of the Tibetans over the Chinese. See Stein, *Ancient Khotan, Detailed Report,* p. 569, Inscription C. So that it is quite possible that before 750 A. D., the Kashmiris did assist the Chinese during their successful wars with the Tibetans, the object of which was to gain a foothold at Gilgit, as shown by Chavannes and Stein.

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1 As Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī* has been already exhaustively treated by Dr. M. A. Stein, it is unnecessary to do more here than merely mention the references to the Bhauṭṭas which are contained in that work.

2 I wish to draw attention to Sarat Ch. Das' note on *Bru-thsa, Bruzha,* or *Brusha* (forms of the name of Brushal, *i.e.*, Gilgit). He says: "We have in the *bKā-'agyur* certain treatises in incomprehensible syllables asserted to be in the Brusha language." These treatises are apparently written in the ancient Dard language, and should be of the greatest importance as relics of an ancient Dard literature.

3 (For *srong*).

The best proof of a former Tibetan occupation of Gilgit is the occurrence of a considerable number of Tibetan words in the Dard language of Gilgit. The following are a few specimens: *chunno*, Tib. *chungba*, small ; *tiki*, Tib. *taki*, bread ; *darum*, Tib. *darung*, yet ; *kore*, Tib. *kore*, cup ; *zanglug*, Tib. *zangbu*, copper-kettle ; *zhu*, Tib. *zhu*, greeting ; *gushe* [*boni*], Tib. *gusces*, to bow ; [*zhegga*] *mi sto*, Tib. *mi sto*, 'does not matter.' — A man called G͟holam Shah, or G͟holam Ali, from the house **Komer** (**Yarrakot**), **Gilgit**, tells me that on a stone in his field there is an ancient **Tibetan** inscription and an old *mchod-rten*, also containing a **Tibetan inscription.** Tibetan cremation tablets can be found there as well.

II.

Jonarāja's Rājataraṅgiṇī (verses 157 — 254.)

The history of Riñchana Bhoti.

(157) At that time the Bhoṭṭa princes, named Kālamānyas deceitfully slew, in their territory, one Vakatanya, the son of a descendant of their dynasty, together with his kinsmen.

(158) One of his (Vakatanya's) sons, Riñchana by name, honourable and possessed of an uncommon intellect — a wild fire (as it were) to the Kālamānya[4] family, escaped by chance.

(159) Having patched up an alliance with Vyāla, Ṭukka and others, who had combined together with secret plans and policies, he resolved to vanquish those fools (Kālamānyas).

(160) Through a messenger, he requested his enemies to enroll him as a servant, for his funds were running short.

(161) With his weapons concealed in sand, that lion among men (Riñchana), awaited them (the Kālamānyas) on the banks of the river, in order to drink their blood and not (to receive) riches.

(162) The Kālamānyas who approached the place unarmed, were destroyed by Vyāla and the others, like grass, by the fire of the axes (formerly) hidden in the sand.

(163) Having washed off the soil of the treason against his father, with the blood of his enemies, he went away to Kashmir together with his kinsmen for fear of the remaining enemies.

(164) The sun of the land[5] suffered in the sky the rise of Riñchana, like that of Rahu, as a safeguard against the ascendency of that full-moon, Rāmachandra.

(165) In that fire — Ḍulucha[6] who consumed the country with his flaming sword — all the people of Kashmir became like moths.

(166) The eastern and northern districts being occupied by Ḍulcha and Riñcha, the people first fled in the western and then in southern direction.[7]

(167) (Like) *punnāga* plants laden with fruit and requiring shade, the distinguished and wealthy (though) seeking protection, were threatened in the valley by a flood of water in the shape of Ḍulcha, and on the mountains, by the wind-storm, Riñchana.

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[4] The text has Kālamātṛi, evidently an error.

[5] Sūhadeva, King of Kashmīr.

[6] Ḍulucha, a Turkish (Turuṣka) invader. [Dr. J. Ph. Vogel].

[7] The region of Yama, the God of Death, lies in the south.

(168) The swift soldiery of Riñchana carried away the inhabitants of Kashmir like a swift kite, a young bird fallen from (its) nest.

(169) Having acquired wealth like water from the Bhoṭṭas by the sale of the people of Kashmir, the raving Riñchana held all quarters like a thunder-cloud.[8]

(195) By his prowess did Ḍulcha overpower (the country, and when he was gone), Riñchana became predominant. Unchaste women are happy (when) darkness prevails over the world.

(196) Riñchana obscured the king delivered from Ḍulcha, by his increasing supremacy as does the western mountain, the moon freed from an eclipse, by its lofty peak.

(197) Seeing that sun, Riñchana, standing on the top of the mountain of heaven, who did not suspect the imminent decline of the moon-like king?

(198) Rāmachandra, the moon of his race, at every step opposed that royal falcon Riñchana in his attempt to seize the piece of flesh in the shape of the city (Śrīnagar).

(199) Bent on fraud, Riñchana every day sent Bhoṭṭas into the Lahara Fort under the pretence of selling cloth.

(200) When the Bhoṭṭa people had thus been introduced into the fort of Lahara, Riñchana caused their weapons to drink the honey of Rāmachandra's blood.

(201) The large-armed Riñchana planted on his breast queen Koṭa, that *kalha*-creeper in the garden of Rāmachandra's house.

(202) For fear of the illustrious Riñchana, the king (Sūhadeva) then left the town; how could prosperity sprout in one burnt by the fire of a Brāhmana's curse[9]?

(203) Afraid, that jackal of a king took refuge in the Pramaṇḍala (?) cave; how could such a sinner encounter death on the battle-field?

(204) Oh marvel! The cloud of enemies, by showers of the blood of the king on the battle-field, dried the eyes of the twice-born who (by the king) had been made to pay fines.

(205) For nineteen years, four months less five days, did this demon of a king devour the land under the pretence of protection.

(206) The illustrious Suratrâṇa (Sulṭān) Riñchana gave rest to the land weary of the Yavana disturbances, in the lofty window of his arms.

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[8] The next twenty-five verses (170-194) contain a description of the oppressions Dulcha perpetrated in Kashmir, and the devastation accompanying his invasion.

[9] The metaphor is taken from the fact that a roasted seed cannot put forth sprouts.

(207) The district of Kashmir saw again the welfare (enjoyed) under its former kings, as on the disappearance of darkness a man sees everything as he did before.

(208) The Lavanyas[10] who had been so firm at every place, trembled before the prowess of the king, as do lamps in a strong morning breeze.

(209) When a hole had been made by the needle of (the king's) stratagem, and the thread in the shape of an arrow passed through it, Oh wonder, the wallet (patched garment) of the Lavanyas became loosened (instead of fastened).

(210) Where, like a naked man in a thorny wood, he (Riñchana) was entangled, even there did he roam like a bird in the sky.

(211) Though prompt in showing kindness, he for the sake of his subjects' weal, never showed forgiveness to a wicked person, whether son, minister, or friend.

(212) Having caused a division among his powerful enemies of increasing prosperity, he once went hunting,[11] shining with his royal parasol.

(213) On the way, Ṭukka's brother, Timi by name, tormented by heat somewhere in a village, (took) by force some milk from a cowherdess and drank it.

(214) When questioned by the king, who was at once informed by the cowherdess, he denied it all.

(215) Since the cowherdess, though suspected of falsehood, did not lose her firmness, the king caused Timi's stomach to be cut open, in order to ascertain the truth.

(216) By the stream of milk, which gushed forth from his severed stomach, the fame of the king and the lovely face of the cowherdess were brightened.

(217) Two mares belonging to two inhabitants of Vānavāla bore, in a certain forest, two colts which much resembled each other.

(218) The young of one of them having been killed in the forest by a lion, she treated the other colt as her own, owing to its similarity in appearance.

(219) "This is mine, this is mine": thus did the owners of the mares quarrel with each other, and being unable to settle the matter, approached the king.

(220) The king having listened to their dispute, caused the two mares and the colt to be brought to him by his own men.

(221) Since the colt, owing to its youth, playfully gamboled far and wide, (both) the mother and the nurse showed their affection and even neighed.

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[10] Feudal land-owners or barons, also called Dāmaras. [Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.]

[11] Ācchodana. Is it a proper name? [D. R. S.].

(222) As the judges were deaf and dumb, and the parties ready to quarrel, the king took the mares with the colt in a boat to the middle of the Vitasta.

(223) When the sagacious king then threw the colt overboard, the mother at once jumped after it into the river, while the other (only) neighed.

(224) When that king decided dubious cases in this manner, the people thought that the golden age had, as it were, returned.

(225) When the king entreated the illustrious Devasvāmin to initiate him into Saivism he was not admitted, because as a Bhoṭṭa he was not deemed a proper recipient.

(226) Owing to his devotion to the sole service of truth, Viyālarāja was to the king a brother, son, minister, companion, and friend.

(227) Vyāla could undo the deeds of the king, but not the latter of Vyāla. The mind can put down bodily action, but not the body that of the mind.

(228) The pleasure of the king reflected on the tasteful Vyāla, that store of art, destroyed the impenetrable ignorance of the people, as does the light of the sun, reflected on the watery moon, the darkness of the world.

(229, 230) When Ḍulcha was ready to invade Kashmir, Udyānadeva was at once deputed by the king, to turn him back by means of bribes; but when Ḍulucha refused and entered the country, he fled out of fear to the country of Gāndhāra, as soon as he got an opportunity.

(231) The illustrious Udyānadeva intent on taking advantage of (the king's) weakness, and relying on the chief of Gāndhāra, thus addressed Ṭukka and others:

(232) "You will, methinks, go down to hell alive, since craving for honour, you serve an indiscriminating master.

(233) Vyāla enjoys the prosperity acquired by you at the risk of your lives; the hands exert themselves and the tongue enjoys.

(234) The king rolling in wealth, gives all prominence to Vyāla and disregards you, though you belong to a high caste, as Śiva with his limbs besmeared with ashes, makes the serpent his necklace and discards golden ornaments.

(235) On the pretext that he had drunk some milk, the king killed Timi like a fish, (in reality) out of fear of your valour."

(236) Hurt by this message and overwhelmed (*lit.*, blackened) with grief, Ṭukka and his companions attacked the king at once at Viṁśaprastha.

(237) By (a shower of) blows from their (own) sharp swords, Vyāla drove out of their hearts their envy of his sovereignty. The king only fainted.

(238) They (the enemies) then thinking themselves victorious, freed from anger by his (the king's) death and puffed up with pride, entered the city in order to seize the kingdom.

(239) Afraid of receiving another blow, the king for a while lay like one dead; but when he saw the enemies far advanced, he rose again to his royal state.

(240) While these poor-witted men ascended the king's residence, they beheld the king approaching, who had recovered from his swoon.

(241) "Why did you not, why did you not slay the king?": thus did those wicked fools at that time violently accuse each other.

(242) Angry with each other, they pushed one another from the royal palace and caused their own destruction, which (otherwise) should have been caused by the king.

(243) The angry king impaled the wicked survivors; he thus raised them high, but down they went to hell.

(244) The pregnant wives of his Bhoṭṭa enemies, the wrathful king split asunder with his sword, like pods full of seeds (are split) with the nails.

(245) The pain in the king's heart arising from his anger at their treason was allayed by the destruction of their race, but not that in the head caused by the blows of their swords.

(246) Having witnessed, for a while, the deeds of Ṭukka and the others, like an evil dream, the land, so to speak, woke again and free from fear, obtained peace.

(247) Pleased with Shāh Mīr who had taken no part in the treason, the king entrusted to him his son Ḥaidar, as well as his (Ḥaidar's) mother Koṭā, to bring him up.

(248) Reared by queen Koṭā, like a sprouting plant in the rainy season, (the boy) enjoyed the protection of Shāh Mīr.

(249) The king built after his own name a town which was surrounded by a moat which was (as it were) the disgrace arising from his defeat.

(250) Like the sun on a cloudy day in Pauṣa, the king again illumined the world for a few months.

(251) By a disorder of the wind-humour brought about by the bitter cold of winter, the pain in the king's head became more intense.

(252) Alas! the headache of the king, whose virtues were ever capable of relieving the pain of numberless heads, went on increasing.

(253) On the eleventh lunar day of Pauṣa in the year 99, the headache of the king was at last relieved by the physician Death.[12]

(254) Having protected the earth for three years and two months less eleven days, king Riñchana went to heaven.

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[12] The date of his death corresponds with Friday, November 25th, A. D. 1323. [Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.]

Tibetan Notes.

The *Ladakhi Chronicles* contain only a very short passage which seems to have reference to Riñchana Bhoti of Kashmir. It is this: "His (**Lha-chen dNgos-grub's**) son was **Lhachen rGyalbu Rinchen** (or **Prince Rinchen,** the Great God)." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile the Kashmiri record with this short notice.

According to Jonarāja, *v.* 157, it was the murder of Riñchana's father, a Vakatanya, by a tribe of Kālamānyas that caused his departure from Tibet. The word **Kālamānya** probably stands for 'men of **Kharmang,**' Kharmang being the capital of a tribe of **Baltis.** And it looks almost as if the Baltis had at that time tried to overthrow the Ladakhi dynasty. The term **Vakatanya** may refer to the Castle of **Vaka near Mulbe,** which was in the hands of the Ladakhi kings. We shall hardly, however, ever get beyond conjecture with regard to the political state of Western Tibet of those days and must not expect the Kashmir chronicler to have troubled much about Riñchana's early history. There are, nevertheless, three reasons in particular which make us believe in **the possible identity of rGyalbu Rinchen and the Riñchana of Kashmir:** (1) the fact that the Tibetan record speaks of Rinchen as a prince (*rgyalbu*); (2) the identity of name; (3) the identity of time.

With regard to the latter point the following may be added. My first attempt at **a chronology** of the Ladakhi kings is found in my article 'The Rock Inscriptions at Mulbe,' *ante*, Vol. XXXV, p. 72 ff., where **Lhachen rGyalbu Rinchen** is given the second place among the four kings who reigned during the 14th century. This infers that in the ordinary course he reigned in Ladakh between 1325 and 1350 A. D. But we now find from the Kashmir record that Rinchen left Ladakh quite as a young man, and that his reign in Kashmir lasted only from 1320-1323. This would make my date for the commencement of his reign too late. As there is no break in the succession of Ladakhi kings, we suppose that a son was born to Rinchen, before he left Ladakh, but how the government of Ladakh was managed during the minority of Rinchen's son, we are not told.

There is another little item which may be adduced in proof of the general correctness of my chronology above mentioned. Of Rinchen's father, **Lhachen dNgos-grub,** it is stated that the **Lamaist Encyclopædia, bKa-'agyur,** was introduced into Ladakh in his time. This would point to the two first decades of the 14th century as the date of the introduction, which is exactly the period when the Mongols also received the *Encyclopædia* for the first time.

It may be said, however, that Riñchana Bhoṭi could just as well have hailed from Zangskar, Purig, or Baltistan as from Ladakh, but until we can find an historical record of those countries, we must be content with such scanty evidence as the above from Ladakh. It is remarkable also that **Ladakhi folklore** contains an ancient song, which relates the departure of a '**Prince Rinchen**' from Ladakh.

As regards **the names in Jonarāja's Chronicle.** Riñchana is the Tibetan Rinchen; Kālamānya is Tibetan mKhar-mang; Vakatanya is Tibetan Vaka (?); Ṭukka is probably Tibetan 'aBrugpa (pronounced Ḍugpa or Ṭugpa). With regard to the name Vyāla, two explanations may be given: (1) the name may have always been **Vyāla,** for we know that Indian names were used in Ladakh in former days; (2) the name may have been originally **Byaraba,** Tibetan for 'sentinel,' the Kashmiris changing the word *byaraba* to Vyāla on account of similarity of sound. **Timi** is perhaps a corruption of a compound name, the first part of which was Tibetan *khrims* (pronounced *thim*), custom, law.

III.

The Expedition of Zainu'l-'ābidīn of Kashmir against the Bhoṭṭas.

(a) Jonarāja's Rājataraṅginī.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel writes about this passage in a letter to myself, dated the 1st September, 1906: 'I intended to send you the passage about Zainu'l-'ābidīn's expedition to Bhoṭṭaland also, but it is rather obscure . . . .' In a letter dated the 11th August, 1906, Dr. Vogel had, however, given me the general contents of the passage in question as follows: Zainu'l-'ābidīn of Kashmir (1420-1470) invades Gogga-deśa (Guge ?), saves a golden image of Buddha from the hands of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in Śayā-desa, and takes the town of Kulūta (Kulū), which apparently at that time was occupied by the Tibetans.

(b) Śrīvara's Rājataraṅginī.

Taraṅga I, v. 51. 'Having conquered the outlying provinces of Sindhu and Hinduvāṭa, the king (Zainu'l-'ābidīn) marched with his army to conquer the Bhoṭṭa country.'

Translator's Note.

The date of this event is not stated in the Sanskrit text. But since Jonarāja, whose chronicle narrates the history of Kashmir till the year 1459 A. D. does not notice it, it is very probable that the expedition mentioned in the above stanza took place some time in the last or fifth decade of Zainu'l-'ābidīn's reign, *i.e.*, between 1460 and 1470 A. D.

Tibetan Notes.

Although the **Ladakhi Chronicles** do not mention any expeditions of the Kashmir kings to Western Tibet, they contain a reference which becomes intelligible only through our knowledge of the **Kashmir Chronicles**, *viz.*, that one of **king 'aBum-lde's** sons has the half-Muhammadan name, **Drungpa Ali.** The occurrence of such a name at that time is quite extraordinary, but we can explain it in the light of Zainu'l-'ābidīn's expedition. The Ladakhi king was probably compelled to seek the friendship of the Kashmir king, and may have accepted from him a wife from among his relations. A similar case occurs in the history of **King 'aJam-dbyang-rnam-rgyal,** who, after he had become the captive of the Balti king, Ali Mir, had to marry one of his daughters.

The expedition which is mentioned **in Jonarāja's Chronicle,** may have taken place during the second decade of Zainu'l-'ābidīn's reign, and the fourth of king 'aBumlde IV, that is, **between 1430 and 1440 A. D.**

In Schlagintweit's 'Die Könige von Tibet,' *Abh. der K. Bairischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. III, p. 862, king 'aBumlde's son is called a tributary king, as if he had paid tribute to Kashmir. I wish to state that the translation 'tributary king' is due to a mistake. Schlagintweit's MS. has the orthographical mistake *glayi rgyalpo*, 'king of wages,' when *hlayi rgyalpo*, 'godly king,' was meant.

As regards the **place-names** given in the Kashmir Record: Śayā-deśa is probably the village of Shel, pronounced Shē, above Leh, on the Indus, which village has apparently always been famous for its large Buddhist images. Gogga-deśa is doubtless Guge.

Dr. Vogel's note, that Kulūta was probably occupied by the Tibetans at that time, is quite in agreement with Ladakhi history. The king of Kulūta was in a loose way a vassal of the kings of Leh.

The route taken by Zainu'l-'ābidīn was that taken by the Ladakhi king, Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal I. later on, when he went to Guge and Purang, and returned to Ladakh by way of Kulū and Lahaul.

Of the **expedition of King Zainu'l-'ābidīn,** which is mentioned **in Śrīvara's Chronicle,** we hear nothing in the Ladakhi Chronicle. It may have been directed against Baltistan.

IV.

Ādam Khān's Expedition to Tibet.

Śrīvara's Rājataraṅginī. Taraṅga I.

(a) v. 71.

Being afraid of his (Ādam Khān's) assassination, the king (*Z*ainu'l-'ābidīn) sent his son away after a few days by the road leading to Bhuṭṭa.

Translator's Note.

Ādam Khān was the **eldest son of Zainu'l-'ābidīn,** the younger ones being Ḥājī Khān and Bahrām Khān. Ādam Khān and Ḥājī Khān hated each other, and the latter conspired with some officers of the State against the life of the former. It was to avoid this danger that the king (Zainu'l-'ābidīn) had to send away his eldest son.

(b) v. 82.

When in course of time, Ādam Khān had returned (to Kashmir) having conquered the Bhoṭṭa country, Ḥājī Khān marched to the mountain of Lohara under the king's (Zainu'l-'ābidīn) orders.

Translator's Note.

It is not possible to find out the precise date of this event, but that it probably took place in **1451 A.D.** may be inferred from Śrīvara I, v. 86, which supplies the **Lankika year 28** (**A. D. 1452**) as the date of Ḥājī Khān's return from the campaign referred to in the verse translated above.

Tibetan Notes.

Ādam Khān's expedition must have taken place during the reign of the **Ladakhi king bLo-gros-mchog-ldan,** who reigned from **c. 1440-1470 A. D.** No mention is made in the Ladakhi Chronicles of a war with Kashmir under him. The expedition may have been conducted against Baltistān.

V.

The Expedition against Tibet under Ḥasan Khān.

Śrīvara's Rājataraṅginī. Taraṅga III.

(a) v. 32.

By his (**Aḥmad Malik's**) advice (the king Ḥasan Khān) sent back to the Bhoṭṭa country those who, having been taken captives by his father (Ḥājī Ḥaidar Shāh) and grandfather (Zainu'l-ābidīn), lived in captivity.

Translator's Note.

This passage alludes to the liberation of prisoners by **Ḥasan Khān (King of Kashmir, from A. D. 1472 to 1484**), soon after his coronation. **Aḥmad Malik** was his favourite minister.

(b) v. 396.

They (the Sayyids (?) and other opponents of Aḥmad Malik), the adherents of the minister (*āyukta*) Natthaka, observing the king (Ḥasan) favoured him (Aḥmad Malik) and being unable to fight, left (the country Kashmir) and went to the interior of the Bhoṭṭa country.

Translator's Note.

The expression *āyukta-Natthakadyas* is doubtful. I have ventured to take Natthaka as a proper name.

This passage alludes to the internecine hostilities of the ministers of Ḥasan, King of Kashmir. Tājibhaṭṭa, guardian of the Crown Prince, Muḥammad Khān, and the Sayyids (?) were jealous of Aḥmad Malik, the beloved minister of the king, and had succeeded in exciting the king's anger against him. Aḥmad was, however, wise, for not only did he not himself take offence at his opponents' conduct, but he also prevented his powerful son, Nauroz, from engaging in a contest with the Sayyids (?), etc. The king afterwards became reconciled to Aḥmad, whose enemies had consequently to abandon Kashmir. This took place in the tenth regnal year of Ḥasan, *i.e.*, in **A. D. 1482**; see Śrīvara, III, 391. We learn (however) a few verses further on, that the king changed his mind again, and that Aḥmad died in prison.

(c) v. 440.

Desirous of conquering the Little and Great Bhoṭṭa countries, the Sayyids (?) sent the illustrious Jahāngīr and Nāṣir (or Naṣīr) on the expedition.

(v. 441). The two Sayyids (?) (Jahāngīr and Nāṣir) did not follow the Mārgeśa's advice that, if they went together, their work would succeed.

Translator's Note.

The control over all these frontier-stations and the command of the 'Marches,' generally was invested in Hindū times in one high state officer, known by the title of 'Dvārapati', 'Lord of the Gate,' or some equivalent term. The organization of the system was somewhat changed in the Muhammadan times, when the guarding of the several routes through the mountains was entrusted to feudal chiefs known as **Maliks** (Skr. *mārgeśa*). These held hereditary charge of specific passes, and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty. Dr. Stein, *Rājat.*, transl. II, p. 391.

(d) v. 442 — 444.

One of them conquered the country (Bhôṭṭa), and entered the capital in glory. The other was fearful and, having been captured, saved himself by a trick.

(v. 443). Out of consideration for a time, even a brief description is not given (says the author Śrīvara) of the slaughter committed by the Bhôṭṭas, who attacked the (Sayyid's ?) army from behind.

(v. 444). Bahādur Āghā and some other servants of the old king (were consumed) like moths in the fire — like battle with the Jyulchāṇas and Bhōṭṭas.

Translator's Notes.

According to Dr. Stein, the terms **Little and Great Bhuṭṭa-land refers to Baltistān (Skardo) and Ladākh, respectively.**

In the time of Ḥasan, the Sayyids were exceedingly powerful. The Jahāngīr referred to in v. 440 was Mārgeśa or Margapati (Superintendent of Passes) and minister in the time of Ḥasan.

The term **Jyulchīṇa** occurring in v. 444 denotes some such people as the Bhôṭṭas, and the five verses quoted above describe a campaign against the Bhôṭṭas by Jahāngīr and Nāṣir in the reign of Ḥasan (*i.e.*, about the year **1483 A. D.**). The leaders though desirous of invading the territory together, did not actually do so. The result was that only one of them was successful, while the other sustained a miserable defeat at the hands of the Bhôṭṭas.

Tibetan Notes.

This expedition which ended in the defeat of the Kashmir army, probably took place during the reign of the **Ladakhi king Lhachen Bhagan**, who reigned about from **1470-1500 A. D.** He deposed the last king of the first dynasty, and was the first king of the second (*rnam-rgyal*) dynasty: Of this king it is said in the *Ladakhi Chronicles* that ' he was very fond of fighting,' but we are not told whom he fought against. The change of dynasty and the great confusion resulting from it, may be the reason why the historical accounts referring to the latter half of the 15th century are particularly meagre. It is, however, very probable that it was Lhachen Bhagan, who inflicted the blow on the Kashmiris, and that in consequence of this victory, he was enabled to make himself supreme king of Ladakh. The consequence of this victory was that the Kashmiris came no more on raiding expeditions into Ladakh.

Since I wrote my article ' Archæology in Western Tibet,' *ante*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 89 ff., it has occurred to me, with regard to **the Inscription of Lhachen-Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal at Daru,** that it is possible that it refers to **Lhachen Bhagan,** on the ground that the founder of the rNam-rgyal Dynasty may himself have taken a new title containing the words *rnam-rgyal.*

Jyulchāṇa is very probably a Tibetan word, bnt hardly a proper name. It may be a corruption of the Tibetan words *rgyal chen*, or *rgyalcan*, the former meaning ' great king ' the latter ' victorious.' If **Jyulchāṇa** stands for *rgyal-chen,* it would probably point to **Lhachen Bhagan,** who had made himself supreme king, the deposed members of the old dynasty having become *rgyal-chung*, or ' little kings.'

VI.

The Bhôṭṭas in Prajyabhaṭṭa's Rajataraṅgiṇī.

(v. 28). At that time (in the time of Faṭh, pronounced, in India, Fateh) through the predomination of Kali there was a (remarkable) equality of all classes of people, whether they were wicked or virtuous, learned scholars (Bhaṭṭas) or Bhoṭṭas, actors or rogues.

Translator's Note.

Fatḥ was King of Kashmir from 1486 to 1513 A. D. Being incapable of governing himself, he entrusted the discharge of royal duties to his Mārgapati and minister, Ibrāhīm. The latter proved worse than the king and so misused his powers that the country was a scene of utter lawlessness during the whole of that reign.

Tibetan Notes.

At first sight this text would make it appear that there were **Bhôṭṭas among the subjects of the Kashmir kings.** This is not probable, for Ladakh as well as Baltistan were independent possessions during the 16th century. But the trade between the Panjab and Yarkand, through Kashmir and Leh, was probably carried on without any interruption, and this trade brought many Ladakhis and Baltis to Kashmir. They had there not only a rest-house of their own, but apparently also a Buddhist place of worship. There is a *masjid* below the castle hill of Srīnagar, which is still known as the **Boḍo Masjid,** and that it was formerly a Buddhist temple is shown by the fact that behind the white-wash on the walls the pictures of Buddhist saints are to be found. This is well known to all Ladakhis.

Conclusion.

In conclusion I may say that the Muhammadan Chronicles of Kashmir seem to contain material which is of importance to Western Tibetan history, though as yet a single instance only has come to my notice. It is in the *Tawārīkh-i-Rashīdī* written by **Sultan Sa'īd's son in Kashmir.** It is there stated that in **1531 A. D.,** Sultān Sa'īd of Kashgar invaded Tibet (Ladakh) with an army of 5,000 men and died on his way back. This is very probably the same expedition as is mentioned in the *Ladakhi Chronicles* under King **bKrashis-rnam-rgyal I.,** who reigned during the first decades of the 16th century, probably till **about 1535 A. D.**

I cannot think that Sir Walter Lawrence drew upon Muhammadan sources when he wrote his account of **Rainchan Shah (Riñchana Bhoti)** in his *Valley of Kashmir.* He calls Rainchan Shah the **founder of the Jama Masjid and of the shrine of Bulbul Lankar.** With regard to this statement, Mr. Nicholls says:[13]—

"The first line of the inscription over the gate-way of the Jami Masjid at Srīnagar is illegible, but the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr Ayamī* states that the mosque was first built by king Sikander the second and then burnt down. The second line of the inscription says that after several years Hasan Shāh rebuilt it. Since then the inscription records other fires and restorations.

A manuscript from which I have taken an abstract, records that Sikandar But-shikan first built the mosque, and it goes on to mention its being burned down and rebuilt by Hasan Shāh and Zainu'l-'ābidīn.

I have no evidence regarding the building of the mosque by Riñchana, the Ladakhi king of Kashmir, and should be glad to know on what the supposition is based . . . . .

I regret I have no notes regarding the 'Bulbul Lankar.'"

Sir Walter Lawrence may have based his statement on popular tradition. The man from Gilgit mentioned above who visited the Jama Masjid, tells me that people connect the Jama Masjid with the Ladakhi king of Kashmir, because, in the court of the *masjid,* there is an ancient stone-sculpture with a Tibetan inscription, which is believed to date from the time of the Ladakhi king.

[13] Dr. Vogel's letter to me, dated the 5th November 1906.

TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

BY M. K. NARAYANASAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L., AND T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 178.)

No. II.—Iṟaiyaṉâr=agapporuḷ.[a]

Nature of the work. — This is a treatise on the subject of love (*agapporuḷ*). It deals mainly with the analysis of the mind in love and incidentally also with courtship, elopement, marriage and such other topics. To give an exact idea of what is meant by *agapporuḷ* we shall take the definitions of *poruḷ* and *agam* as given in the commentary of **Nachchinârkkiniyâr** on that classical Tamil grammar, **Tolkâppiyam.**[1] *Poruḷ* is defined as the three *purushârthas* (*dharma, artha* and *kâma* or in Tamiḻ *aṟam, poruḷ* and *iṉbam*), their transitoriness and (*môksha*), liberation from these three; and that division of rhetoric, which deals with *poruḷ*, as defined above, is called *poruḷ=adigâram:* thus we see that *poruḷ=adigâram* is universal in its character and embraces every variety of subject bearing on human life. *Poruḷ = adigâram* is divided into two classes, *puṟapporuḷ* and *agapporuḷ*. Of these *puṟapporuḷ* deals with the deeds of the warrior hero outside the family circle, — mainly with war; *agapporuḷ* has for its subject love, pure and simple, which is defined in *Tolkâppiyam* (p. 2); as " the happiness which is generated by the coming together or meeting of two lovers equally devoted in their love, which happiness continues even in their separation as an inner feeling towards the other, indescribable in its nature." *Agapporuḷ* is further divided into *kaḷaviyal* and *kaṟpiyal*. *Kaḷaviyal* is described both in *Tolkâpiyam* and *Iṟaiyaṉâr = agapporuḷ* as 'being the same as the *gândharva* system of marriage described in the *Śâstras* of the *Brâhmaṇas*,' while *kaṟpu* is defined 'as the union in marriage of a woman and a man of proper lineage and with proper ceremonies.' The essential distinction therefore between the two consists in that *kaḷavyal* analyses the sentiment of love as exhibited in secret courtship, whereas *kaṟpu* deals with that sentiment in the married state. **Iṟaiyaṉâr = agapporuḷ,** in treating of *agapporuḷ*, comprehends within its scope both *kaḷavu* and *kaṟpu.*

Description of the work : — The work consists of sixty *sûtras* and there is attached to it a very masterly commentary in the finest Tamiḻ prose. The commentary gives a very interesting tradition of the three Tamiḻ Saṅgams, about which so many conflicting things have been written. For fuller information regarding the subject the reader is referred to Prof. M. Śêshagiri Śâstri's *Essay on Tamil Literature*, and to Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Piḷḷai's *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.*"

Authorship. Sûtras. The *pâyiram* portion of the Commentary attributes the work to Sômasundara, the Śiva deity at Madura, and the story it gives as to its origin is shortly this:[2] — In the time of the last of the Forty-nine Kings, who patronised the third or the last Saṅgam, and went by the name of **Ugra = pperu = Vaḷudi**, there was a severe famine, and the king, finding it impossible to support the learned men who were gathered round him, requested

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a In the former article insert the following *errata*. Page 170; Footnote 2: add:— "(*vide Trapâtaka* 6, *Anuvâka* 1, Section 14)."

Page 171. For *tambiyar = eṉṉam = ellam* read °*ellâm*.

1 See page 81 of *Tolkâppiyam—poruḷadikâram*, edited by Dâmôdaram Pillai, Madras, 1885.

2 The references to the *Iṟaiyaṉâr-agapporuḷ* in this work are to Mr. Dâmôdaram Pillai's second edition printed at Madras, which contains a long but very misleading introduction. See for this account. pp. 6 to 8.

them to scatter themselves to seek their livelihood. After the lapse of twelve years, when the rains fell and the country attained its normal state, the king sent his emissaries to gather the scattered scholars. They were able to bring only those who were versed in orthography, syntax and prosody. But they could find none who were versed in *poruḷadigâram*. The king exclaimed: "Are not these three subjects useful only as aids to the *poruḷadigâram*? My getting these is as though I never got them." The god Sômasundara, perceiving his trouble of mind, determined to remove it, — seeing that it was in pursuit of knowledge. He, therefore, composed these sixty *sûtras*, engraved them upon three copper-plates and placed them underneath the *pîṭha*, or platform, on which the image of the deity was placed. The next morning, the priest of the temple, after sweeping and cleaning the whole temple, unlike his usual custom, began to clean the base of the platform also, when he was overjoyed to find the set of copper-plates with the *poruḷadigâram* engraved upon them. He ran with the copper-plates to the king, who saw the special grace of the deity towards him and gave the work to the poets of the Saṅgam, to be interpreted and explained. The several poets gave conflicting interpretations and, finding themselves unable to come to an understanding, went to the king and requested him to nominate an umpire to give an authoritative decision. The king replied that the forty-nine poets of the Saṅgam were the best *literati* of the land and that it was impossible for him to nominate one better than themselves, and advised them to pray Sômasundara himself[3] to vouchsafe to them an umpire. While they all lay within the temple praying to the deity, a voice was heard thrice repeated, which said: "In this place is a dumb boy aged five years, named **Rudra-śarman**, who is the son of **Uppûri-kuḍi-kiḻâr** (= the headman of the village of **Uppûri-kuḍi**). Do not slight him as a mere boy, but seat him on a pedestal and recite to him the various commentaries composed by you. Whenever he hears the true interpretation, tears will come into his eyes and he will manifest symptoms of pleasure, but he will remain unmoved when the interpretation is not correct. He is the deity Kumâra (*i. e.* Subrahmaṇya) and has taken this birth owing to a curse." Hearing this voice, all the poets arose and, after circumambulating the temple, they approached Uppûri-kuḍi-kiḻâr, related to him these circumstances and requested him to permit his son to be taken with him. With his permission, they adorned the boy, and seating him on the elevated Sanga platform, they all sat down below and recited their respective commentaries. He heard all without any symptoms of pleasure, except occasionally when the commentary of **Madurai-Marudaṉ-iḷanâgaṉâr** was recited. But at every word of **Nakkîrar's Commentary** there were evident signs of pleasure exhibited by him. Thus was **Nakkîrar's** established to be the truest intrepretation.

The Commentary then continues the story thus: — "On account of this some say that the Commentary is by **Rudra-sarman**, the son of **Uppûri-kuḍi-kiḻâr**. But he did not compose it, he only heard it. Thus the fact is that the work itself was composed by the deity of Âlavây,[4] the Commentary by **Nakkîrar**, and that the latter was heard by the deity **Kumâra**. We shall now relate how the Commentary was handed down.

1. **Nakkîrar**, the son of **Maduraik-kaṇakkâyaṉâr** taught it to **Kîravi-koṟṟaṉâr**;

2. He taught it to **Têṉûr-kiḻâr**;

3. He taught it to **Paḍiyaṉ-goṟṟaṉâr**;

[3] The reference is here to the custom, according to which people will not leave the temple until the deity vouchsafes their requests to them.

[4] i.e., Madura.

4. He taught it to Selvatt-âsiriyar Peruñjuvâṉâr ;[5]

5. He taught it to Maṉalûr-âsiriyar — Puḷiyaṅkâyp-peruñjêndaṉâr ;

6. He taught it to Sellûr-âsiriyar Âṇḍaip-peruṅkumâraṉâr ;

7. He taught it to Tiruk-kuṉṟatt-âsiriyar ;

8. He taught it to Mâdavaḷaṉâr Iḷanâgaṉâr ;

9. He taught it to Musiriy-âsiriyar Nilakaṇṭaṉâr.

Thus does the Commentary come."

This is a free rendering of the very interesting account given in the Commentary regarding the origin of the work. The tradition is that all these events took place in the reign of **Ugra-pperu=Vaḻudi** and that the Commentary itself was written at that time by **Nakkîrar,** the president of the Saṅgam. The date of the work we shall discuss later on in the light of the facts disclosed by the verses quoted in the Commentary. But we may observe that the Commentary itself clearly negatives the tradition that it was actually written down by **Nakkîrar.** No doubt it might have been the fact that the substance of the work was what was propounded and taught by Nakkîrar to his disciples ; and this seems to have been handed down from generation to generation, till at last **Musiṟiy = âsiriyar Nilakaṇṭaṉâr,** or his disciple, might have reduced the work to writing.

Illustrative verses in the Commentary. — There are more than 400 of these, of which 315 only, in praise of a king going by various names, such as **Neḍumâṟaṉ,** &c., are serially numbered. These 315 form the larger portion of a species of composition called **kôvai,** which according to the Tamiḻ grammars should consist of 400 verses in the **kalitturai** metre.[5] These verses will form the material for our study. From an analysis of these only one conclusion is possible, *viz.*, that they refer to one individual alone.

The hero of the Kôvai.[6] — The hero is named **Neḍumâṟaṉ of the Pâṇḍya Dynasty.** That he is a Pâṇḍya is evident from the following verses and designations which denote a Pâṇḍya : — *Vv.*, 1, 7, 44, 83, 89, &c. Mîṉavaṉ — *v.* 11, &c. Nêriyaṉ — *vv.* 19, 80, &c. Pañchavaṉ — *vv.* 20, 51, &c. Teṉṉavaṉ — *vv.* 23, 36, 65, 76, &c.

The surnames of the king : — (1) Uchitaṉ,[7] (2) Parâṅkuśaṉ,[8] (3) Vichâritaṉ,[9] (4) Varôdayaṉ,[10] (5) Arikêsari,[11] (6) Raṇântakaṉ,[12] (7) Satturu-durandaraṉ,[13] (8) Viśaiya-charitan,[14] (9) Kali-madaṉaṉ,[15] (10) Mâṉadaṉ,[16] (11) Râṇôdayaṉ,[17] (12) Mâṟaṉ[18] (13) Neḍumâṟaṉ.[19]

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5 Evidently a mislection of *Paruñjuvaraṉâr.*

6 See *Paṉṉiru-pâṭṭiyal* under *kôvai.*

7 *vv.* 1, 7, 44, 83, 89, &c.

8 *vv.* 3, 13, 27, 35, 71, &c.

9 *vv.* 12, 48, 63, 161, 170, 176, &c.

10 *vv.* 16, 36, 41, 56, 87, &c.

11 *vv.* 22, 28, 47, 52, 55, 144, &c.

12 *v.* 135.

13 *vv.* 149, 172, 193.

14 *vv.* 153, 239, 296.

15 *vv.* 175, 189, 264, 291.

16 *v.* 163.

17 *v.* 315.

18 *vv.* 6, 25, 68, 74, 77, 80, &c.

19 *vv.* 24, 49, 70, 72, 79, 81, 84, &c.

Personal characteristics of the king.

That he was a dark man appears from the descriptions: '*kuru-mâ-maṇi vaṇṇaṉ*,' v. 141 (he who has the complexion of the large blue jewel), and '*kâr-vaṇṇaṉ pôl vaṇṇaṉ*,' v. 145 (he whose complexion was as that of the cloud-coloured Vishṇu). He was a great lover of the Tamiḻ language, as he is called :— *tîn = damiḻ vêndaṉ*, vv. 1, 26, 67, &c. (the king who belongs to a race having sweet Tamiḻ as its language), and *aṉṟ = Agattiyaṉvây = urai = taru tîn = damiḻ kêṭṭôṉ*, v. 89 (he who learnt classic Tamiḻ as spoken in the days of old by the sage Agastya.)[20] In verse 228, Neḍumâraṉ is described as having churned the ocean and obtaining nectar therefrom given it to the Dêvas. The same facts are mentioned in verses 234 and 304. Perhaps he was regarded by the poet as the incarnation of Vishṇu.

Battles won by the king : —

(1) Śennilam, *vv*. 1, 17, 20, 58, 65, &c.

(2) Pâḻi, *vv*. 3, 13, 51, 78, 88, &c.

(3) Viḻiñam, *vv*. 4, 7, 10, 30, 59, &c.

(4) Kôṭṭâṟu, *vv*. 5, 36, 86, 149, 234, &c.

(5) Âṟṟukkuḍi, *vv*. 6, 11, 26, 29, 43, &c.

(6) Pûlandai, *vv*. 8, 12, 27, 31, 37, &c.

(7) Śêvûr, *vv*. 9, 16, 44, 46, 52, &c.

(8) Naṟaiyâṟu, *vv*. 15, 18, 23, 57, 100, &c.

(9) Kaḍaiyal, *vv*. 19, 21, 24, 34, 39, &c.

(10) Nelvêli, *vv*. 22, 53, 106, 116, 145, &c.

(11) Maṉaṟṟi, *vv*. 38, 42, 175.

(12) Vallam, *vv*. 40, 99, 108, 119, 131, &c.

(13) Veṇmâṭṭu, *vv*. 45, 237.

(14) Kaḻattûr, *vv*. 120.

(15) Neḍuṅgaḷam, *vv*. 164, 180, 186, 188, 197.

(16) Śaṅgamaṅgai, *vv*. 202, 266.

(17) Iruñjiṟai, *vv*. 205, 269.

(18) Mândai, *vv*. 255, 261.

(19) Kuḷandai, *vv*. 257, 293, and

(20) Vâṭṭâṟu, *vv*. 305.

Of these battles, those occurring at Âṟṟukkudi,[21] Pûlandai,[22] Śêvûr,[23] Kaḍaiyal,[24] Naṟaiyâṟu,[25] Kôṭṭâṟu,[26] and Viḻiñam,[27] were fought with the Chêras. At Kôṭṭâṟu, Pâḻi and Kaḍaiyal the king is said to have encountered a number of kings (*vv*. 298, 162 and 39). The battle of Naṟaiyâṟu was probably a naval one (*vv*. 57 and 292).

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[20] Agastya is said to be the author of *Pêragattiyam*, the earliest grammar of the Tamiḻ language, which is now only known by quotations. The author of the earliest extant grammar, *Tolkâppiyaṉâr*, is said to have been his disciple. The work under discussion describes the *Pêr = agattiyam* as being extant in the first and second Saṅgams.

[21] *v*. 6. [22] *vv*. 8, 94, 113, 140. [23] *vv*. 16, 44, 92, 155. [24] *v*. 24. [25] *vv*. 57, 187, 292. [26] *v*. 149. [27] *v*. 288.

His titles. The king is styled Vâṉavaṉ[28] (Chêra) Sembiyaṉ[29] and Sôḻaṉ[30] (Chôḻa), and Teṉṉavaṉ[31] (Pâṇḍya). He was so styled, because he claimed to have conquered the territories ruled over by the Chôḻas and Chêras. He is also called Poṉṉi-nâḍaṉ (Lord of the Kâvêri country). v. 309, and Kaṉṉi = pPerumâṉ (lord of the country about the Cape Comorin), v. 36.

His date. The two Sinnamanûr Plates recently discovered by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao give the following genealogy for the early Paṇḍyas[32]: —

(1) Jayantavarman.

(2) Arikêsarin, Parâṅkuśa, Mâravarman; conquered the Pallavas at Saṅkaramaṅgai.

(3) Jaṭila.

(4) Râjasimha I.

(5) Varaguṇa Mahârâja.

(6) Śrîmâra, Śrivallabha, Êkavîra, Parachakrakôlâhala; conquered Mâyâ Pâṇḍya, Kêraḷa, Simhaḷa, Pallava and Vallabha.

(7) Varaguṇavarmaṉ. (8) Parântaka, Viranârâyaṇa, Śáḍaiyaṉ, fought at Kharagiri, siezed Ugra and destroyed Peṇṇâgaḍam. Married Vaṉavaṉ-Mahâdêvi.

(9) Râjasimha II. *alias* Mandaragaurava, Abhimâna-mêru.

The Âṉaimalai Inscription of Parântaka alias Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, discovered by one of us and published by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, gives the date 770 A. D.[33] With the aid of the information gathered from these sources, we can find the period of Arikêsarin Parâṅkuśa alias Mâṟaṉ of the poem we are discussing. The hero is said to have fought at Saṅgamaṅga- and Nelvêli against an unmentioned foe. From the fact that the former place is situated near Conjeevaram, the capital of the Pallavas, we might infer that it must have been fought with Pallavas. This conclusion is borne out by the statement made in the Sinnamanûr Plates, where Śáṅgamaṅgai is called by the more correct name of Saṅkaramaṅgai. Mr. V. Venkayya rightly guesses that this battle must have been the same as that fought by Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his general Udayachandra at Saṅkaragrâma, and hence Mâṟavarman *alias* Arikêsar. Parâṅkuśa must be the contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Udayêndram grant. This Pallavamalla is supposed to have died about 760 A. D. The Parântaka-Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ of the Âṉaimalai Inscription has been identified by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao with No. 3 of the genealogical table given above, and should therefore be the son of the hero of the poem. Nêḍumâṟaṉ of *Iṟaiyaṉâr = agapporul*, therefore, being the father Parântaka *alias* Mâṟaṉ-Śaḍaiyaṉ or Jaṭila, whose date is 770 A. D., and being a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who died in 760 A. D., must have lived during the middle of the 8th century A. D.

The date of the Sûtras.—In addition to the narrative we have given in full above, which occurs in the *pâyiram* portion of the Commentary, there is a passage at the end of that portion, which says that the *Sûtras* were composed during the time of the Pâṇḍya king Ugra = pperu-vaḻudi, or the last of the 49 kings who patronised the last or the third Saṅgam, the

[28] *vv.* 74, 77, 130, 117, &c.

[29] *vv.* 207, 304, Sembiyaṉ is the same as Chôḻaṉ.

[30] *v.* 177.

[31] *v.* 117.

[32] *The Annual Report* of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for 1907, p. 66.

[33] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 317.

reason for its composition being that the deity of Madura took pity upon the king, who was sincerely regretting the loss of *poruḷ = adigâram.*[34] Who this king was we are not in a position to say definitely in the present state of historical knowledge of that period. But he does not seem to be identical with the Neḍumâṛaṉ of the illustrative verses. This much is certain from the *pâyiram*, *viz.*, that the composition of the *Sûtras* was contemporaneous with **Nakkîrar**, the original propounder of the Commentary.

We saw above how the *pâyiram* portion of the Commentary relates that the substance of the Commentary was composed by **Nakkîrar** and handed down to nine generations of disciples. Thus it appears probable that **Nakkîrar** taught the interpretation orally to his son, which was similarly transmitted by him down to Muśiri-âśiriyar Nîlakaṇṭaṉâr, who, or whose disciple, probably reduced the matter to writing.

Coming to the body of the Commentary, the fixed point from which we should start is furnished by the references to the Pâṇḍya king, **Neḍumâṛaṉ**, in the illustrative verses, whose age we have assigned to the middle of the 8th century A. D. In regard to these verses there is but one possible theory, *viz.*, that they were subsequently added by the person, whoever he was, who might have reduced to writing the matter handed down orally from Nakkîrar. Then the date of **Nakkîrar**, and consequently the date of the *Sûtras*, should be earlier than the middle of the 8th century A. D. Anyhow it cannot be earlier than 750—270 = 480 A. D.; working backwards by allowing the usual 30 years for each of the nine generations of pupils. This is the earliest possible date, but perhaps the true period in which the *Sûtras* were composed lie somewhere between 500 to 700 A. D.

Place names mentioned in the work. Of the places that are mentioned in the work some might be easily identified; thus: —

Viḻiñam is situated on the sea coast 7 miles South of Trevandram.

Kôṭṭâṟu is a flourishing town near Nâgarkoil in South Travancore.

Pûlandai is perhaps the modern Pûlam in the Tinnevelly District, notorious for its Maṟava highwaymen.

Kaḍaiyal is the modern Kaḍayam, a station on the Quilon-Maṇiyâchchi branch of the South Indian Railway.

Kuḷandai is also in the south of the Tinnevelly District and contains a Vaishṇava temple praised by the Śrîvaishṇava Âḻvârs (saints).[35]

Vâṭṭâṟu another place sacred to Vishṇu and sung by Âḻvârs, is situated in the South Travancore.[36]

Nelvêli is Tinnevelly, the chief town of the district of the same name.

Saṅgamangai is near Conjeeveram and is noted as the birth-place of the Śaiva devotee Śâkya-Nâyaṉâr.[37]

Sêvûr is known to be the scene of a battle fought between the Chôḻa Parântaka II and Vîra Pâṇḍya. According to this work, it was also the site of a battle fought between Nêḍumâṛaṉ and the Chêra king. Hence, it must be looked for in the south of the Tinnevelly District.

We are unable to identify the rest of the places.

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[34] See p. 11. This is very strange, since the *pâyiram* says that the *Tolkâppiyam*, which contains the entire *poruḷ* = *adigâram*, was current during the 2nd and 3rd Saṅgams and it survives in its entirety to the present day. What had become of the *Tolkâppiyam* in the days of Ugra = pperuvaḻudi?

[35] *Nammâḻvâr.*

[36] *Nammâḻvar.*

[37] *Vide Śâkya Nâyaṉâr Purâṇam*, verse 2, *Periyapurâṇam.*

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M. A., RAI BAHADUR.

Introduction.

INDIAN antiquities have often been the hobby of hard worked District Officers and there is no doubt that to them Indology — including folklore, epigraphy, ethnology, numismatics, and literature — has been more indebted in the past than to the professional archæologist. In Southern India the contributions of Mr. F. W. Ellis, the linguist, Sir Walter Elliot and Dr. Burnell to historical research are well known. To Mr. Sewell we owe the foundations of systematic archæological work in the Southern Presidency. The viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and the great importance he attached to Indian monuments have, no doubt, led to a great deal of interest being taken in the subject throughout the country. In the Madras Presidency the cause of historical research has been greatly strengthened by the addition to antiquarian ranks of two senior Civilian officers, *viz.* Mr. A. Butterworth, I. C. S. and Mr. V. Venugopaul Chetty, I. C. S., on whose "Collection of the inscriptions on copper-plates and stones in the Nellore District" this article is mainly based. The historical interest of the former and the literary tastes of the latter have apparently led them to combine together and undertake the arduous task of printing in one volume all the stone inscriptions and copper-plates found in the Nellore district. The two editors certainly deserve to be congratulated on the successful completion of their self-imposed and disinterested undertaking. Those who are conversant with the work of editing inscriptions will appreciate the anxiety and trouble to which the two gentlemen must have been put, particularly because both of them were not working in the same district all through the period.

The editors are naturally disappointed at the poor results of their laborious undertaking. It is true that if these two gentlemen had devoted their energy to a tract of country possessing more ancient and valuable monuments, they would have made a more substantial contribution to South Indian history. All the same, the fact of their having exhausted the inscriptions of a district cannot be overlooked. No doubt, excavation under skilled supervision — particularly in the northern portion of the district[1] — may bring to light more monuments. But for all practical purposes we may proceed on the supposition that all the inscriptions of the Nellore district have been secured.

Linguistic Value of the Nellore Inscriptions.

In the first place it may be remarked that the collection of Nellore inscriptions has a linguistic value. The district appears to have been in ancient times one of the localities where the Tamil and Telugu races came in contact. The traditional boundary of the Tamil country is Vêṅgaḍam, *i. e.* Tirupati, in the north, according to the Tamil grammar *Naṉṉûl*, composed about the beginning of the 13th century A. D.,[2] though at present the prevailing language at Tirupati is Telugu. The author of the *Naṉṉûl* evidently repeated what he found in the *Tolgâppiyam*, the earliest Tamil grammar, where Vêṅgaḍam and Kumari, are said to be the northern and southern boundary, respectively, of the Tamil country.

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1 The archaic fragments and damaged inscriptions found in the Ongole (O. 3 and O. 39), Kandukûr (KR. 31, KR. 32, KR. 67, and KR. 69) and Kanigiri (KG. 8 and KG. 25) tâlukas and the Darśi (D. 2 and D. 7) and Podili (P. I) divisions justify this surmise to a certain extent.

2 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III., p. 122.

The word *triliṅga* (to which Telugu has to be traced) is connected by Vidyânâtha, the author of the rhetorical work *Pratâparu lrîya*, with the three famous *liṅgas* of Śiva, *viz.* those at Kâlahasti, Dâkshârâma, and Śrîśailam [3] This derivation does not represent the extent of the Telugu country. The three places might denote roughly the extent of the dominions of the Kâkatîya king Pratâparudra, whose protégé Vidyânâtha was, and who flourished about the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century A. D.[4] At any rate, this does not in any way help us to find out the southern boundary of the Telugu country. Of course, when the Tamil grammar gives Tirupati as the northern limit, it cannot mean that the Tamil language was unknown beyond that place. In more ancient times, the Tamil race probably extended further north. The Chôḷa king Karikâla seems to have been remembered in the Nellore district[5] even better than in the modern Tamil country. Consequently, it may be presumed that during his reign, and perhaps also during the period represented by the Tamil classics, the northern boundary of the Tamil country was further north than Tirupati. It may be argued, however, that the reminiscences of Karikâla in the Telugu country cannot be taken to represent the extent of country over which Tamil was spoken at his time. They can at best denote only a temporary occupation of the Telugu country by the Chôḷas during the time of Karikâla. The volume of Nellore inscriptions proves that, even at the time when the Tamil *Naṉṉûl* was composed, the language was understood and might have been spoken much further north than Tirupati. The northernmost village in the Nellore district, where Tamil inscriptions have been discovered, is Pâkâla in the Kandukûr Tâluka. Here were found three Tamil records more or less damaged. Two of them belong to the last quarter of the 13th century, while the third is undated. Telugu inscriptions of about the same period are also found in the village, and I suppose the fact of some being in Tamil is due to the accident of the donors in these cases belonging to the Tamil country. In fact, the donor in one of them was from Uttaramallûr in the Chingleput district. Similarly, an inscription at Siṁhâchalam in the Vizagapatam district belonging to the time of Kulôttuṅga I. is in Tamil,[6] because the donor hailed apparently from the Tamil country. Such stray records are due to accident and cannot prove any thing. But in the Âtmakûr tâluka of the Nellore district, Tamil inscriptions have been found in four villages, *viz.* Âtmakûr, Battepâḍu, Chiramana and Nâvûru. Three of them belong to Kulôttuṅga III., and in one of them Chiramana (Śiṟumaṉai) is said to be situated in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-maṇḍalam (A. 26), which was the name in ancient times of Toṇḍai-nâḍu,[7] *i. e.* the Pallava dominions. In the tâlukas of Nellore, Gûḍûr and Râpûr, and in the Veṅkaṭagiri Zamîndârî, Tamil inscriptions are more numerous, while all the villages of the Sûlûrpêṭ division have them. Consequently, the volume before us establishes beyond all possible doubt that, in the southern portion of the Nellore district, Tamil was known in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. Telugu must have taken the place of Tamil in this tract of country after the Vijayanagara kings extended their dominions thither.[8] The same change appears also to have taken place in the south-eastern portion of the modern Cuddapah district.[9] These facts show that we must accept with reservation the statement of Pavaṇandimuni, author of the Tamil *Naṉṉûl*, as regards the northern limit of the Tamil country.

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[3] *Ante*, Vol. XXI., p. 198.

[4] See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II., paragraph 44.

[5] In the sequel it will be shown that a number of local families in the Telugu country and particularly in the Nellore district claimed descent from this ancient Chôḷa king.

[6] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy 1899-00, paragraph 22.

[7] We know from other inscriptions that Toṇḍai-nâḍu extended in the West as far as Punganur in the North Arcot district; see my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-7, Part II., paragraph 38.

[8] See also my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-04, paragraph 14.

[9] See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-8, Part II., paragraph 49.

Paucity of early Inscriptions in Nellore.

As regards the history of the district, what strikes one on looking through the 1,400 pages of the volume of Nellore inscriptions is the paucity of materials for the earlier periods. This characteristic the district shares with the rest of the Telugu country on the east coast. It is true the other coast districts of the Telugu country have not been exhaustively explored. But so far as they have been examined, the same characteristic feature of their antiquities is noticeable. No doubt, the history of the country has been made out largely from copper-plate grants. The Eastern Chalukya dynasty which held sway — according to an inscription of the 11th century from the river Mannêṛu to Mahêndragiri[10] — over the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, and the northern portion of Nellore, is represented mostly by copper-plate grants. Only two exceptions to this general rule occur in the Nellore volume. At Buḍamanarâyalapâḍu in the Podili Division (P. 1) is a curious inscription which, like the Amarâvatî pillar[11], has to be read from the bottom upwards. It is dated in the 12th year of Vishṇuvardhana-Mahârâja. Vishṇuvardhana was a title borne by no less than ten of the Eastern Chalukya kings. But as the alphabet of the inscription is archaic, there is no doubt that it has to be assigned to one of the earlier kings bearing this surname. The other early Chalukya stone inscription belongs to the time of Vikramâditya-Mahârâja (D. 2) of the Chaḷukya family, who, if he was an Eastern Chalukya at all, must be Vikramâditya II. (11 months A. D. 925 to 926).[12] It is a significant fact worthy of record that Telugu literature cannot be traced beyond the period represented by the earliest stone inscriptions of the Telugu country. Names of poets belonging to earlier periods have, no doubt, come down to us. But none of their works has survived.[13] Though these facts do not admit of satisfactory explanation at present, they deserve to be registered for future investigation.

(*To be continued.*)

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10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 335. 11 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 25. 12 *Ante*, Vol. XX, p. 269.

13 In his *Lives of the Telugu Poets* (p. 9) Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu Garu mentions the fact and says it is reported to be due to an accident. He says that the whole country was once burnt down by foreign invaders, when all literary monuments disappeared. This seems to be a surmise based on the name given to the country, *viz.* Vêṅgî, Vêṅgî-dêśamu or Vêgi-dêśamu, which is apparently derived from the root *vêguṭa*. But the name existed already in the 4th century A. D., as it is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and the kingdom of Vêṅgî was established in the 7th century, as will be pointed out below. As most of the lithic records of this part of the country are not older than the 11th century and as the earliest known literary work is the Telugu translation of the *Mahâbhârata* made by Nannayabhaṭṭa in the same century (*ante*, Vol. XXVII, p. 245, footnote 1), this explanation is not tenable. At any rate, the absence of inscriptions and architectural monuments cannot be accounted for in this way. Professor Kielhorn has noticed the absence of stone inscriptions in the case of three families, *viz.* the Gâhaḍavâla kings of Kanauj, the Maitrakas of Valabhî, and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vêṅgî (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 149, footnote 3). He is of opinion that there must have existed a considerable number of stone inscriptions of each of these three families and remarks: "The stones on which these inscriptions were engraved have been probably used for building purposes or lie buried in the ground." The process by which the stones of deserted temples disappear gradually may be seen even now in villages. For instance, at Eyil, in the South Arcot district, the Jainas asked the Collector for permission to use the stones of the Śiva temple for repairing their own. If the permission sought for had been granted, no trace of the Śiva temple would have been left. The stones of the enclosure wall in the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷapuram in the Trichinopoly district were utilized by the Public Works Department in 1836 in building the dam across the river Coleroon, known as the Lower Anicut (*Trichinopoly Manual*, p. 343). The rampart of the ruined fort at Kaṇṇanûr (near Trichinopoly) is said to have been pulled down by some "Nawâb" and the stones used in building or repairing the Trichinopoly fort. It is also reported that the stones of several *maṇḍapas* and of the enclosure of the tank in front of the temple (at Kaṇṇanûr) were utilized for building the bridges over the Coleroon and the Kâvêrî rivers. In earlier times, religious animosity played no small part in the destruction of ancient monuments and their eventual disappearance. If the reigning king happened to be opposed to a particular creed, the monuments belonging to it stood very little chance of being protected against vandalism. On the other hand, we have authentic instances of ancient kings and chiefs utilizing the materials of a monument belonging to an opposite creed in raising one to their own religion. For instance, the Tamil *Periyapurâṇam* informs us that a Pallava king, who was originally a Jaina, was subsequently converted to the Śaiva creed through the efforts of the Śaiva saint Tirunâvukkaraśar. One of the first acts of the convert was to demolish the Jaina buildings at Pâṭalipuram (near Tiruvadi in the South Arcot district) and build a Śiva temple out of the materials. Buddhism and Jainism were common opponents of the Brahmanical creed, and it is easy to imagine how the Buddhist and Jaina monuments of the Telugu country have disappeared. The disappearance of the monuments belonging to the orthodox Hindu creed and of the stone inscriptions of the Pallavas and Eastern Chalukyas remains to be satisfactorily explained.

A VISIT TO RAMTEK.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; NAGPUR.

RAMTÊK is the headquarters of a *tahsîl* in **the Nâgpur district** of the Central Provinces. It derives its name from the **temple of Râma** on the hill (*têk* or *têkaḍî*), at the foot of which the town is situate. It is regarded as a very sacred place in that part of the country, and an annual fair is held there in the month of Kârttika commencing on the Pûrṇimâ which lasts for a fortnight. The attendance at the fair is estimated to be 60,000.

I visited the place just before the fair on 3rd November, 1907, and the following days, and took the opportunity of jotting down the following notes, especially in view of the fact that the archæologists and antiquarians, who have visited the place, being mostly Europeans, have not had access to the principal temples. So far as I know, Beglar was the first archæologist who visited the place in 1873-74. He has given a somewhat detailed account in his report,[1] but he was not admitted inside the inner group of temples. Mr. Cousens, who visited the place 31 years afterwards, found himself similarly excluded. He writes in his report,[2] that 'the European is permitted on sufferance to approach this holy of holies as far as the lower step of the inner gate, where he is met by a fat Brâhmaṇ with an oleaginous smile, who politely informs him he may go no further.' About 20 years ago when I first visited it, I was also about to share the same fate, but my coat saved me. I then grew a small beard, which dubbed me a Musalmân in the eyes of the temple-keepers, but an intelligent fellow amongst them observed that I could not be one, because my coat, or more properly *angarkhâ*, was cut on the right side and not on the left.

Various names for Râmtêk.

Râmtêk has been held by some to be identical with the Râmagiri of Kâlidâsa's *Mêghadûta*.[3] Râma is believed to have stayed for some time at Râmtêk while on his way to Laṅkâ, and to have visited the place again from Ayodhyâ, after his installation as king, to chastise Śambuka for his audacity in practising the penance, which the Brâhmaṇs complained that he, being a Śûdra, was not entitled to. The other old names of Râmtêk are said to have been Sindûragiri 'the vermilion mount,' and Tapogiri or 'the mountain of penance.' Both of them occur in the mutilated inscription belonging to the end of the fourteenth century, to be referred to further on. The reason assigned there for first of these names is that god in his man-lion incarnation killed the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu on this hill, which became red like vermilion with his blood,[4] but there can be little doubt that the name, as suggested by Mr. Cousens, was given because of the red stones, which when newly-dressed or broken, look almost blood-red, especially when the sun shines on them. The second name Tapogiri is said to have been given to it because the sage Agastya, who was born of a pot and had once drank off the ocean on getting annoyed with it, practised penance here. The *Râmâyaṇa* says that Râma, after leaving Chitrakûta and visiting the hermitage of Sutîkshṇa, went to that of Agastya. On entering his abode he saw the places sacred to Agni,[5] to Vishṇu,

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[1] Included in Cunnigham's, Vol VII, p. 109 ff.

[2] For 1905, p. 41.

[3] See Rai Debi Prasad's (Pûrna), *Dhârâdhara Dhâvana*, an excellent metrical version in Hindî of *Mêghadûta*, with critical footnotes, p. 2 ff.

[4] *Prâgatra dêvô nṛihariḥ surârêr vvibhêda vakshaḥ karajaiḥ śitâgraiḥ* । *tadrakta pûrâruṇitaṣ tato ? yaṁ* . . . . . . (Here the line is broken off in the inscription). The *Râmtêk Mâhâtmya* also says: — *Hiraṇyakaśipor dehaḥ pîḍitô vishṇunâ purâ* । *raktêna têna sarvêśê bhêdito mṛichchhmâlayaḥ* । *sindûra sadṛiśo jâtas têna Sindûra parvvataḥ* ।

[5] There was an Agnitîrtha at Râmtêk, which is mentioned in the inscription.

to Indra, to the sun,[6] to the moon and the other gods, and beheld the sage Agastya, surrounded by his disciples, clothed in the skin of antelopes and vestments of bark. The *Adhyâtma Râmâyaṇa* says that there were thousands of sages engaged in religious pursuits in this hermitage, and well may the mount have been named Tapogiri.

The group of Râma temples.

The temple of Râmachandra stands conspicuous amidst the group on the western end of the hill, some 500 feet above the town. With their many coats of white-wash, these temples can be seen gleaming in the sunshine from a long distance. The group is enclosed within a citadel, said to have been built by the Bhonslâ king, Raghujî I. (1743—1755). In front of the temple of Râma stands that of Lakshmaṇa, both built in the same style, locally called *hemâdpanthî*. They are made of hewn stones, well-fitted together without mortar, the *maṇḍapa* before the *sanctum sanctorum* being supported by eight massive pillars. The idols are of black marble, and are said to have been found in the Dudhâlâ tank, and to have been substituted for the original ones which had been or become mutilated. The other temples in the group are dedicated to Kauśalyâ, Satya Nârâyaṇa, the eight-armed Mahishâsura-mârdinî and Dharmêśvara Mahâdêva (in one temple), Lakshmî Nârâyaṇa, Vyankateśa, another Mahishâsura-mardinî[7] and Hanumân. Over the Lakshmî Nârâyaṇa temple there is a domed balcony called Râma Jharokhâ, which Beglar took to be the name of a god. Looking from this place down below, the Râmtêk town looks like a beautiful map, the numerous tanks distributed in the various quarters of the town and the green fields on the outskirts contributing much to the charming scenery. All these temples are included in the innermost court-yard, and there is also a palace said to have been the residence of the Sûryavaṁśî kings, who came from Ayodhyâ and ruled there. There is also a platform with an arch, known as Kabîr Chabûtarâ, Kabîr Âsana or Kabîr Kamâna, which is claimed by the Kabîrpanthîs to have been the place where Kabîr sat, but the *pujârîs* say that it was the swinging place of a Sûryavaṁśî princess. None but the higher-class Hindus are admitted within this court, the gate of which is named Gokula Darwâzâ. In the second court the principal place is the temple of Harihara with two statues. It is popularly known as the Daśaratha Temple, this name being more lucrative, as the *pujârî* informs the pilgrims that it is absolutely necessary for gaining full religious merit to see the father first before seeing the son. Of course, no *darśana* is meritorious without a present. The entrance of this court is named Bhairava Darwâzâ. The next court, whose entrance is called Singhpur Darwâzâ, is occupied by temple servants. This was the place where the Marâthâs had their arsenal, of which a few wall pieces may still be seen on the spot. The last court contains a very ancient and huge image of Varâha (boar incarnation) under a small flat-roofed temple; and in another part there is a Mânbhao temple dedicated to their black deities, Kṛishṇa and Devî. The gate-way of this court is called Varâha Darwâzâ, outside which there is a small *masjid*. There are various stories about it, one of them being that the Musalmân king, who wanted to despoil the temple, was attacked by a swarm of black bees, which prevented him from desecrating the inside; so he built a mosque outside and left the place. Others say, '*Râma Rahîm kâ joḍâ hai*,' 'Where there is Râma, there is Rahîm.'

Other antiquities.

The other antiquities on the hill are two temples with huge idols of Narasiṁha holding a wheel in one hand, an old *baolî*, a very old temple of the dwarf incarnation called Trivikrama, of which only the portico remains, and a modern temple of Dhûmrêśvara Mahâdêva besides the remains of fort

[6] On the bank of the Ambâlâ tank there is still a temple dedicated to the sun.

[7] This is popularly known as *Ekâdaśî*.

walls. About two miles away at the eastern end of the hill, there is a cave dedicated to Nâgârjuna. Down the hill the most notable places are the temple of Chaṇḍikâ Devî built of massive blocks of hewn stone; the Kapûr Baolî, which is a small square tank embanked on all sides with rows of temples, in one of which there is a slab containing mutilated figures of the eight Siddhis (likely to be now submerged in the new irrigation tank to be constructed by Government at a cost of about Rs. 13 lakhs); the Ambâlâ tank with several temples on its banks, of which that dedicated to the Sun is noticeable; and other tanks and wells, such as Chakorḍâ Talao, Râm Talaî and Daśâśvamêdha Baolî. There is also a group of Jaina temples and images which are all modern, except the huge image of Śântinâtha, about 18 feet high, which is very old. The local Jainas say that Râma was of one of their pursuasion, and that when he visited Râmtêk, he first worshipped Śântinâtha, since when that image has been in existence.

The Inscription.

The **Inscription**, which has been incidentally referred to before, is affixed to the temple of Lakshmaṇa on the wall of the *sanctum*. The rough stone of the building is plastered with a black shining cement, which has the appearance of a real polished black marble. There used to be about 80 long lines engraved on it, but many are gone on account of the cement having fallen off. The major portion of the inscription is devoted to the description and religious efficacy of the *tîrthas* at Râmtêk and the surrounding places included in the *pañch krośî* or 5 *kos*[8] area, which is recorded in the *Râmtêk Mâhâtmya* as being protected from the influence of the Kali Age. The whole composition is in **Sanskrit** verses written in beautiful characters, exactly resembling those in which the Kalachuri inscriptions of Ratanpur are found engraved. Indeed, when I saw it the resemblance was so strong that a mere look suggested that it might be **a Haihayavaṁśî record,** which it finally turned out to be. The top portion, which is much mutilated, contained some historical data about the family of the reigning dynasty, of which the only suggestive phrases which remain are: '**Yâdavovaṁśaḥ, Śrî Siṁhaṇa Kshoṇipatêr,** and **Śrî Râmachandraḥ.** The last two names occur in the Raipur and Khalârî Inscriptions of the **Haihayavaṁśî king, Brahmadêva,** from which it appears that Brahmadêva's father was Râmachandra, whose father was Siṁhaṇa. The mention of **Yâdavavaṁśa** further confirms their identity as Haihayas belonged to that race.[9] Brahmadêva's inscriptions are dated[10] 1402 and 1415 A. D. So his father must have lived about the end of the 14th century. This establishes the fact that the temples of this group are at least 600 years old. The tenor of the inscription shows that it was engraved when the temples were repaired rather than built, which would place their construction a century or two earlier. The Haihayas ruled over **Mahâ Kośala** now identified with **Chhattîsgaṛh,** but it once included all the country up to the confines of Berar, as would appear from Hiuen Tsiang's record. In fact it seems that in the 7th century A. D., the capital of Mahâ Kośala was somewhere in this part of the country, very probably, at Bhândak, which the Chinese traveller apparently visited. Latterly, it would appear that it was transferred to Raipur in Chhattîsgaṛh, and the western portion must have remained in their possession, while the original house long established at **Tummâna**[11] and subsequently at Ratanpur kept the eastern portion under their sway.

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[8] The orthodox way of calculating this area is a *kos* in each of the four directions and one towards the sky.

[9] Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII, p. 71.

[10] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 229, and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 83.

[11] A village of this name with ancient remainsunknown to archæologists, still exists in the Bilâspur district. It is 45 miles north-east of Ratanpur. It is from this place that one of the kings removed his capital to Ratanpur. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 32 ff.) Since I wrote the above, I visited Tummâna on 22nd May 1908, and dug out a superb temple-door beautifully carved in the mediæval Brahmanic style. I propose to give an account of this place in a separate article.

With regard to the description of the holy places, many can be easily identified. Thus of the Ashṭatîrthas mentioned in the Inscription, the Pitṛitîrtha I take to be the Ambâlâ Tank,[12] where oblations to the deceased ancestors continue to be made. The Chakratîrtha is the present Chakorḍâ Tank. The Vâjimêdhatîrtha is the present Daśâśvamêdha Baolî, and Râmatîrthe, the Râmtalai, at the foot of the hill. The Maṇikâlakuṇḍa is, apparently, the Mansar[13] Tank, about 4 miles west of Râmtêk, and Haṁsatîrtha one of the two tanks in Nagardhan, five miles south of Râmtêk. Here there is an old temple of Mahâdêva called Kotêśvara, near which there is a tank that is said to be Śaṁkhatîrtha by some, and Śuklatîrtha by others. Haṁsa (swan), Śaṁkha (conch-shell), and Śukla, all connote whiteness, and it is possible that these may be alternative names. There is another tank here called Pushkariṇî close to the fort, which is also visited by pilgrims when going the Ashṭatîrtha round.

The Inscription states that Lakshmîtîrtha was the most important of all, and this may possibly be the Japâlâ Tank, from which the pilgrims begin their round. The eighth *tîrtha* was, apparently, Mokshakuṇḍa, possibly the Kaumârikâ Baolî, which is reckoned as one of the eight *tîrthas*. It is stated to be situated to the south of the hill and, for aught we know, it may be one of the two tanks at Nagardhan mentioned before. The Sindûravâpî on the hill and Karpûravâpî down the hill, still retain their old names, and are known as Sindûra Baolî and Kapûr Baolî. The story about the former is that Narasiṁha, after killing the demon Hiranyakaśipu, threw his mace down, which fell with such an impact as to create a hole, afterwards the Sindûra Baolî. The inscription mentions '*mâtaro ashṭâ* Mahâsiddhî,' whose statue, as intimated before, is lying beside the Kapûr Baolî, and the 'terrible-faced Kâlikâ,' which may be identified with the goddess of the Chaṇḍikâ Temple.

Sambuka has also been alluded to as 'that Śûdra saint who attained salvation by meeting his death from the hand of Râmachandra, and known here as Dhûmrâksha.' The name is now changed to Dhûmrêśvara, and is represented by a *linga*, over which a temple has been recently constructed, and is the first to be met with on the way to temple of Râma. This is believed to be the spot where Śambuka practised his austerities, and was killed by an arrow discharged by Râma from a place at the foot of the mountain, now turned into Ramtalai *tîrtha*. The story is that, while dying, Śambuka asked for three boons at the request of Râma, to wit, that his corpse might be petrified into a *linga in situ*, that Râma should stay on the hill for ever, and that he should be first worshipped before Râma. These were granted, and this is why every pilgrim first makes offerings to the Dhûmrêśvara Mahâdêva before worshipping Râma. This story probably refers to the existence of a Śaiva worship prior to the existence of the existing Vaishṇava temples, and the concession made to the older creed. Several Śaiva temples are mentioned in the Inscription, such as Ghaṇṭêśvara, Sudhêśvara, Kêdâra, Ambikânâtha, Dharmêśvara, Muktîśvara, &c., showing the predominance of a Śaiva worship, and one of the gods, Dharmêśvara, who derives his epithet from having given shelter to Dharma, whom Kali (Age) was pursuing, is even enshrined within the inner court of the Vaishṇava temples. In the same court there are two Mahishâsura-mârdinîs, the consorts of the Destroyer, and there is mention of Mahâ Bhairava, after whom perhaps the Bhairava Darwâzâ was named.

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[12] This is situated within the horse-shoe curve of the mountain. The Sindûragiri or *Râmtêk Mâhâtmya* also says: '*śailasyâbhyantarê châpi pitṛitîrtham anuttamaṁ.*

[13] This is supported by the *Sindûragiri Mâhâtmya* where it is said that Maṇikâla is near Kêdâra, which is to the west. Again '*Maṇikâlê naraḥ snâtvâ Heḍiṁbâm archayêt sudhîḥ.*' 'A wise man after bathing in the Maṇikâla should worship Hêḍimbâ.' The Hêḍimbâ hill is situated exactly on the bank of the Mansar tank.

The other gods (outside the family[14] of Râma) mentioned in the Inscription are Nṛisiṁha (man-lion), and Âdi Kola, or boar incarnation, together with Ânjanêya or Hanumân, but I could not find any reference to the dwarf incarnation, whose shrine appears to be the oldest on the hill. The statue is still on the hill with one leg raised, but much mutilated, the details of which may be seen in two similar figures beautifully carved and placed in niches of two temples[15] at Purî, within the enclosure of and near the great Jagannâth temple. Lastly, the rivers Sura and Kalipâ, which join near Râmtêk and retain their old names are eulogised for their sanctity. It appears to me that this Inscription formed the basis of the *Sindûragiri* or *Râmtêk Mâhâtmya*, expanded into sixteen *Adhyâyas* as published by a local Press, but at Râmtêk there is said to be a manuscript containing forty-two *Adhyâyas*.

Nâgârjuna.

The most interesting place appears to be the cave of Nâgârjuna, over the entrance of which a Mâlguzâr has recently set-up a structure, to give it an appearance of a temple. This makes the place conspicuous, as the solitary white speck on the eastern end of the mountain can be seen from a long distance. Inside the cave there is placed a figure of Nâga, and a human head supposed to represent Arjuna, worshipped with a meaning satisfactory to the vulgar. Those who claim to be more informed tell the tradition that Nâgârjuna was a Brâhmaṇ, who practised severe austerities in that cave, long before the advent of Râma to Râmtêk. His penances ultimately secured him the boon that he would be an era-maker like Śâlivâhana or Vikramâditya. This is yet to come, and the people believe it will.

I am inclined to believe that this tradition has some facts underlying it. It discloses that one Nâgârjuna lived in that cave long before the construction of Râma's temples, and although the evidence is not very great at present, I venture to surmise that this **Nâgârjuna** was the great Buddhist reformer of ancient India, **the founder of the Mâdhyamikâ philosophy.** 'He appears in literature as a man of remarkable genius, as an almost universal scholar, a Buddhist religious enthusiast of rare liberality, a profound philosopher, a poet, and author of great literary abilities and an intense lover of his species.'[16] It was not only as an apostle of Buddhism, however, that Nâgârjuna was famous in his life-time and long afterwards both in his own land and foreign countries. He was also trained in all the learning of a Bramanical student; he knew the virtues and qualities of herbs, the secret influences of the stars, the science of alchemy and the arts of the magician and exorcist. He was so renowned as a physician and eye-doctor that the fame of his success reached China. Mr. Thomas Watters considers that he probably lived about the 3rd century A. D., and the general testimony as to his native place is that he was born in Vidarbha.

[14] Sîtâ and her sons, Kuśa and Lava and Lakshamaṇa, whom the composer of the Inscription describes paradoxically; '*mâtâputramayîm iva kshitim imâṁ vibhrach chhirobhir vibhuḥ Srî Râmâvatarê harêḥ sahachraraḥ śaṁkho* ऽ *py aśamkhâtmakaḥ*. Lakshmaṇa though a snake (*śaṁkha*) by being an incarnation of Śeshanâga, is not snake-souled.

[15] I observed a slight difference in the subordinate figures of these statues. In the Râmtêk statue there is a figure close to the leg on the ground, and an absurd story has been invented to the effect that the whole represents a brother and sister, the former kicking the latter (which the uplifted leg suggests), with the result that for that sin he got maggots in his other leg, which the sister, out of compassion for her brother, is picking out. The popular name of this statue is '*Bhau bahin*,' *i. e.*, brother and sister.

[16] Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 203 ff.

A legendary account of him which Mr. S. C. Das, C.I.E., has given at some length from Tibetan sources in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,* Vol. LI., pp. 115 ff., states that a rich Brâhmaṇ of Vidarbha, to whom no son had been born for many years, once saw in a vision that if he gave alms to 100 Brâhmaṇs he would get a son. He did so accordingly, and a son was born, but the astrologers predicted that he would not live more than a week. They were, therefore, requested to find some remedy for averting such a calamity, and they said that his life could be prolonged for 7 years only if the parents entertained 100 Bhikshus. This was done, and the child lived on until the fatal seventh year began, when his parents, unwilling to see the painful end, caused him to be removed to '*a certain solitary place in company with a few retainers.* As the boy was passing the last mournful days, one day the Mahâbodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Khaśarpaṇa visited him in disguise, and advised him to go to **the great monastery of Nâlêndra in Magadha,** as the surest means of escaping from the hands of death. He, accordingly, repaired to that famous Vihâra and informed the head of the monastery of his impending danger. The latter, thereupon, advised him to enter the holy order of monks. This saved him from the clutches of death and he was ordained a Bhikshu and commenced his studies there. After a few years' service in the monastery, he obtained the subordinate office of steward of the congregation. During the first part of the tenure of that office, Nâgârjuna is said to have propitiated the goddess Chaṇḍikâ, by whose agency he succeeded in providing the great body of priests with the necessaries of life. He learnt other mystic arts, and by his religious practices he obtained the perfection of a Siddhi. The Nâgas used to attend his sermons in the shape of young boys and they invited him to their abode in the Nâga-land (nether-world), where he spent three months. He was asked to settle permanently there, but he declined on the ground of his being required to preach the sacred religion in Jambu Dwîpa. He returned to Nâlêndra with costly presents, and also with the religious volume called *Nâga Sahasrikâ.* It was for this connection with the Nâgas that he obtained the name of Nâgârjuna. He afterwards visited many places, and then returned to his country, where he erected many *chaityas* and temples and composed many works on science, medicine, astronomy, and alchemy. When the high-priest of Nâlêndra died, he succeeded him and matured the Mâdhyamikâ philosophy, which had been merely conceived by his illustrious teacher and predecessor. He finally became the head of the whole Buddhist church. Nâgârjuna is said to have been a great friend of King De-chye (Śankara) of Southern India, whom he had converted to Buddhism. Both the friends took vows of meeting a common lot, *i. e.,* to live and die together. Nâgârjuna being a saint, no messenger of death ever ventured to approach him. The friends, therefore, attained to unusual longevity, during which time the king witnessed successively the death of his many wives, children, and grand-children. In his old age the king got a son who alone, fortunately, survived him. Once the mother of this prince prepared a handsome robe, which she desired him to wear. The prince did not use it, saying that he would do so when he became a king. The mother with a deep sigh exclaimed: 'Son, how vain is that hope? Thinkest thou, my darling, that the king, thy father, will ever die. He has obtained immunity from death which awaits all mortal beings but himself.' The prince replied: 'Mother, must I not rule as a king since I am born as a prince? Live or die, I shall be a king.' Seeing the son's resolution, the mother revealed to him the secret of her husband's death, and said, 'Go and beg Nâgârjuna's head and that shall quicken thy succession to the throne.' The prince accordingly went off at once in search of Nâgârjuna and found him on the top of Śrîparvata. Approaching the venerable Śrámana, he asked him to present him with his head. Nâgârjuna knowing what brought him there, consented. The prince tried several strokes of his sword to cut the saint's throat, but in vain. Nâgârjuna, seeing the ignorance of the prince, showed him the secret which could effect the cutting off of his head, by saying: 'Prince, hundreds of such swords would not sever my head from the body, but go and bring that *kuśa* grass which alone will effect it.' In one of his former births, Nâgârjuna is said to have killed a worm by cutting its throat with a stick of *kuśa* grass. On account of the inevitable consequences of *karma* in this life, that very person

was born as the prince, who severed his head from his trunk with the *kuśa* grass. At the time of death, Nâgârjuna told the prince that *he would rise again at a future time* and his head would again be one with his body. As the prince was carrying off the head, it was snatched away by a *yaksha*, who threw it to a distance of five miles, where the saint's remains turned to a stone. It is mentioned in the book of prophecies that the head is now in the course of drawing every day nearer the trunk to effect its junction. It is said that Nâgârjuna will again appear in India, and live one hundred years to teach the sacred *dharma* to men and gods.

To **the Râmtêk tradition** all these details are unknown, but the little story related by the people has some striking coincidences,[17] *viz.*, the existence of a petrified head associated with a cobra, and the tradition of Nâgârjuna's revival to life at a future time. Apparently, these are not fortuitous, and the vicinity of Râmtêk, to the ancient Vidarbha, the modern Berar, lends weight to the conjecture I have ventured to throw out, *viz.*, that the Râmtek cave may be the place where Nâgârjuna awaited his death, after being sent away by his parents. Apparently, it is not the place where he was killed. That place lay somewhere in the south on the **Srîparvata,** as the legend relates, and which Mr. Thomas Watters[18] identifies with Fa-hsien's P'o-lo-yue apparently, the same as Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li of Hiuen Tsiang. In this place, which is placed three hundred *li* or about fifty miles south-west of the capital of Kośala, which I take to be **Bhândak**[19] (about 120 miles south-west of Râmtêk), the royal friend of Nâgârjuna had a monastery quarried for him, which was certainly much grander than the modest Râmtêk cave, as its description by the Chinese traveller discloses. According to the legend, Nâgârjuna's head was not allowed to remain in the place where it was cut. It was snatched away and thrown to a distance. May it not be that the Râmtêk cave, which was originally intended to be the grave of Nâgârjuna, was, on his death, selected as a suitable place for depositing at least a portion of his supposed petrified remnants?

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17 Mark the portions italicised above.

18 *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 208.

19 In view of the fact that General Cunningham held that the capital was Chândâ, and Mr. Fergusson was inclined to take it as Wairâgaṛh, it seems necessary to state that in those two places the ancient remains are neither so extensive nor so old as those of Bhândak, nor are there any traces of Buddhistic remains, whereas Bhândak possesses them pretty abundantly, there being a Buddhistic cave and *dagoba* there still in a fair state of preservation. It, therefore, seems more reasonable to suppose that Hiuen Tsiang should have preferred to visit a place containing Buddhistic shrines than otherwise. The Chinese pilgrim has noted that "there were 100 *anghârâmas* there, and 10,000 priests. There was a great number of heretics, who lived intermixed with the population, and also Dêva temples. The king was of the Kshatriya caste, who deeply reverenced the law of Buddha, and was well-affected towards learning and arts." This description very well agrees with Bhândak which contains also remains of many old Hindu temples. An inscription found in the Bhândak cave, wrongly said to be brought from Ratanpur, shows that a line of Buddhistic kings belonging to the Pânduvaṁśî Kshatriya caste ruled in that place even till the 9th century A. D. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 621). One of the kings mentioned in it is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Udayana of a Kâlanjara inscription, in which he is stated to have founded a temple of the god Bhadrêśvara there. This name of Śiva is, to my mind, full of meaning. In Bhândak, the most sacred temple and perhaps the oldest (judging from a broken inscription in very old characters discovered in 1903, when Pandit Hîrânanda and I visited it), is that of Bhadranâtha, commonly called Bhadranâga, owing to the cobra now being worshipped there, which, apparently, was originally dedicated to Śiva. This name is synonymous with Bhadrêśvara, and was, apparently, given after the name of the town Bhadrâvatî, of which Bhândak is universally believed to be a corruption. To a king of Bhadrâvati, the presiding deity of which would naturally be called Bhadranâtha or Bhadrêśvara, this name would, as a matter-of-course, be dearer than others, and he would, therefore, be inclined to give the same name to the temples built elsewhere by him, and that seems to be the reason why Udayana called the Kâlanjara temple by that name. General Cunningham rejected the strong local tradition that Bhândak was old Bhadrâvatî, and the scene of the capture of the Syâmakarṇa horse (as described in the *Jaimini Aśvamêdha*), by the Pândava hero, Bhîma, from Yauvanâśva, whose palace is still pointed out. He endeavoured to prove that Bhândak was a corruption of Vâkâtak, which Drs. Bühler and Fleet have disallowed on philological grounds. No such objection, I think, would arise in identifying it with Bhadrâvatî. And there can be no doubt about its once being a capital of Buddhistic kings.

MISCELLANEA.

A BALLAD OF THE HAKLÂS OF GUJRÂT IN THE PANJAB.

The Haklâs, who claim to be Punwâr Râjputs by origin, give the following legendary table of their descent :—

Alexander the Great
|
his son
|
Gang (took possession of Khorâsân)
|
his son
|
Râjâ Jagdeo of Mathrâ
|
his descendants for 14 generations ruled Mathrâ, among them being: Râjâ Nand Pâl

Godam	Mâsû	Dhôr	Dhôl
Râjâ Bhagwâna			(Dhabal)
Râjâ Sangâna			
Râjâ Hik or Râjâ Hikdev			
his descendant Râjâ Bârû			
his son			
grandson—dethroned by Shahâbu'ddîn Ghorî.			

They say that Bhagwâna was the most powerful Punwâr ruler of his time and that his son Sangâna ruled over Mathrâ and Narwarkot, with an army so numerous that it required a *lâkh* of tents to shelter it. Hik or Hikdev is said to have been king of Râjputâna, and to have conquered all India. Later, a descendant of Sangâna (? *not* of Hik), called Râjâ Bârû, founded Barnâlî in the Khârîân *tahsîl* of the Gujrât District and ruled over the Jetch Doâb, as well as Mathrâ — which in his time was plundered and burnt by Mahmûd of Ghaznî. Bârû himself was also taken prisoner, but restored to his dominions in the Jetch Doâb. Barnâlî, the chief village of the Haklâs, was founded in 1009 A. D., and Bârû's son and grandson ruled the Doâb till deprived of it for helping Khusrau Malik against Muhammad of Ghor, who left them only a few villages. Yet Haklâ chiefs accompanied the Ghorî when he conquered Herât.

The Haklâs claim to be Greeks who married Râjputs, and are called Punwâr from the ancestor of that name (*sic*). They say Alexander's son cared for nothing but religion and renounced his kingdom, but *his* son Gang wished to reign and as he could find no kingdom in Greece he came to Khorâsân, was there hailed as king, and founded Herât. Forming alliances with Indian kings and by intermarriage, Jagdeo, his grandson, became ruler of Mathrâ, where fourteen of his descendants reigned after him.

The Haklâs are now Muhammadans. In 1797 their chief, Chaudhri Ahmad Khân, recovered from the Jhelam river the guns of Zamân Shâh Abdâlî and received as his reward Barnâlî and Bhâgo in *jâgîr* — worth Rs. 25,000 a year. His son, Alâ Dîn, also held the *jâgîr*, and his grandson Mihr Dîn aided the British at Chiliânwâlâ in 1848.

The following ballads are attributed to Mîr Jamâl, Panjurâna, a *mîrâsî* or bard, apparently.

I.

Bismillâh-ir-Rahmân-ir-Rahîm.
Haq thhin hoyâ Haklâ zâti nâm (dâ) Pawâr,
Godam, te Masâô, Dhor, Dhabal châr bete Râjâ Nand Pâl.
Wadîôn waddâ Râjâ Bhagwânâ,
Mathrânagrî, te Narwarkot, kahe gawâlia, milk Râjâ Sanghânâ.
Lâkh pakhrân, te lâkh baghrat nagânâ,
Charhiâ Râjâ Haq Dev, dhar heth zîn palânâ.
Châre kûtân sâdhiân, kahe Mîr Panjûrânân.

II.

Qudrat karâî sachche mihrbân Rab ne wel phûlâî.
Râjâ Bârû ne Barnâlî ras karâî,
Râjâ Bere Pone Herât kurchh pâî.
Gare chaudhri takht bhaunan bâdshâhî,
Hukm Allâh de bajar jîôn chîr-lâî.
Barchhî Kahal kî kahal lîye wadiâî,
Wich Barnâl-garh tâzîân dain qalâî.
(*Mîr Jamâl ...n.*)

Translation.

From Haq (in truth) are the Haklâ, who are by caste Punwâr.
Godam, and Masâo, Dhor (and) Dhabal, the four sons of Râjâ Nand Pâl.
Râjâ Bhagwânâ was the strongest of the strong.
Mathrâ-nagrî and Narwarkot, singeth the bard, were the realm of Râjâ Sanghânâ,[1]
A hundred thousand quarters and as many tents were needed for his army.
When Râjâ Haq Dev[2] got into the saddle and rode forth,
He subdued the four corners, saith Mir Panjûrânâ.
Under (an auspicious) Destiny, a Just and Merciful God made the creeper to blossom,
Râjâ Bârû founded Barnâli,
Râjâs Berâ and Ponâ over-ran the Herât.
Their brave chiefs have subverted thrones and kingdoms.
[No translation of his line can be had.]
Kahal was made famous by Kahal's spear:
In Barnâlgarh[3] their chargers used to prance.'
(Composed by Mir Jamâl)

[1] Sângwânâ, son of Bhagwânâ.
[2] Haq Dev: Dev or Deo is the, was the, usual affix of ruler's name among the Rajputs of the Jamma Hills.
[3] I. q., Barnâlî.

I am indebted to Capt. A. C. Elliott for the above notes. To them may be added the following by Mr. E. Molloy from *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. II., para. 280, when, after observing that the Haklâs are one of the three Gûjar tribes of a Hasâra District which have some pretentions to Râjput descent, he writes :—

"The Haklás are probably very recent converts to Muhammadanism, for their social customs show many traces of their former faith. They are said to be in the habit of eating, stripped like Hindús to the waist, with nothing but a cloth tied round their loins. Some make a *chauká* (a Hindú cooking-place) or something very like it, in which they fence themselves off from intrusion during meal-time. All vessels used for purposes of cooking or of purification before prayer are strictly kept for their own special use, and are not permitted to be touched by any outsider. Another peculiar custom of the Haklás is said to be that they pray with the palm of the hand downwards instead of upwards, as is the usual custom of Muhammadans."

I may make one or two notes. It is curious that the inventors of this tradition should make the Haklâs Panwârs, for Porus is not impossibly connected with that tribal name. Further, part of the Gujrât District is or was called Herât.

H. A. Rose.

IS TOBACCO INDIGENOUS TO INDIA?

Some time ago (*ante*, Vol. XXXV, p. 292) I inserted a query headed as above with reference to the assertion made by an anonymous writer in the *Times* on the 22nd November, 1902, that there could scarcely be a doubt that certain varieties of tobacco were indigenous in India. When publishing the query, I observed that the writer quoted gave no authority for his statements, which appeared to be opposed to well-known evidence. Nobody has answered my question, but I am now in a position to give a satisfactory reply based on an article by Sir Ray Lankester which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of March 28th, 1908. Sir Ray refers to De Candolle's "delightful" volume, the *History of Cultivated Plants*, reprinted in the *International Scientific Series*, and to writings of Colonel Prain, now Director of Kew.

All the varieties of the tobacco plant belong to the genus "Nicotiana," named after M. Jean Nicot, who was ambassador of France to Portugal in 1560. The fifty species of the genus are all American, except two, namely *suaveolens*, which is native in Australia, and *fragrans*, which is found in the Isle of Pines, near New Caledonia. Most of the cultivated varieties are derived from the species *tabacum*, but the Shirâz plant, *persica*, is of Brazilian origin, and *rustica* has been cultivated in South America and Asia Minor. New varieties produced artificially in parts of Asia have been supposed erroneously to be indigenous. No Asiatic language has any native word for the herb, which is not mentioned by any writer on China earlier than 1680. It was brought from America for the first time in 1558, and quickly spread over the world through the agency of the Portuguese, English, and Spanish peoples. Turkey and Persia probably were indebted to England and Spain for the introduction of the new drug, while India undoubtedly obtained it through the Portuguese.

Asad Beg, the author of *Waḳâya* (Elliot, VI, p. 164; von Noer, *Akbar*, II, pp. 261-164), tells a long story how he procured some tobacco from Bîjâpur and introduced it to Akbar's notice. The Emperor tried a smoke, but was dissuaded from acquiring the habit of smoking by his physician, who said: "We do not want to follow the Europeans and adopt a custom which is not sanctioned by our own wise men without trial." Other people were less timid, and Asad Beg goes on to say that "as I had brought a large supply of tobacco and pipes I sent some to several of the nobles, while others sent to ask me for some; indeed all without exception wanted some and the practice was introduced. After that the merchants began to sell it, so the custom of smoking spread rapidly. His Majesty, however, did not adopt it."

The hookah is not mentioned before 1600 — it is referred to, sometimes under the name hubble-bubble, by Terry in 1616, Florio in 1614, Olearius in 1633, and many other writers of the seventeenth century. Several quotations will be found in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.

It is quite clear now that no species of *Nicotiana* is native in India, and that the use of tobacco was introduced into India by the Portuguese during Akbar's reign in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Vincent A. Smith.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ASOKA PILLAR, EDICT V—SIMALE SAMḌAKE.

POSSIBLY the former word is Hindi—"*sūrū*, a small beetle" (*Fallon*). The second must be not *sāṅḍ* (which does not represent the *ke* and gives an improbable meaning, for Indians would hardly kill a bull), but "*sāṅḍā*, an animal like a lizard." The oil is believed to be a cure for gout and impotence.

"Tel hai sāṅḍe kā!
Kanjars cry."
(*Fallon, Hindustani Dictionary, p. 741.*)

C. M. MULVANY.

Benares, 31st December, 1907.

THE SÛBAHDÂRS OF KÂBUL UNDER THE MUGHALS.

The history of the Mughals in Afghânistân has yet to be written, but the following list of the Sûbahdârs of Kâbul may be of interest. It is excerpted from the late Major Raverty's *Notes on Afghânistân* and the references are to the pages of that work.

	Year.
Shâh Beg, the Khân-i-Daurân, resigned in (p. 391)	1616
Zamâna Beg, the Mahâbat Khân, Turk (Sang-Pâjzah disaster, 1619-20) (p. 392)	1616—22
Amân-u'llah, his son, deputy ... } Khânazâd Khân, his other son, deputy .. .. }	1622—24 (1032—34 H.)
Khwâja Abû'l-Hasan	1625
Muzaffar Khân, his son, deputy. } Lashkar Khân ... ... }	1627
Sa'îd Khân Muzaffar-i-Jang, *circa* (p. 397)	1637—38[1]
Under Aurangzeb—	
Luhrâsib Khân, Safawî, son of Ali Mardân Khân, Mahâbat Khân II	...
Sayyid Amîr Khân (p. 399) ..	1661—68
Mahâbat Khân II, re-appointed	1668—70
Muhammad Amîn Khân (after defeat in Khaibar)...	1670—72
Mahâbat Khân II, again re-appointed in...	1672—73
Fidâî Khân, 'Azam Khân-i-Kukah (p 408)	1674—77
Amîr Khân (p 409)	1677
On Amîr Khân's death in 1701, the prince Shâh Âlam Bahâdur, Sûbahdâr of Multân, advanced to Kâbul to take over the government of that province. He appointed Sher-i-Zamân, his deputy.[2] (p. 415)	1701
Ibrahîm Khân	1708
Nâsir Khân, Nâsir-i-Jang[3] (p. 418)	1710—18
Mubârizu'l-Mulk, Sarbuland Khân, Tunî	1718—22
Nâsirî Khân,[4] with Ganj Ali Khân as his deputy at Peshâwar (pp. 419-20) ...	1722—24

[After his removal in 1724, no Sûbahdâr appears to have been appointed, and the Mughal control virtually ceased].

H. A. ROSE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

AÇVAGHOṢA. SÛTRÂLAMKÂRA. Traduit en Français sur la version Chinoise de Kumârajîva par Édouard Huber. Paris: 1908. viii + 493 pp.

THE *Sûtrâlaṅkâra* belongs to those work of Indian Buddhism which have not so far been recovered in the original Sanskrit. The Chinese translation by Kumârajîva belongs to the beginning of the 5th century A. D. and forms part of the Tripiṭaka.

The *Sûtrâlaṅkâra* is an Avadâna work of the same kind as the *Divyâvadâna*, the *Dvâviṁśatyavadâna* and other works. Some of the stories

[1] In 1647 Zû'l-Qadr Khân was promoted to the governor of the city and fortress of Kâbul, with charge of Upper Bangash (Kurram), to which Lower Bangash was added.

[2] Not its Sûbahdâr. Shâh Alam in 1703 would not consent to the appointment of a Sûbahdâr, and in 1710, Nâsir Khân was, originally at least, only appointed as deputy of the prince Rafî-'ul-Qadr. Sher-i-Zamân had been governor of the citadel of Kâbul, and he is said to have replaced Nâsir Khân (who had acted as deputy, apparently of Amîr Khân, but fell into disgrace).

In 1704 occurs the first mention of a Dîwân of Kâbul. Munîm Khân, Dîwân of the prince Shâh Âlam, then became Dîwân of the province.

[3] At first only, deputy (see the foregoing note) Nâsir Khân was removed in 1714, and Sipahdâr Khân appointed, but the latter was removed in 1715 and Nâsir Khân re-appointed.

[4] The son of Nâsir Khân, who was the son of Husain Beg Khân Zîk, a relative of Ali Mardân Khân.

it contains have been incorporated in the *Divyâvadâna*, and others can be traced in parallel forms in other collections. But enough remains to make the publishing of the present translation an important event. Some of the stories of our book have been previously translated by Mr. Beal, but in a rather unreliable form. M. Sylvain Lévi has translated two stories dealing with Kanishka in his *Notes sur les Indo-scythes.* But now the whole is presented in what appears to be a fully reliable translation.

According to tradition, Aśvaghôsha was a contemporary of Kaṇishka and lived at his court. There is, so far as I can see, nothing in the book to make this improbable. M. Lévi has shown that the stories about Kaṇishka contain several features which are corroborated by other evidence. On p. 423 a story is told about Yu-yue-kia, and this name has, in the translation, been rendered Huvishka. But in the index this has been corrected to Aśôka. There are, therefore, no allusions in the book to events subsequent to the time of Kaṇishka.

In the story No. 14 on pp. 80 and ff., we are told that Kaṇishka went to visit Kaṇishkapura. We are therefore here taken to Kashmir, where the old Kaṇishkapura can still be traced in the village Kânespur, between Bârâmûla and Srînagar.

The historical information which can be derived from the *Sûtrâlaṅkâra* is comparatively small and unimportant. Many of the stories themselves are, however, new, and add to our knowledge of Buddhist lore. They are written in a much more vigourous style than is usual in similar works, and even through the double translation we are able to enjoy the beauties of the original.

STEN KONOW.

REALE ACCADEMIA DELLE SCIENZE DELL'ISTITUTO DI BOLOGNA. Classe di scienze morali. Serie I, Tomo 1. Bologna: 1908.

THE old Bologna Academy has up to last year confined its operations to natural science. A new class has now been added, called Classe di scienze morali. It comprises two sections, devoted to philology and law, respectively. The first fascicle of the first volume of its Proceedings has recently been published. The first article is a paper by Professor Alfredo Trombetti, *Saggi di glottologia generale comparata I. I Pronomi personali.* The author's aim is to show that identical pronominal bases can be found all over the world, and that this can be adduced as a proof of the original unity of human speech. As the result of his investigations, he puts down *i* as the base of the first person, and *u* as that of the second, and these bases, he thinks, are originally demonstratives, meaning "this" and "that", respectively. I do not intend to follow the author through his learned and interesting, but not convincing study. Suffice it to say that even if it could be proved that two demonstrative bases *i* and *u* are used in the formation of personal pronouns all over the world, that would not prove the original unity of human speech. Just like terms of relationship such as *ma, pa, da,* &c., demonstrative bases such as *i* and *u* belong to the language of the nursery, which is the same all over the world, and which has without any doubt played a great rôle in the formation of the various groups of languages.

STEN KONOW.

DEVANAGAR: A POLYGLOT MAGAZINE. Calcutta College Square, Bowbazar.

I WISH to draw attention to this new Magazine. It contains contributions in the various Indian languages, Sanskrit, Hindî, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Bengali, Sindhī, &c. The chief interest of the journal to a European does not rest with the contents of the various papers, but with the opportunity it offers of finding samples written in the modern vernaculars. The annual subscription is Rs. 3-8.

STEN KONOW.

R. KRISHNAMACHARYAR. RAGHUVAMSA VIMARSA (KAVYAGUNADARSA SERIES, No. 1). Srirangam: 1908. Re. 1.

THIS book is an attempt at introducing higher criticism into the study of Sanskrit poetry. The author analyses Kâlidâsa's masterpiece in order to show how the plot is developed, which *rasas* prevail, the poetical diction, and so on. Though it is impossible to agree with his views in all cases, the reading of his book is very instructive, especially for Western scholars, who are often, I fear, too apt to overlook many of those points which to a Hindu constitute the principal charm of a poem. But I am afraid that the author will not be able to convince us that his methods are in all points superior to ours. Thus he maintains that the very first verse of the Raghuvaṁśa is an interpolation, on purely æsthetic grounds. We should here certainly expect an investigation into the history of this verse in the works of rhetoric. Higher criticism cannot be based on æsthetic considerations alone, but must also take into account other points. Literary taste varies, and it has varied also in India. But even though I cannot agree with the author's views, I have read his book with great pleasure. His Sanskrit is much above the average, and in many cases his remarks help us to detect new beauties in Kâlidâsa's famous poem.

STEN KONOW.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

No. III.

AMBROSE SALISBURY.

AMBROSE SALISBURY, whose career in India extended from 1658 to 1676, was one of the lesser lights among the East India Company's servants on the coast of Coromandel. Like William Jearsey, Salisbury was, for some years, out of favour and out of the Company's service,[1] but, unlike Jearsey, Salisbury never openly defied the authorities at home. He was, indeed, a man of a very different calibre to the fiery chief at Masulipatam. The glimpses of his character obtained from his own letters and from those of his contemporaries, show him as timid, undecided, and alternately pitiful and apologetic. It was little wonder that he was made a cat's-paw by the more daring spirits around him, nor that he hovered perpetually betwixt favour and disgrace. Of his business capabilities it is difficult to judge. On the few occasions when he asserted himself, he boasted of his economical and skilful management of the Company's investments. For his diligence in attending to the dyeing of ginghams, &c., he earned a measure of praise from the Council at Masulipatam, but he appears to have been incapable of holding his own either with the "peeter men" or with the native underlings at Peddapalle. Still, insignificant as he was, the story of Ambrose Salisbury's life in India affords much valuable information with regard to the working of one of the Company's minor factories, at a time when records are sparse and fragmentary. The correspondence between Salisbury and his superiors in 1666, 1670 to 1673, and again, in 1675, is detailed and connected. From these letters a clear idea can be formed of the methods adopted to procure "Saltpeeter and Packing Trade" and of the various means employed by the Company's servants to serve their own ends under cover of their masters' interests. How the unhappy Salisbury was alternately threatened, censured and cajoled, these records sufficiently set forth. As will be seen, though not an illiterate man, he was not a facile writer. At times, his sentences are hopelessly involved, but, except in a very few instances, his meaning is apparent. His letters, in fact, reveal the man as he was, and the intensely human tone of the whole correspondence is an adequate excuse for reproducing it in its entirety.

Of the parentage and early history of the subject of the paper little is known. Beyond the facts that his mother was Susanna Salisbury, that he had a sister Susan and two nieces, Susanna and Anna,[2] nothing definite has come to light about his family. It is probable that Ambrose was related to Hugh Salisbury (frequently mentioned in the Letter Books of the E. I. Co.), who was Collector of Customs and Controller of Prizes at Portsmouth from 1664 to 1676.[3] He may also have been connected with "Mr. Samuell Salsberry, an antient sober man of good breeding," the Company's "steward" in their factory at Surat in 1664.[4] In 1630, "Ambrose Salusburie of Ravenstone in the Counties of Leicester and Derby" died, leaving a "hopefull son Ambrose at Cambridge."[5] It is possible that the Cambridge undergraduate may have been the father of the East Indian factor, but no proof of the relationship is forthcoming.

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1 See *ante*, Vol. XXXIV., 1905, pp. 163 f.

2 *Administrations*, 1676, at Somerset House.

3 See *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series.*

4 Surat "Generall" 28 January, 1664. *Factory Records, Surat,* Vol. 86.

5 Wills proved in the P. C. C., *Scroope*, 41.

As "Second" in Peddapalle Factory, one of Salisbury's duties was to keep the books in accordance with a clause in Sir Edward Winter's "Commission," of the 20th February, 1662, "Wee doe Order and apoint that our Second at Fort St. George and in all other Factories under your Comaund, where wee shall have above two Factors Resident, to keepe our Books of Accompts, which bookes shall bee allowed by the Cheifes of each respective Factory and afterward transmitted to your Resident to bee perused and allowed of by your selfe or whoe shall Succeed, which Bookes being examined and attested, wee doe require that they, with your owne Bookes kept in Fort St George, with the Bookes of Consultations, bee yearely sent us home for England.[23]

From a paragraph in the "Forts Generall to Metchlepatam" of the 11th March, 1662, it appears that Salisbury had at last gone to Masulipatam. "And if it is needfull, you may dispatch Mr. Smyth and Mr. Stedd for Verashroone to gayne the trade there which is lost but that is referred to you according to Consultation as well Mr. Salusbury to Pettepolee, but that must bee when there is "a Persian Investment."[24] In consequence of this permission, Salisbury returned to Peddapalle some time before June 1662, when instructions were ordered to be sent to him about his accounts. On the 27th June, the Agent at Fort St. George wrote to Masulipatam. "Verashroone and Pettipolee Invoyces should bee taken into yours of Metchlepatam and you may instruct them in the two factoryes to abreviate theirs by making goods of the same sort and price of one number and to keep your Accounts at 8[25] Cash to a fanam as you doe at Metchlepatam and let the accounts of the subordinate Factoryes bee taken into yours as wee enordered in ours of the 16th September last."[26]

Since the departure of Mr. Shingler, Salisbury had been acting "Cheife" at Peddapalle. His appointment as head of the factory was confirmed at a "Consultation held October the 20th 1662 per the Agent and Councell of Fort St. George in Metchlepatam . . . Wee doe hereby declare and agree . . . That the undermentioned persons are to take place in order as they are underwritten . . . *Vizt.* Pettepolie, Ambrose Saulsbury, John Sted."[27] But, though his rank as senior factor at Peddapalle was thus acknowledged, he was not recognized as the actual "Cheife" of the Factory. In the "Fort St. George Generall" to the Company of the 10th January, 1662-3, there is "A list of the factors that are liveinge at the dispeede of Your Shippinge . . . as follows . . . Pettepolee, Ambros Salsbury, John Sted." Then comes the remark, "Though these persons are placed as above, yet wee are not fully resolved on their disposalls."[28]

On the 26th February, 1663, at a Consultation held at Fort St. George, it was again resolved to discontinue a regular factory at Peddapalle : — "Wee conclude it best that the Factories of Verashroone and Pettepollee bee dissolved because they are soe chargeable, and the business may as well bee done without them, and if at any tyme any shall bee employed to procure Goods in those parts, they shall bee allowed fower Pagothaes old per month dureing the tyme they are out in that employment and to bee allowed Charges Merchandize besides."[29]

Salisbury evidently preferred to remain in partial independence at Peddapalle rather than be subject to the restrictions of the position of a junior servant of the Company at Masulipatam. In the "Forts Generall" to the Company of the 10th December, 1663, we read, "Those debts standing out at Metchlepatam in Mr. Johnsons Bookes were the Salt petre men, which Mr. Jearsey turned over to Pettipolee Factory, which when Mr. Salusbury hath made up his yeares businesse with

[23] *Letter Book*, Vol. 3, p. 102.

[24] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 14.

[25] Probably a copyist's error for 80. Thomas Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal* (Hakluyt Society's Publications), pp. 114-116, gives 80 copper cash to a fanam (worth 3d.) at Fort St. George, *circ.* 1669.

[26] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 14.

[27] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 1.

[28] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 14.

[29] *O. C.* No. 2970.

them, wee shall know what is done."[30] In the same letter, we have the first reference to Salisbury's investment of saltpetre at Peddapalle, and also the first hint of censure on his conduct :—"Mr. Ambrose Salisburie from Pettepolee hath invoyced unto us on the *George and Martha* 703 Baggs of Saltpetre at severall prizes from 4 to 5½ pagothaes Old per Candie,[31] besides Charges but hath not made any distinction thereof unto us. The petre which goeth from hence is marked M, That from Pettipolee hath neither marke nor Number. This wee thought fitt to hint to your Worships least you should Impute the omission unto us."[32]

The Company were of the same opinion as their Agent at Fort St. George about the undesirability of continuing a Factory at Peddapalle. In the "Generall to Fort St. George" of the 16th December, 1663, the Court of Committees wrote, "Wee absolutely prohibite the making of any debts at Pettipoly, Mesulapatam or Verashroone, where wee have already smarted for the same . . . And as wee desire the Reduceing of our Factories in the Bay, soe wee doe alsoe on the Coast, And therefore referr unto your Consideration the quitting the Factory in Pettipolee, which wee conceive is not necessary to bee continued, The Callicoes which wee receive from thence beeing inconsiderable and may bee made in the same sorts and goodness with you at the Fort or Mesulapatam."[33]

The year 1664 was a disastrous one for Salisbury. Hitherto he had enjoyed the favour and protection of William Jearsey, who had succeeded Mr. Johnson as Chief at Masulipatam. Jearsey, however, was in violent opposition to Sir Edward Winter, then Agent at Fort St. George, and Sir Edward's severity towards Salisbury appears to have been aimed at the underling's supporter. In the Fort St. George "Generall" to Masulipatam, dated 18th March, 1664, Mr. Jearsey was informed, "If you want money for the provision of Saltpeter, their will bee a necessity for you to take up some, for wee cannot Supply you with any from hence. Wee are Sending of Mr Robert Fleetwood to reside at Pettepolee, whome wee shall appoynt for that Employment and gett in the old debts, to whome wee would have you deliver 1000 or 1500 pagos, and to Consult togeather aboute the old debitors. If you deliver them any money, that they bring in one fourth part [more] than they shall receive now in money uppon Accompt of their debts, that soe in time they may be able to Cleare them."[34] On the 25th March, Ambrose Salisbury was summarily dismissed from his post.

"*Orders Sent to Mr. Ambrose Salisbury.*

Mr Ambrose Salisbury, Uppon Sight of this our order you are to Deliver unto Mr Robert Fleetwood an Accompt of all things apperteyneing to our honourable Masters At Pettepolee and places adjacent, whoe wee have Enordred to reside In that place to looke after our Said Employers affaires in those Parts, And this our order and his Receipt Shall bee your Discharge from Your loveing freinds, EDWARD WINTER; WILLIAM GYFFORD; EDWARD READE; WILLIAM DAWES.

Dated in Fort St. George the 25th March 1664."[35]

Mr. William Dawes was sent to Peddapalle to carry the Agent's orders into effect.

"*Instructions Given to Mr. William Dawes.*

Loving Friends Mr. Williams Dawes, By occasion of Severall Complaints of the Saltpeter makers At Pettepolee against Ambrose Salusbury, which that wee may more fully understand, have thought requisite to send you thither, in Regard of your language, to Examine and make report unto us, and have likewise Mr. Robert Fleetwood to take Charge of the Companys affayres there, and for the mannaging of this affayre referr you unto the followeing lines for Instructions.

30 *O. C.* No. 2983.

31 The candy at Masulipatam was reckoned at 625 lbs. at this period, Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 217, n. 5.

32 *O. C.* No. 2983.

33 *Letter Book*, Vol. 3, pp. 343 and 344.

34 *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 15.

35 *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 15.

First, at your Arrivall at Metchlepatam, if Mr. Salusbury Bee there, you togeather with Mr. Fleetwood are to produce or Shew him our order for transferring the charge of what ever apperteynes to the Company in Pettepolee from him, the said Ambrose Salusbury, unto Ditto Robt. Fleetwood, according to which wee expect his Complyance. But if you finde him not at Metchlepatam, Then you are to goe immediately to Pettepolee and Exact his Complyance to our Said order herewith Delivered you.

Secondly, you are to Convene all the Saltpeter makers and take account of them what Debts they owed and what money hath bin Delivered to them, alsoe what peter they have brought in Since Sir Edward Winter's going home for England.

Thirdly, if uppon Examination it Shall appeare that Mr. Salusbury hath wronged the Company, you are to Call on him and Demand Satisfaction.

Fourthlee, you are to apply your selfe in person or by writeing unto the Governour in Chiefe of Pettepolee and the adjacent places where the Peter is made, touching his favour unto the Saltpeter merchants Etsa. buisiness, this in Complyance to the King's phirmaund [*farmān*] Soe long observed by his Subjects, and as soone as the Shipps out of Europe Arrive, wee Shall Remember him With a present and, as hee Shall Deserve, Every yeare bee mindefull of him.

Likewise you are to take Care for the Securing of Such Debts As are Dew from Severall persons unto Sr. Edward Winter.

Lastly having Examined the matters of Difference betweene the Saltpeter makers and Mr. Salusbury, leaveing Mr. Fleetwood there At Pettepolee, and Ditto Salusbury (if Comply with our order) At Metchlepatam, but if hee bee averse, then to hasten your returne, and (as in a former Clause hinted) bring him along with you to Render Accompt Unto Your loveing freinds, EDWARD WINTER, WILLIAM GYFFORD, EDWARD READE."

Fort St George, 25 *March* 1664.[36]

Though Winter's orders for Salisbury's dismissal appear to have been carried out, the Agent was unable to detach the disgraced factor from his protector, William Jearsey. In a letter to Masulipatam on the 25th May 1664, Winter wrote, "Wee have it Reported from Severall that you and Mr. Salusbury by your lycence, Employ Severall to buy up the Saltpeter at Pettepolee by which the price is raised and the Company will be prejudiced for which you must Expect to give Satisfaction hereafter, and your making a Factory there under the name of Metchlepatam will not bee well Pleasing to the Company."[37]

Salisbury continued at Peddapalle, although Sir Edward Winter, writing from Madapollam on the 23rd September 1664, assumed that he was at Masulipatam: — "I shall not consent that Mr. Jearsey at his Comeing from Metchlepatam shall intrust Mr. Niclaes with the Companies affaires or any of their estate, But, as occasion requires, it shall bee Committed to the care and Management of Mr. Charles Proby or Mr. Ambrose Salusbury as Shall bee most Convenient." Whether Winter had, by this time, modified his opinion about Salisbury is uncertain, but if not, it seems strange that he should have been willing to give him a temporary responsible post at Masulipatam. The result of Mr. Dawes' enquiry into Salisbury's conduct is not recorded, but had he found the accused factor guilty of any grave misdemeanour the fact could hardly have been ignored. That Winter realized his mistake is evident, for, writing to Jearsey from Madapollam on the 4th October 1664, he gave quite a different reason for Salisbury's dismissal from that contained in the Orders of the previous March :— "As touching Mr. Salusbury's being Displaced there was good reason for it, hee plainely affirming

[36] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 15.

[37] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 15.

that hee would not resolve whither he would Serve the Company any longer till the years Shipping Arrived, his time being before expired, but if hee shall enterteyne himselfe againe, hee shall bee placed as shall bee thought fitting."[38] That Salisbury was still at Peddapalle at this time is evident from a letter to Captain Egmont of the 29th October, 1664, informing him that "Mr. Fleetwood's boats being all gone to Metchlepatam," the writer "hath now borrowed of Mr. Salusbury his boate."[39]

By the time the letter from the Court of Committees of the 16th December 1663,[40] reached India, the Agent and Council at Fort St. George had realized that it was to the Company's interest to retain a factory at Peddapalle, and on the 8th December, 1664, they wrote to the Court, "Pettepolle is no otherwise made use of then for the provision of Saltpetre, which if wee doe not encouraage, the Dutch will quickly snatch it from us, they having againe after many yeares absence, renewed their Factory in that place."[41]

Sir Edward Winter too, would seem to have repeated of his hastiness and evidently feared that the authorities at home would consider his high-handed conduct towards Salisbury in an unfavourable light. In a letter to his brother, Thomas Winter, dated 2nd and 12th January, 1665, he gives the following explanation of his action: "I know the Company will be Informed of my dischargeing Mr. Salusbury their service, but not the true Cause and Reason of it, which was because he plainly told me in March last that he would not Resolve me whether he would any longer serve the Company till the Europe Shipps arrived, his tyme being Expired. Besides, I have under his owne hand his agreement with the Salt petre Merchants, wherein he Contracted with them to bring in peter att $4\frac{5}{8}$ pagos. new per Candye,[42] and he rates the same to the Company at $6\frac{1}{2}$ pagos. old per Candy; and in his Books hath Charged many large and unnecessary expences as he pleased himselfe, which must not be allowed. This I think a sufficient Ground to keepe him from being Imployed in it again; and yet Mr. Buckeridge (whom I have informed of all this) is so made by Mr. Jearsey that they would Continue him in that busines. Pray let the Committee have notice hereof."[42]

It is difficult to decide on the justice of Winter's charges. In the matter of indecision, the allegation might well have been true, for Salisbury's vacillation is in constant evidence throughout his life, and he seems to have been incapable of forming a definite resolution.

In the year 1665 there is no record whatever of the late head at Peddapalle, but on the 1st January 1666, there is a reference to him in a letter from Jeremy Sambrooke at Fort St. George to William Jearsey at Masulipatam: "This night is a Letter come from Mr. Clopton at Pettepolee to Sir Edward, declareing how hee &ca. are wounded by some falling out with Mr. Salusbury. I know not the perticulars."[43] On the 25th May 1666, Salisbury was at Masulipatam, when he appended his Signature after those of Messrs. Jearsey and Niclaes to a letter to Sir George Oxinden at Surat.[44] This shows that the Chief at Masulipatam, at any rate, still accounted his protégé a Company's servant. Jearsey, no doubt, had his own ends to serve by making Salisbury a debtor to his kindness and protection. In August, 1666, he suggested a voyage to Tenasserim, the real object of which was to anticipate Sir Edward Winter in the seizure of goods at that place. It did not suit Jearsey to appear openly in the matter, and Salisbury, being virtually out of the Company's service, was a safe tool to make use of in the matter. However, weak though he was, Salisbury saw through the motives of his would-be employers.

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[38] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 15.

[39] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 15.

[40] *See ante*, p. 217.

[41] *O. C.* No. 3037.

[42] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 3.

[43] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[44] *O. C.* No. 3175.

"*Proposalls of voyageing to Tennasaree made to Mr. Ambrose Salusbury, Metchlepatam, the* 6: *August* 1666.

Mr Ambrose Salusbury, Wee have often propounded to you your goeing to Tennassaree to secure the Companys Fraight of the *Madrass Merchant,* which may bee Judged to amount to 7 or 8000 pagotheas of which Mr. Deering yet never gave any Accompt, much less made any Returne of that, nor of 6000 and odd pagotheas New Mr. Chamber adventured on the *Madrass Merchant,* which hee hath turned over to the Company, besides other Considerable venture of other mens, which Sir Edward Winter endeavouring to get all into his possession, Wee have all the Reason that may bee to prevent it, as alsoe to Seize upon what may bee the[re] Remayneing of his, thereby to save our Masters as much indempnifyed as wee cann, hee haveing usurpt their authority and Seized on their Fort and estates, and keepes the Agent George Foxcroft, Etca. close Prysoners against all Law or Reason,[45] wherefore wee desire you to give us a speedy answer in Writeing whither you will undertake the buisness and goe the voyadge or not, the Monzoone drawing nigh, that if you Refuse it, wee may have time to Consider of some other course, as alsoe that wee may give advice to our Freinds in the Bay of your Resolutions, whoe indeed have pitcht upon you as a fitting Person to send, Wee Remayne, Your assured Freinds, WM. JEARSEY; JOHN NICLAES.[46]

To this proposal Salisbury replied on the same day as follows:—

"*Mr. Salusburies Answer to the proposalls for his voyageing to Tanassaree, dated in Metchlepatam the 6th August* 1666.

Mr. William Jearsey &ca., Respected Friends, That you have propounded my goeing to Tanassaree to secure the Companyes freight of the *Madrass Merchant* with the several adventures belonging to Mr. Chamber and other persons, I acknowledge. Yet, on the contrary, you never yet provided any conveighance, nor proposed any conditions, or what commission you would give. It is certaine it will bee an acceptable Service to prevent Sir Edward Winter his seizure on the Companyes Estate, haveing posest himselfe of your Fort and Interest at Madaras. For my owne part, shall ever give my assistance to advance the Companyes Interest and would now gladly proceed on this Imployment, were times peacable and other affaires setled, as they ought to bee in these parts. You know I have bin out of Imployment and lived at my owne expence upwards of two years, and now in this time of warr with the Dutch, upon soe short warning, it will bee much discouragement to goe the voyage upon one of the Country juncks, besides the underhand dealing that may bee used by Sir Edwards means with bribes &ca., of which hee will not bee spareing, and you not sending some Estate or Effects to doe the same cannot, in my apprehension, prove advantagious to the Company, and to returne and not doe the service I should and you may expect will redound to my great discreditt. Therefore, desire you to make choice of some person you shall approve of (as here are them both capable and willing to accept) and excuse, Your assured Friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY."[47]

This answer was probably partly dictated by the fear of incurring the enmity of Sir Edward Winter. At the same time Salisbury realized, what he hints at in the close of his letter, that, in the event of his failure to bring back a goodly haul from Tenasserim, his actions would be disavowed by Jearsey and his following, and he would thus be in a worse plight than he was already.

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[45] Sir Edward Winter was superseded as Agent by George Foxcroft in 1665. Instead of resigning, Winter imprisoned his successor and kept him in confinement for three years.

[46] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[47] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

On the receipt of Salisbury's answer to their proposals, Messrs. Jearsey and Niclaes wrote again :—

"*Mr. Ambrose Salusbury*, In your answer to our paper delivered you to day, you acknowledged that wee Long since propounded your going to Tennasaree, but now declyne it under pretence of the Dutch warr and short warning. As to the former, that was knowne long before wee had ever any thoughts of sending you, or indeed did imagine wee should have any Necessity for it, and for the latter, you have been often spoake to some monethes since, and about a moneth agoe you said you would Consider of it and give your answer in two or three dayes, but did not minde it. Besides, the tyme is not soe short as you speake of, haveing neere a moneth that you may provide your selfe. Conveighance of the Companys you know wee have not, and therefore must make use of the Moores [Muhammadans], which was alsoe told you, to carry you over, of which you may take choyce of three or four. 'Twas never a Custome to give any man a Commission that [? when] there was noe Certainety of his proceedings upon the voyadge, the Conditions you were to goe upon [were] as the Companys Servant to secure what belonged to them and what you could more of Sir Edward's in; however, your Endeavours would bee acceptable and you Blameless.

Your Indented time with the Company wee knowe to bee long since Expired[48], and that Sir Edward did, upon his owne humour, turne you out of Service, without the Consent of any body elce, and this Wee finde you have taken for a Law and discharge, and thereupon have taken your Owne time to follow your Owne occasions, which in all reason should have its Owne charge, for while you were here you never was debarred the Companys accomodation and you may very well Remember that with Mr. Buckeridge[49] Wee resolved, Notwithstanding what Sir Edward had done, not to Leave you out, which Sir Edward, after his departure, nuld agaíne, but noe Sooner that the Worshipfull Agent Foxcroft arrived [in 1665], but wee had you in Consideration againe; but hee, being betrayed into those villaines power before any thing was Effected, and haveing noe shipping here since the departure of Mr. Buckeridge, things have Remayned unsetled, soe that you cannot Justly blame any body but Sir Edward that you have not been in a Settled Imployment, the which could not have lasted longer than wee had had Buisness, and then you must, to save Charges have repaired hither. But all the while Wee have Observed you Unconstant and wavering as it were between two opinions, and as if You had slighted or Neglected soe farr as not to acknowledge your selfe to bee in the Number of one of the Companys servants, and that is the reason that Wee have not at any time since nor now absolutely Commanded your observance, but desire you to take the Imployment upon you which, if you doe refuse, you may chance meet with a worse, and repent you of missing this, which wee would not have you doe, and therefore doe not take your first paper for a positive answer but doe Expect it to this, and Remayne Your assured Friends, WM. JEARSEY; JOHN NICLAES.[50]

Metchlepatam, the 6 August 1666."

The veiled threats contained in the above letter evidently frightened Salisbury, and he hurried away from Masulipatam in order to be out of the immediate reach of the overbearing

48 Salisbury's 'indented time' was probably for five years. This period elapsed in 1663.

49 Nicholas Buckeridge was appointed by the Company in Dec. 1663, to inspect their Factories on the Coromandel Coast.

50 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

Jearsey. When safely back at Peddapalle, he wrote a long, involved and querulous reply to the document of the 6th August :—

"*Mr. Salusbury's Generall to Metchlepatam, dated in Pettepollee, the 10th August 1666.*

Mr. William Jearsey &ca., Respected Friends, The Reasons I have given noe reply to your paper of the 6th instant untill now are two, better consideration being of concernment, and opportunity, as on my Journy, which had not till my arrivall to the place last night.

My paper delivered you the day of your date acknowledged what you express, my goeing to Tanassaree, which now you say I decline under pretence of the Dutch Warr and Short warning, which was not soe much pretence as Reallity, being the same expressed by word of mouth before ; and as in that paper of mine you mention you never yet propounded any conveyance nor proposed any condition, therefore did not esteeme it other then by way of discourse, a thing not really intended, and therefore replyed would give you my Answer in two or three days, and after did not regard it, you haveing eight months agone propounded the same and not till of late dayes made mention of it againe, therefore had little regard to your Second proposall, concluding it would be buried in oblivion with the former and not prosecuted nor observed more ; The tyme to provide being, as you say, near one month, I looke not as Sufficient for such a voyage, and to take passage on a Moores Jounck to that or any other place (unless compelled) should not of my own accord. Had your result gone along with your discourse soe long Since as you speake of, there might have been conveyance of the Companys. Tis not usuall to give a Person a Commission before there is a certainty of proceeding, and very few that will promise or engage untill the conditions concluded on, and therefore that I have not resolved, you cannot impute my fault. I conclude with you I was to goe as the Companys Servant to secure what belongs to them, as alsoe what I could of Sir Edwards. The former is very legall and necessary, the Latter I will not dispute, and if my endeavours will not accomplish either, they will bee acceptable and blameless, but you never promised engagement to Secure mee Soe to the Company and Sir Edward in case of future troubles Should I prove an unproffitable Servant and returne only with an account of charges, which conclude you have Some Suspicion will prove noe better, therefor you Say you will send noe estate of the Companys, and whome you will find to expend his owne on this account shall bee glad to heare, or that you Informe how it can bee done without a considerable charge.

As you understand that Sir Edward did upon his owne humour turne mee out of Service without the consent of any body elce, you alsoe know I have bin ever ready and willing to accept the Companys Imployment and have not removed from this place in expectation of a Settlement according as concluded on by Mr Buckeridge and your Selves, and Since promised many times by you, although at first opposed by Sir Edward, yet after the arrivall of the Worshipfull Agent Foxcroft his power was voyde as to the Companys Servants, and Since the Agent his Imprisonment the power hath laine onely in you to order the Companys affairs in these parts. I conceive you might as well have answered my Settlement to the Company as you can the continuance of a person in imployment established without your knowledge and consent by Sir Edward Winter, which may cause a conjecture or Suspicion by strangers and noe good opinion by the Company, but since you approve it I submitt and am content.

My opinion was always setled and constant to doe the honoble. Company Service and will not say I have bin much slighted, onely this, that haveing bin called to engage myselfe with you in matters of greatest concernment in behalfe of the Honoble. Company, the Agent, &ca., concluded I might have bin accepted off and acquainted with matters of less moment, and that is the reason that I have not of late desired to acquainte my selfe with either.

If my refusall of this imployment now propounded prove to my prejudice and losse and that I may meet with a worse, will rather content my Selfe with it then accept of this. Am confident the Honoble. Company will not require any person to goe upon an Imployment against his owne approbation, therefore depend on your favour for pardon for my non-acceptance, and this please to accept as the resolution of Your assured Friend, Ambrose Salusbury."[51]

The attempt to assert himself was a failure. Jearsey retorted at once with a sharp decisive letter and his attitude left no doubt about the scant regard he had for Salisbury or for any threats he might use.

Mr Ambrose Salusbury, This instant wee Received your Resolution in Answer to ours, which wee did not Expect at this distance, but before your departure, soe that you might have Saved the labour of it, for as sylence giveth consent, soe wee Easily concluded that you goeing away without giveing a Respond, did not like what wee had Writt and would not goe the Voyadge.

To give a perticular answere to every thing in yours is not of any necessity, however here and there shall touch at some things that either in vindication of our selves or Confutation of you may Seem to Require it.

The Dutch Warr was knowne to you long before the proposall of this voyadge to you, therefore could not now bee brought in for a pretence more than at first, and if a monethes warning, as you confess, were not enough to fitt your self for a voyadge, Wee cannot conceive what time you would Require, but undoubtedly you could have fitted your selfe in less time if you had pleased and given us a positive answere at first as well as now, to tell us you did not regard it and had little Regard to our second Proposeall. Had Wee absolutely enordred your goeing at first, which wee might have done if you are the Companys Servant, without makeing any other Conditions with you but commanding you to observe such instructions as wee should give you, this had been the Way to know your minde sooner and have Received a flatt answere from you as now that you would not, and wee will not press it any further, much less Compell you to any thing.

Tis to bee supposed that if wee enordred you any thing in the Companys behalfe that they should beare you out in it, but 'tis very strange that you should scruple to act what you have set your hand to as the secureing of what wee could light on of Sir Edwards to have the Company indempnifyed as much as you cann. If you think you have done any thing amiss or gone too farr herein, you know how you may bee absolved. 'Tis but relenting and makeing a Submissive Confession of your Error to Sir Edward, but had you Undertaken the designe and required any Security from us, wee should have given it you, but before you asked it how should wee know you were soe Wavering, haveing formerly told you soe much of that that 'twas thought you would never have appeared soe againe.

As to your Imployment, our former is Sufficient answere, if you could bee satisfied with it, and for our Imployment of Mr. Fleetwood which you distast, 'tis to get in the goodes for the money delivered out by him, under which hee may for Ready money procure some more, and when this buisness is over hee hath done untill further order from the Agent.

Your complaints of being made onely acquainted with buisness of greatest concernment will not signify much, if it were granted to bee soe, as you say that you were not acquainted with matters of less moment, but wee doe not know wherein nor the time, unless you were incapable by Sickness or otherwise.

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[51] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

If you read over your Indenture with the Company, you will finde you are oblidged to serve in such places and in such Imployment as shall be appointed by your superiours and are not left to your owne choyce as you inferr, which wee thinke sufficient answere to you and Remaine Your Reall Freinds, WM. JEARSEY; JOHN NICLAES.

Metchlepatam the 13th August 1666." [52]

After this passage of arms with Jearsey, we hear no more of Salisbury for some time. The next mention of him, which is far from flattering, is in 1668, when he was still at Peddapalle. It occurs in a "Letter from an unknowne person" to the Company dated in Fort St. George, 4 April, 1668 :—

"Truly your Factory at Pettipolee is rather a Charge then a benefitt to you (being managed by a very debauch't Idle fellow one Salusbury) not furnishing from thence a piece of Cloth towards your returnes this yeare . . . I give you a Carracter of your Metchlepatam Servants . . . they are all greate abuzers of the Company in words and deedes especially Salisbury at Pettipolee, that miscreant." [53]

From the above extract it seems clear that Salisbury was acting at Peddapallee as an accredited servant of the Company. In 1669 he desired to be transferred to the Bay of Bengal. The "Fort Generall" to Masulipatam of the 30th June, 1669, contains the following paragraph on this head :—

"Mr Bridges also advised that Mr Ambrose Salisbury desired he might goe into the Bay for some fitting employment which might present, and Mr Salisbury also haveing acquainted the Agent and others of us of that his desire, if he doe continue in that minde and still desire it, we give our consent that he also may goe for the Bay, so as that before his departure he give up a trew and faithfull account of all that hath beene under his management and a true delivery of whatsoever shall be found remaining or due from him to the Honble. Company ; and, in case he leave his place, we appoint Mr Robert Fleetwood to succeede him as Chief in Petepolee, as a person who by his long experience is the fittest for that employment, and doe appoint Mr John Hopkins who hath long served the Company faithfully to be his second to assist him in Petepolee." [54]

How long Salisbury had been acting as "Chief" at Peddapalle, is uncertain, but it is probable that, on the release of Agent Foxcroft in August, 1668, he was reinstated in the Company's service.

The death of John Niclaes, shortly after Salisbury's request to go to "the Bay," created a vacancy on "the Coast," and the "Chief at Pettipolee" was appointed "Second" at Masulipatam.

"*Fort Generall to Metchlepatam, 20th July 1669.*

To Mr. William Jearsey. We have taken into consideration the Vacancy of a second in Metchlepatam by the death of Mr John Nicklaes, and do find it to be Mr Ambrose Salisbury his right of succession, since we have no intention of sending any from hence to fill up that vacancy, and therefore have appointed the said Mr Ambrose Salisbury to succede and be second in Metchlepatam, haveing given up account of all under his charge at Petepolee, as you will perceive by

[52] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.
[53] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous,* Vol. 3.
[54] *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* Vol. 16.

a Coppy of our Consultation about that business,[55] whereunto we do refer you, by which also you will find that we appoint Mr Robert Fleetwood to be Chief in Petepole and Mr John Hopkins to be his Second and Assistant." [56]

At this time Salisbury was occupied in getting in a supply of saltpetre for the Company. On the 17th August 1669, he wrote to Masulipatam that he should have 300 Candy ready by the end of the month. Knowing that the position of "Second" at Masulipatam was a post of less independence than that of "Chief" at Peddapalle, he was in no hurry to repair to his new appointment. On the 8th September, 1669, Agent Foxcroft, who seems to have heard of Salisbury's disinclination to succeed at Masulipatam, wrote to William Jearsey :—

"Wee doe concurr with them that it is convenient that Mr Salisbury and Mr Fleetwood doe respectively continue in the places were they are, untill they have effected and gathered in the investments they have entered upon for this yeare, before they settle themselves in the places whereunto they are designed, unless you finde some other necessity to appoint it sooner, and that the business may goe on currantly in their absence. Wee did understand and intend the charge [? change] of Mr. Salisbury from Petepolee to be second to be a raiseing of him, as well as we understand it to his desire, claymeing the same by right, in which we concurred." [57] Three days latter in another "Generall" to Masulipatam of the 11th September, 1669, Foxcroft remarked, "Mr. Salisbury advizes that 125 tons of saltpeter which he is ordered to provide wilbe at Metchlepatam by the end of August, onely he saith Oxen are hard to be had, there being a sickness among them of which many dye." [58]

Meanwhile, the proposal to send Salisbury to "the Bay" met with great disfavour from the factors there. In a "Generall to Fort St George" of the 11th September 1669, they wrote, "Wee find likewise that your Worship &ca. have licenced Mr Ambrose Salusburys coming downe to be employed in our Masters affaires as wee shall find convenient. You very well know that wee have already more Persons of large expectations than employments proportionable thereto, there being besides the Chiefs of the severall factoryes, eight of Councell who will all bee as unwilling to grant the precedence to him as he (haveing officiated as Cheife of Pettipolee for some yeers) to some of them, by which meanes wee must never expect a mitigation but rather encrease of differences, yet if your Worship &ca. shall think fitt to gratifye his request, wee desire you to appoint the Station he shall act in to prevent clamours against us." [59]

The Factors in Bengal need not have troubled themselves about the coming of Salisbury, for that individual had long since abandoned his desire to remove thither. On the 14th October 1669, the Agent wrote from Fort St. George to Masulipatam :—

"Mr Salisbury is very earnest to continue in his employment at Petepolee. We are not willing to appeare to the Company so inconstant to our orders of settlement, whereof we have advised them, without some good reason, therefor, before we conclude to gratify him therein, we appoint that he and Mr Fleetwood both meete at Metchlepatam and there consult with yourself &ca. about the same, and give us advise of your result, that if you find there is any good reason for it, and no detriment to our employers, we may then make some farther order in it, as the case shall require." [60]

[55] This Consultation does not exist.
[56] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 16.
[57] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 13.
[58] *O. C.* No. 3343.
[59] *O. C.* No. 3345.
[60] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 16.

In England, the report of Salisbury's character by the "Unknowne Writer"[61] had borne fruit. At "*A Court of Committees, holden the 30th of September* 1669, [it was] Ordered that it be referred to the Agent and Councel to send for Mr Niclaes and examien the particulars objected against him, as also against the said Mr Nelthorp, Mr Fleetwood, Mr Arnold, Mr Salusbury and Mr Farley, And if they be satisfied thereof by any particular information or by the common report that goes of them, That then they be sent home for England by this yeares Shipping."[62] In consequence of this resolution, the Company wrote, in their "Generall" to Fort St George of the 7th December, 1669, [We] "doe require that you send for Mr Nicklaes and examine the perticulers objected against him, And also against Mr Robert Fleetwood, Mr Ambrose Salisbury and Mr Henry Arnold, whome wee have discharged our Service, being represented to be persons of very prophane spiritts, scandalous in theire behaviours and notoriously wicked. And if you are sattisfied thereof by any perticuler information or by the common report you have of them, Wee then require that they be sent for England by this yeares shipping with all others in our imployment that are guilty of the like disorders. But if it appeares otherwise, and that any of them are reformed, Then wee would have them sent for to the Fort and remaine in India till wee have an accompt of their behaviours."[63]

Salisbury's reluctance to leave Peddapalle for Masulipatam may have arisen from the fact that his accounts would not bear investigation. On the 12th January, 1670, Mr Smithson, who had been entrusted with the inspection of the Peddapalle books, wrote to the Directors in England: "Mr. Salusbury att his coming hither [Masulipatam] promised to Deliver his Books to me within four dayes but I could never obtayne them though he had remayned there Two Moneths. He doth absolutely refuse to give any Answere to what Concernes him in the paper for the Extra Expence and wrongs done to the Company but only this that his Bookes were passed and allowed by the then Agent att Fort and therefore he is not further concerned in them. All that is materiall which is charged against them is in the Bookes Letter E which will not be found att Metchlepatam nor Pettypolee and it is certain they are not att the Fort, Dilligent search having bin made for them."[64] The inference in this letter of Smithson's is that the books had been wilfully destroyed or concealed.

The Company's letter containing Salisbury's dismissal arrived at Masulipatam in July, 1670. At a Consultation held on the 5th July, it was "Resolved that the paragraphs notifying his discharge be read to Mr Salisbury."[65] On the 14th July, Richard Mohun, who had succeeded Jearsey as Chief at Masulipatam, wrote to the Company, "Wee shall come now to speake of Mr Jearseys disbursements upon this Comodity (Saltpetre) which is alredy 11000 pagos. new, besides 3000 more required to redeeme 600 Candy now made, [in] which Mr Jearseys and Mr Salusburys credits are engaged."[66]

On the 16th July, 1670, Mohun wrote to Fort St George, "As for those persons discharged from our Masters Service and required to bee at the Fort, wee doe not thinck fitt to acquaint them with it yett not haveing conveighance for them, being well assured that theyle not bee at the travell and Charge of an overland Journey voluntarily . . . as for Mr. Salusbury, wee have not yet seene him."[67]

When the news of his dismissal reached him at Peddapalle, Salisbury wrote to Masulipatam as follows: "Worshipfull Sir, &c. Councell, I have lately writt in Generall to Mr. William Jearsey &c.,[68] acquainting them of the Saltpetre affayre, to which having not received reply, therefore now direct my letter to your Worship, &c.

[61] See *ante*, p. 224.
[62] *Court Minutes*, Vol. 26, fol. 176.
[63] *Letter Book*, Vol. 4, p. 288.
[64] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 3.
[65] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 1.
[66] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.
[67] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.
[68] This letter does not exist.

My laste acquainted that their is now in a readyness 600 [Candy] of Cource peetre, besides some refyned to make good the Kings Accounts, and that the owners thereof are not willing to let goe parte and the other to Remayne on theyre hands, haveing my promise for their Securety, the Company not then haveing Stock for its management, the Raynes now drawing on, it is high tyme the Kings Peeter [was] sent away and that the remainder were now Refyneing if the Companyes Occations require it.

I understand the Company have turned mee out of theire service, but for what am Ignorante. Had the Company given [me] the opportunity other persons have had, Presume should not now bee esteemed an unproffittable Servant to them. I formerly paste my promise to procure them 500 Tonns of the above named per anum and to Invest them 20000 per anum in the Sorts these parts afford, and it was never my desire to keepe a Jurnall of charges onely, and the charge would be the same as now, were the Investment 50000 Pagos. per anum that hope your Worship &c. will not impute the faulte to mee, haveing oneley Loste my tyme in expectation of uncertaintyes.

In the Bookes lately delivered, Metchlepatam Factory hath Cr. 8080 Pa. new, of which I have received but 3000 Pa. and 10 Caske of Allom. The remainder was delivered the Bramony before my tyme and since the close of them Bookes have received 1000 Pa. which am to give Account of and 10 Casks of Allom. Metchlepatam hath 1000 pa. Cr. for the charge off the phirmaund &c. which the agent hath enordered to take off. Desireing your worshipp &ca. answer, with my humble Service subscribed, Your Worshipps &ca. assured friend and Servant, Ambrose Salusbury."[69]

Sir William Langhorne, who became Agent at Fort St. George at the end of the year 1670 differed from the "unknowne writer"[70] in his opinion of Salisbury' s character. In answer to the Court' s instructions of December 1669, he and the Council replied, on the 19th July 1670, "Wee have neither had any Sattisfaction, either by perticular information or by Common Report that Mr Robert Fleetwood or Mr Ambrose Salisbury are persons of Such profane Spirrits Scandalous lives; or notoriously wicked as they are represented to you, unless their Zeale for Conformity and against nonconformity are made the ground of that accusation."[71]

(To be continued.)

CELEBRITIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Prefatory Note.

I propose to give in the following papers a brief notice of what can be gathered from Tamil literature, so far brought out, of those that have attained fame either as poets or as patrons. I owe the idea to Dr. Hultzsch, Professor of Sanskrit at the Halle University, of attempting a catalogue on the lines of Dr. Aufrecht's great work. Having neither the ability nor the opportunities of the late eminent savant, I held back for over two years. I now venture upon the task, since no one else has come forward to do it. As a starting-point for such a work, which must necessarily be chronological at least in part, an attempt is made to fix in the following paper the **probable age of the third Tamil Saṅgam.** In the succeeding papers, I shall give an account of what I have been able to gather regarding the Saṅgam and post-Saṅgam celebrities, as far as I can. The attempt must necessarily be tentative in character and it is hoped it will eventually lead to a better knowledge of the literature of the ancient Tamils and their history.

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69 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9. 70 See *ante*, p. 224. 71 *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 3.

I.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF TAMIL LITERATURE.

DREARY as the prospect may well appear to the earnest student of Tamil literary history, as in fact does early South Indian history in general, there has, of late, been brought to light a considerable body of Tamil literature which throws a flood of light upon the much-doubted, though often debated, period when literary activity in Tamil reached its high water-mark. Scholars are much divided in opinion as to the Śaṅgam having ever existed at all, except in the active imagination of later poets and the idle tongue of tradition. This is not strange, considering how much truth is generally overgrown and interwoven with fable and legend. Whether wantonly or otherwise, the truth is very often hidden almost beyond recognition in later literature; and early scholars in modern Indian research have unwittingly contributed their own quota to the very same end. Much has, therefore, even to be unlearnt before making an attempt to learn something about this distant past of the oldest of the Dravidian languages of South India. Even in the traditions handed down to us, much distorted though they are, there are certain cardinal facts and characters standing clearly marked out from the rubbish outgrowths. It will not, therefore, be without interest to attempt to place these facts in the light in which they appear, on an unbiassed and impartial enquiry.

An attempt will, therefore, be made in this paper **to set forth the available evidence**, literary and historical, which tend **towards the following conclusions**:—

(*a*) That there was an age of great literary activity in Tamil to warrant the existence of a body like **the traditional Śaṅgam.**

(*b*) That the period of the greatest Śaṅgam activity was the age when **Seṅguṭṭuvan Sêra** was a prominent character in politics.

(*c*) That this age of Seṅguṭṭuvan was **the second century of the Christian era.**

(*d*) That these conclusions are in accordance with what is known of the later history of South India.

There are a number of works in Tamil literature of a semi-historical character of a later and of an earlier time; and these alone will be relied upon here, without altogether eschewing tradition of a reliable character, as the sequel will amply shew. So far as tradition is concerned, there had been three Tamil Śaṅgams[1] that flourished at or about Madura, and of these the third is all that we can presume to speak about. This Śaṅgam had for its members 49 critics and poets who constituted a board of censors. There were 49 Pandya rulers, among whom were **Muḍathirumâran** and **Ugra-Peruvaḷudhi** who actively patronised the Śaṅgam. This last personage is the sovereign before whom **the Kuṛaḷ of Tiruvaḷḷuvar** received the Śaṅgam imprimatur. It is not out of place to remark here that the author of the *Kuṛaḷ* was not among the Śaṅgam members, and there were a large number like him at different places, as will appear in the sequel.

Taking this Ugra-Paṇḍyan for reference, a number of poets and kings could be grouped around him from internal evidence of contemporaneity without having recourse to any legends concerning them. But it is first of all necessary to shew that it is **probable that Tiruvaḷḷuvar was a contemporary of Ugra-Pandyan.** Apart from the verse in praise of the *Kuṛaḷ* ascribed to him, it is a well-known fact that Tiruvaḷḷuvar had a sister by name, or rather title, **Avvaiyâr.** This poetess sings of this same Paṇḍyan and his two friends the Chola Kiḷḷi, who performed the

[1] The poem quoted at page 2, *note. Silappadhikâram.*

Râjasûya, and the Chêramân Mâvenkô, although the names of these personages are not mentioned as such in the poem 367 of the *Puranânûru*. But poem 21 of the same collection by Iyûr Mûlangiḻâr, specifies his victory over Vêngaimârban and the taking of the 'great fortress of the forest (Kânappêreyil).' It also refers to the fame of this Pandyan, transcending the skill of poets. This Ugra-Pandyan is credited with having got the collection *Ahanânûru* made. Certain mythical achievements are ascribed to one Ugravarma Pandyan in the *Madura Sthalapurana* and the *Hâlâsya* or *Tiruviḷayâdal*, which achievements are alluded to in the 'Epic of the Anklet.'[2]

Leaving aside Ugra-Pandyan for a while, the greatest of Avvaiyâr's patrons — in fact, almost the patrons — were **Adiyamân Neḍumân Anji** and his son, **Pohuṭṭeḻina.** Their territories were in the modern Mysore province and in the Salem District, with the capital at Tagaḍûr,[3] identified with Dharmapuri in the latter district, though there was another Tagaḍûr of some consequence in later history in the Mysore District, not far from Nanjanagûḍu near Mysore town. There was an Adiyamân about the same region who, as the Chola viceroy, was driven across the Kaveri when Talakâḍu was captured by the famous Ganga Raja, the general of Vishṇuvardhana Hoyśâla before 1117 A.D. Of the many poems in the *Puranânûru* collection ascribed to Avvaiyâr, the great majority celebrate Anji, one of the last 'seven patrons of letters,' as patronage went in those days. Several of these mention the hero and his son by name. Poem 91 gives the hero's name and refers to the gift to Avvaiyâr of the black gooseberry supposed to confer immortality on the lucky eater thereof. The same incident is referred to, with the name of Avvaiyâr put in it, in the poem *Sirupâṇârruppaḍai*[4] of **Nallûr Nattattanâr** included in the 'Ten Tamil Idylls' another Śaṅgam collection. The poem has for its special object the celebration of Êrumânâṭṭu Nalliyakkôn, a petty chief over Vellore, Amur and other places near about, as the most liberal among the liberal patrons of those days, *viz.*, the Chêra, the Chola and the Pandya, and the seven last patrons. Poem 99 of the *Puranânûru* is of importance, as giving us another clue to a different synchronism of the utmost consequence. This poem celebrates Anji's conquest of Tirukkôvilûr and states that the hero's fame transcended the capacity of the poets of an older generation, and yet the poet **Paraṇar** 'sings to-day of the glory of your conquest of Tirukkôvilûr.'

This mention of **Paraṇar is of very great importance to literary history.** He was a poet among the Śaṅgam members and is credited with a large number of the *Puranânûru* collection. But Paraṇar's fame should have been greater, had he really enjoyed the patronage of Śeṅguṭṭuvan Śêra, whom he celebrated in the fifth division of another Śaṅgam collection, the 'Ten Tens' (*Padirruppattu.*) The parentage ascribed to Śeṅguṭṭuvan there agrees word for word almost with that given by the author of the 'Epic of the Anklet,' a brother of the king, and is even fuller of particulars. The last verse,[5] the *Padigam*, written either by a friendly contemporary or disciple or some one else in a similar position, explicitly gives us the names of the hero and the author, and thus leaves us in little doubt as to the correctness of the connection. It is on these two accounts that the commentator of the latter work relies for his fuller account of the Chêra's history. From the reference to the *Śirupân* made above, it is clear that Avvaiyâr enjoyed the patronage of Adiyamân Neḍumân Anji. Poem 99 of *Puranânûru* refers to Paraṇar as having celebrated the same patron. The last verse of the fifth division of the 'Ten Tens' connects unmistakably Śeṅguṭṭuvan with Paraṇar. Thus then it is clear that **Śeṅguṭṭuvan Śêra,**

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[2] *Śilappadhikâram*, canto xi., ll. 20—31.

[3] Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai identifies this place with Dharmapuri, Salem District. *Vide Epigraphia Indica*, VI, No. 34, and *ante*, XXII, pp. 66 and 143. Mr. F. J. Richards, M.A., I.C.S., informs me that a hill overhanging the town Dharmapuri goes by the name "*Avvaimalai*," the hill of Avvai.

[4] ll. 99—103.

[5] *Vide* page 10; footnote on page 11, and canto xxix. Pandit Saminatha Iyer's edition recently published, pp. 78—76. *Śilappadhikâram*.

Adiyamân Anji, Avvaiyâr and Paraṉar must have lived, if not actually at the same time, at least **in the same generation.** Śeṅguṭṭuvan was a remarkably great ruler, and thanks to the efforts of our modern 'Nachchinarkiniyar,' Mahâmahôpadhyâya Pandit Saminatha Iyer of the Madras Presidency College, we have two great works composed at his court and in his time, which shed a flood of light on contemporary history and which would go a long way in settling many a knotty point in the literary history of South India. These are the 'Epic of the Anklet' (**Silappadhikâram**) and 'the Jewel Belt' (**Maṇimêkhalai**) The first is the work of **Iḷango,** the younger brother of Śeṅguṭṭuvan, who, after renouncing civil life, resided at Kuṇavâyil near Karûr (Vanji), the ancient capital of the Chêra; and the second, the companion and supplement, though the earlier composed, from the pen of (rather the style of) **Madurai Kûlavâṇigan Sattan,** otherwise known as Sîtthalaichchâttanâr, the corn merchant of Madura. (His head was believed to have been exuding matter on account of the blows dealt by himself whenever he detected errors in other's composition, considering it a misfortune to have to read or listen to such blunders; so uncompromising was he as a critic.) Before proceeding to a consideration of these great works, it is better to dispose of a few other important characters.

Of the last seven patrons celebrated in the *Śiṟupâṇâṟṟuppaḍai* of Nallûr Nattattanâr (believed to be one of the Śaṅgam forty-nine), there is one **Pêhan** (otherwise **Vaiyâvikkôn Pêrumbêhan**) who was so liberal (inconsiderately so) as to give a warm covering to a peacock. This same incident is referred to in poem 145 of the *Puṟanâṉûṟu* ascribed to Paraṇar. This personage sometime in his life transferred his affections from his wife Kaṇṇahi (to be carefully distinguished from the heroine of the 'epic') and several poets, among whom Paraṇar, made poetical appeals on her behalf. The others were Kapilar, Ariśil Kiḻâr and Perumkuṉṟûr Kiḻâr (poems 43—47 both inclusive of the *Puṟanâṉûṟu*). There is considerable similarity of sentiment in these. Poem 343 of the same work is also ascribed to Paraṇar and it refers to a Kuṭṭuvan very liberal in the donation of wealth 'brought down hill-country and from oversea.'

Passing on to **Kapilar,** another Śaṅgam celebrity reputed by tradition[6] to be the younger brother of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, it is found that he had for his patron and friend a chieftain, **Vêḷ Pâri,** whose demesne Paṟambunâḍu comprised 300 villages and who was master of Paṟambu Hill. Kapilar is credited with having composed the *kuṟinji* section of the *Aiguṟunûṟu*, the seventh of the 'Ten Tens,' the *kuṟinjippâṭṭu* of the 'Ten Idylls' (all Śaṅgam works) and the *Iṉṉâ* (that which is bad and therefore to be avoided), forty. When Pâri fell a victim to the treachery of the 'three' powers,' who made a futile attack on him jointly, Kapilar as his chief friend took his two girls with him to be given away in marriage to some person worthy of them and thus do his last duty to his departed friend. Poems 200, 201 and 202 of the *Puṟanâṉûṟu* refer to the incident[7] of Pari's giving a car to the creeper *mullai* and to Kapilar's offering the girls to Vichchikkôn and Pulikaḍimâl[8] Iruṅgôvêḷ of Malainâḍu. Both of them refused to marry the girls, and some insult offered as to the social standing of his patron's family the poet resents in poem 202. Poem 201 refers to Iruṅgôvêḷ having been descended in the forty-ninth generation from the ruler of 'Tuvarai'[9] who was born from a sacrificial fire. The title Pulikaḍimâl has considerable similarity in its origin to a story which is given as explaining the origin of the Hoyśalas in inscriptions of a later time. The following poem resents Iruṅgôvêḷ's refusal to marry the girls and refers to the destruction of Aṟayam city, the headquarters of this family, in consequence of an insult offered to the poet Kaḻâthalaiyâr[10] by an ancestor of Iruṅgôvêḷ's. The poet further begs, with biting sarcasm, to be pardoned for his having introduced the girls as the daughters of Pâri, instead of as the descendants of Evvi (a chief in the Pandya country).

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[6] The actual story connecting these is regarded as a fabrication by some scholars.

[7] *Vide Siṟupâṇ.*

[8] He that killed a tiger.

[9] 'Tuvarai' may be either Dwâraka in Guzerat or Dwâravati or Dwârasamudra of the Hoyśalas.

[10] Another poet who celebrates Karikâla, and his Chera contemporary, Perumśeralâdhan. (Poem 65, *Puṟanâṉûṟu.*)

Kapilar himself is connected with the **Chêra Mântharam Sêral Irumporai** and spoken of with great regard as a poet by another poet, **Porundhil Ilangîranâr.** Poem 126 by **Marôkkattu Nappasalaiyâr** refers to his having praised **Malaiyamân Tirumudikkâri,** who was in posession of Mullûr Hill. It incidentally refers to the naval strength of the Sêra, likening the futility of the author's attempt at celebrating Kâri when Kapilar had done so, to the endeavour to sail a ship in the face of the Chera fleet. Poem 174 by the same author refers incidentally to Mullûr Hill, celebrated by Kapilar, and directly to Soliyavênâdhi Tirukkannan (otherwise Tirukkilli), who rendered yeoman's service to Peruvirarkilli while in hiding at Mullûr. The poem further credits the Malayamân Soliyavênâdhi Tirukkannan with having restored the Chola to his position.

Another person that Kapilar celebrates is **Tirumudikkâri, ruler of Malainâdu,** with his capital at Tirukkôvilûr and with the hill Mullûr. Poems 122 and 123 refer to his having been sought in alliance by the three powers.

Beginning with a consideration of what little is known of these three personages, Avvaiyâr, Paranar and Kapilar, we have been introduced to a number of poets and potentates living within a generation of one another. Before proceeding to a consideration of the chief rulers of the age and their geographical location, let us turn aside to glean what we can of contemporary history from the two epics of the age of Senguttuvan, who was, by far, the most important character of the period and about whom we could gather an amount of information from the above works.

The '**Epic of the Anklet**' is the story of Kôvalan (Gopala, and his wife Kannahi, both of the mercantile community of Puhâr (Kaverippûmbattinam), and has, for its moral, the triumph of the wife's chastity and the vindication of the husband's innocence. The story is as follows in brief outline:—Kôvalan, the son of Mâsâttuvan of Puhâr was early married to Kannahi, the beautiful daughter of Mânâygan of the same place and community; and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and becoming circumstance, as the two parties were of high social standing. After a while the mother-in-law set her daughter-in-law up independently in a different house in the same city, provided with all that the young couple might need for conducting a successful and virtuous life, as householder and housewife. Sometime after, Kôvalan took a fancy for a highly accomplished and exceedingly lovable professional dancing-woman, whose skill in her art was unsurpassed — nay, even unsurpassable. The lover and mistress led a happy life and had a daughter, the only offspring of their affection. Disconsolate as Kannahi was, she never lost her affection for the husband who had thus given her up, and was quite as faithful to him as she would have been under ordinary circumstances. At the conclusion of the annual festival to the god Indra, the usual bathing in the sea brought the festivities to a close. This was a day of enjoyment for all and the whole elegant society of Puhâr turned out to the beach to spend the day in music, dancing, and other such amusements. The happy lovers singing to the accompaniment of the '*yâl*' (a Tamil musical instrument now gone out of use) by turns, suspected each the other of having changed his or her affection, from the tenor of the songs. Stung by this imagined bad faith on the part of his sweetheart, Mâdhavî, Kôvalan went home to his house, instead of to hers as usual, and felt quite ashamed of himself for his treatment of the wife, who redoubled her attentions to him since she had seen that something ailed her lord. Overcome with remorse, Kôvalan confessed to his wife his position with respect to Mâdhavî and communicated to her his resolution to make amends for his past misconduct by entering on business in Madura on his own account, asking her if she would follow him, should he act upon his resolution. Kannahi signified a ready assent and gave her husband the pair of anklets (*silambu*), the only thing valuable he had not as yet given away to Mâdhavî, for providing the requisite capital to the prospective merchant of Madura. That very night the repentant and admiring husband with his faithful spouse started away before dawn unknown to anyone, and took his away along the northern bank of the Kaveri. Picking up the nun Dêvandhî, a few miles above Puhâr, they continued their journey to Srîrangam and Uraiyûr.

Thence taking one of the three roads indicated by the Malainâḍu Brâhmaṇ from Mângâḍu (Alawayi in Travancore), who was returing from Madura on a pilgrimage to the shrines of Vishṇu, they reached the outskirt of the capital city of the Pandyans. Leaving his tender wife in charge of a hospitable shepherdess and her daughter, he entered Madura city the next day to sell one of the pair of anklets. Not finding a ready sale, as the jewel was of very high value, he wandered long before he was accosted by a goldsmith, who was going palaceward at the head of a number of his apprentices. On Kôvalan's offering the jewel for sale, the wily smith promised to get it sold, with a request that he would keep the jewel with him and wait there till he should send for him from the palace whither he was then going. Proceeding gleefully to the royal residence, he reported to the king that the thief who had stolen the queen's anklet had been caught with the jewel in his possession and had been kept waiting under promise of purchase. The king who was much distressed at the loss of the jewel and the pain it caused the queen, asked that the jewel to be brought, 'killing the thief'; he actually meant, asking the man and the jewel to be brought, to kill the man, if guilty. The plot of the goldsmith, the real culprit, succeeded so well that the king was deluded and the innocent hero was murdered, after transacting a pathetic scene much like the one in Shakespeare's Richard III. News of this calamity reached Kaṇṇahi who, in great anger, forgot her usual modesty, and bent upon establishing her husband's innocence and the power of her chastity, walked boldly forth quite, unlike her ordinary self, with the other anklet in her hand and rang the bell of justice in the great gate of the palace. This alarm, quite unheard of in the reign of the then Pandyan ruler, aroused the suspicions of the hall-porter that something seriously wrong had taken place. The unusual apparition of a young injured woman with an anklet in one of her hands, anger and grief on the countenance, was immediately announced to the king. Admitted without delay into the royal presence, Kaṇṇahi proved that the anklet for which her husband suffered death was hers and not the queens's, demonstrating that the jewel in dispute was filled with rubies. The queen affirmed hers was filled with pearls. Kaṇṇahi invoked a curse that Madura be consumed by fire for this remissness of her king, who, rather than survive this disgrace he brought upon a line of illustrious rulers, died immediately. The queen followed her consort, and Kaṇṇahi left the city by the western gate towards the hill-country, where she was to join her husband in a fortnight, as promised by the goddess of Madura.

This union of the wife and the husband was seen by the hill-tribes, who duly reported the matter to their king, then in camp on the hills with his queen and retinue. At the request of the good queen, the king built a temple and consecrated it to the chaste lady (Pattinî Dêvi) who had undergone so recent an apotheosis.

This is, in the merest outline, the story of the first epic, and the second is a sequel to this. Information of all the proceedings at Madura was given at Puhâr by a Brahman friend of Kôvalan, who, having bathed at Kumâri (Cape Comorin, near which was once a river), was baiting at Madura on his homeward journey. The mother and mother-in-law of Kaṇṇahi died of grief. The father and father-in-law renounced life and became Buddhistic monks.

Mâdhavî, disconsolate at Kôvalan's sudden disappearance, sent him an importunate appeal to return, while he was yet on his outward journey to Madura. Finding it of no avail, she had been overcome with grief, and when news of Kôvalan's death reached her, she gave up life and all its pleasures to become a lay disciple of a Buddhistic monk; while her daughter just blooming into a woman of rare beauty and womanly grace, entered the Buddhistic cloister. "Jewel-Belt" (Maṇimêkhala) was her name and her renunciation forms the subject of the epic with her name. The heir-apparent of Puhâr is very deeply in love with her, but she is taken care of by a goddess, who plays the guardian angel, much like the Ariel of Shakespeare. To save her from the loving prince's ardour, she is removed to an island by the goddess while asleep; and there she is initiated into the Buddhist mysteries. Having understood her past life, she returns to Puhâr with a begging-bowl of

extraordinary virtue. The prince still prosecuting his hopeless love, falls a victim to the jealousy of an angel, whose wife's disguise the heroine assumed to keep out her importunate lover, her own husband in a previous life. Consoling the queen and the king in their sorrow for the loss of their son, she leaves Puhâr (at the mouth of the Kaveri) and proceeds to Vanji (not far from Kranganûr at the mouth of the Periyâr), where she learns all that the teachers of different religious systems have to teach her. Not satisfied with their philosophy of religion, she is directed to Kânchî by her grandfather, who had betaken himself to Vanji in anticipation of Puhâr being overwhelmed by the sea. Maṇimêkhala proceeds to Kânchî and relieves the place from famine by the use of her begging-bowl. Learning the true philosophy of the Buddha from a saintly monk, she stopped there. This is the merest outline of the two poems, forming a single epic, which are of a dramatic-epic character with something of the narrative in it. Containing, as they do, a great deal of the supernatural, there is yet much that must be regarded as historical. In one word, the setting is poetical, but the back-ground is historical.

The 'Epic of the Anklet' has much to say about the "three great kings of the south" and its companion concerns itself with three likewise; but the place of the Pandyan is taken by the ruler of Kânchî. To begin with the Chôla kings celebrated by the poets, two names stand out; those of **Karikâla** and **Kiḷḷi,** called indifferently Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi, Velvêrkiḷḷi, Mavaṇkiḷḷi, etc. Of these two, Dr. Hultzsch has the following in his south Indian inscriptions[11]:—"It will be observed that each of the four documents, which record the names and achievements of these ancient Chola kings, enumerates them in a different order. One of the four kings, Kôkkiḷḷi can hardly be considered a historical person, as he is credited with having entered a subterraneous cave and there to have contracted a marriage with a serpent princess, and as the *Vikkirama Soḻan Ulâ*, places him before the two mythical kings, Sibi and Kavera." . . . . Of Karikâla and Kô-chchengaṇ here follows what the same authority has to say: "A comparison of these conflicting statements shews that at the time of the composition of the three documents referred to, no tradition remained regarding the order in which Kô-chchengaṇ and Karikâla succeeded each other. Probably their names were only known from ancient Tamil panegyrics of the same type as Kaḷavaḻi and Paṭṭinappâlai. It would be a mistake to treat them as actual ancestors of that Chola dynasty, whose epigraphical records have come down to us. They must rather be considered as representatives of extinct dynasties of the Chola country, whose names had survived in Tamil literature either by chance or by specially-marked achievements.

"To Karikâla the Leyden grant attributes the building of embankments along the Kaveri river. The same act is alluded to in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and *Vikkirama Soḻan Ulâ.* The *Kalingattupparaṇi* adds that he paid 1,600,000 gold pieces to the author of the *Paṭṭinappalai.* According to *Porunarâṟṟuppaḍai* of Muḍathâma Kaṇṇiyâr the name of the king's father was Iḷanjêtchenni. The king himself is there called Karigâl or blackleg or the elephant-leg; while the Sanskritized form of his name Karikâla would mean 'death to elephants.' He is said to have defeated the Chera and Panḍya kings in battle fought at Veṇṇil. According to the *Silappadhikâram* his capital was Kaverippûmbaṭṭinam. In one of his interesting contributions to the history of ancient Tamil literature, the Hon'ble P. Coomarasami allots Karikâla to the 1st century A. D. This opinion is based on the fact that the commentaries on the *Silappadhikâram* represent Karikâla as the maternal grandfather of the Chera king, Seṅguṭṭuvan, a contemporary of Gajabâhu of Ceylon. Mr. Coomarasami identifies the latter with Gajabâhu I. who, according to the *Mahâvaṁsa*, reigned from (135 A. D.). With due respect to Mr. Coomarasami's sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajabâhus is not only supported by the mere identity of name but proved by internal reasons, and until the chronology of the early history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examanation."

11 Vol. II, Part III, pp. 377 and 378.

A careful examination of the first book of the 'Epic of the Anklet' shows that during the early part of the life of the hero, **the king of Puhâr was Karikâla Chola.** Apart from the fact that the commentator invariably interprets all references to the ruling king as applying to Karikâla (and this in itself is much, as the commentator was one who was thoroughly qualified for the task and can, as such, be expected to embody nothing but correct tradition in his commentaries), there are a number of direct references to him — either by name or by the attribute of his having erected the tiger-emblem on the Himalayas. The last four lines of canto i-blesses the ruler "who erected the tiger-emblem on the crest of the Himalayas." There is direct mention of Karikâla's name and his rewarding the poet of the *Pâlai* [*Pattinappâlai*][12] in one of the manuscripts consulted by the editor ; further down, lines 158-160 of canto vi, mention as clearly as one could wish Karikâla as ruling at the time, and the commentator explains it as such by giving the passage the necessary expansion, not to mention the allusive but undoubted reference to the same personage in lines 95-98 of canto v. Of the three kings praised in canto xvii, there is reference to Karikâla's Himalayan exploit in the last stanza in page 400, and this is the last Chola ruler referred to. Canto xxi, lines 11 *et seq.*, clearly state that Karikâla's daughter had married the then Chera king, whom she joined when he lost[13] his life in the sea. These would undoubtedly point to Karikâla as having ruled at Kaverippûmbaṭṭinam till Kôvalan's departure for Madura. The supernatural achievements are clearly nothing more than the fanciful way in which these Buddhistic authors attempt to explain even the most ordinary occurrences. The most cursory examination will discover that it is so, and the faith of these authors in the doctrine of *karma* comes in for much that would otherwise be inexplicable in the story.

To return to **Karikâla.** He was **the son of Uruvappahârêr-Iḷanjêtchenni** and had married among the Nângûr Vêḷ class. He is reputed to have assumed the form of an old judge in order to satisfy the scruples of the parties, who were afraid that, being a youth, he could not bring mature experience to bear upon the question coming up for decision. His name is actually accounted for as having been due to an accident by fire[14] while yet a baby. He is the hero of the two poems in the "Ten Tamil Idylls," *Porunarârruppaḍai* of Muḍathâmakkaṇṇiyâr and the *Paṭṭinappâlai* of Rudirângaṇṇanâr, for which latter the author received the 16 lakhs of gold pieces mentioned above. He defeated the Chera by name Perumśêralâdhan and a Pandyan whose name is not mentioned in the battle of Veṇṇil.[15] This Chera wounded in the back in battle retired to the north in disgrace.[16] Rudirângaṇṇanâr celebrates another hero, the **Tonḍamân Iḷandirayan of Kânchi** whom tradition traces to the Chola Kiḷḷi by a "Naga" princess, as stated by Dr. Hultzsch, in the quotation above.

This Kiḷḷi, otherwise Neḍumuḍi Kiḷḷi, is the ill-fated **successor of Karikâla,** in whose reign a catastrophe befell Puhâr and brought the Chola fortunes very low indeed. While luckily there are but a few Karikâlas among South Indian rulers, there are a number of Kiḷḷis,[17] among whom it is a matter of great difficulty indeed to fasten upon the individual here mentioned. Fortunately for us there are certain distinguishing features which give us the clue. One of the exploits of Śeṅguṭṭuvan Śêra is the victory at Nêrivâyil, a village near Uraiyûr (Trichinopoly), where he

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12 Pages 44 and 45—Pandit Saminatha Iyer's edition of *Silappadhikâram*. There is nothing in the lines to lead one to regard them as later interpolations.

13 The text has it that when he was drowned she called out for him. The waves shewed him to her when she joined him and both disappeared, much like Kaṇṇahi's union with her husband.

14 The 3rd stanza from the *Paḻamoḻi* quoted at the end of the *Porunarârruppaḍai*.

15 Lines 143—148. *Porunarârruppaḍai*. Veṇṇil is Kovil Veṇṇi in the Tanjore District.

16 *Puranânûru* poems 65 and 66.

17 Twelve in *Puranânûru*, and nine in *Silappadhikâram*.

defeated the nine Kiḻḻis of the Chola family and thus restored his cousin [brother-in-law] to power. From the 'Epic of the Anklet' and the 'Jewel-Belt,' we learn he was the last ruler in Puhâr and it was in his reign that the ancient Chola capital was overwhelmed by the sea. It is this Kiḻḻi, whatever his distinguishing epithet, that is the **father of the Toṇḍamân** referred to by Dr. Hultzsch. While in the *Perumbâṇâṟṟuppaḍai*, the commentator Nachchinârkiniyar [who must have lived in the 13th century A. D. or thereabouts[17a]] makes the Toṇḍamân the son of a Naga princess with whom the Chola lived in a cave, which is generally taken to mean the nether-world, the 'Jewel-Belt' gives the following much less romantic version of the story, which agrees in all details except the cave, so far as it goes, while accounting for the destruction of Puhâr. Without going so far out as the Hades, we find reference to Naga rulers in India and Ceylon, between whom a war once took place for the possession of some Buddha-relic, according to the 'Jewel-Belt.'[18] The same also refers to another race of the Nagas as "naked cannibals." The story goes on to state that Kiḻḻi fell in love with a Naga princess, who appeared before him all alone like a damsel from the fairy-land, in what is called the "Kaḻi Kânal[19]" [the grove by the back-water] at Puhâr. After a month of happy life, she left him [and this is explained away by preordination], when she had taken her residence in an island near the coast[20] 300 miles away from the Puhâr. Sometime after she became the mother of a beautiful son, she sent the child to the father through a merchant, whose ship called at the island on its homeward journey. While nearing Puhâr, the ship got wrecked off the coast and the baby's fate was not known for certain. On hearing of this disaster, the king ordered a thorough search to be made, and in his paternal anxiety forgot his duty to the god Indra, whose annual festival had been forgotten. The wrath of the god shewed itself, very likely, in a storm-wave which destroyed Puhâr completely.[21]

This account taken from the 'Jewel-Belt' of the birth of the Toṇḍamân makes Dr. Hultzsch's objection as to the myth, lose edge, and therefore it is quite possible — nay, even historical — that there was a human ruler by name Kiḻḻi, who ruled at Puhâr after Karikâla.

[*Note.* — The descent into the Hades, therefore, will have to be regarded as an eastern figure of speech and nothing more. There are other incidents throughout these epics, which interpreted literally would be quite as absurd; and these are easily accounted for by the author's belief in the doctrines of Karma and re-births, the main pillars of the Buddhistic faith, as also to a modified extent of the Brahmanic. It is this that makes them attempt to account for actual phenomena by causes supernatural. This modern European critics fail to bear in mind, and hence all appears grotesquely legendary and absurdly fabulous. These remarks find their full application in the 'Jewel-Belt', though there is hardly any Indian work of a quasi-religious or ethical character in criticising which one could afford to forget them.]

The destruction of Puhâr referred to above accounts for the association of Kiḻḻi with Uraiyûr at the end of the 'Epic of the Anklet,' in the course of which the catastrophe to Puhâr must have happened. The ruler at Kânchî during the period, according to the 'Jewel-Belt,' was an **Iḷaṁ Kiḻḻi, the brother of Kaḻar Kiḻḻi.**

17a Mr. Anavaradha Vinayagam Pillai allots him to the 9th century A. D. (*Christian Coll. Mag.*, XVII), 1900.

18 We find reference to such wars in *Mahâvaṁsa*, in the earlier chapters of the work.

19 This Kali Kânal is refered to in canto vii as the place of resort of pleasure-seekers — nay, a veritable "lover's arbour" in Puhâr.

20 *Vide Manimêkhalai* note, pp. 97 and 98. The island of Ceylon, in which is Adam's Peak, is sacred to the Buddhists. This hill is now known as Samantakûṭam and Samanelâi, but referred to in the work as Samantam and Samanoḷi.

21 There is a story of similar import with respect to a Ceylonese king, whose wife was abducted by a Chola king under similar circumstances. There are no grounds to connect the two at present, at any rate.

This last ruler of Puhâr is referred to in the 'Jewel-Belt' with the following adjuncts indifferently, *viz.*, Vaḍivêrkiḷḷi, Velvêrkiḷḷi, Mâveṅkiḷḷi and Neḍumuḍikiḷḷi. With the help of his younger brother, **Iḷangô** [perhaps Iḷamkiḷḷi of Kânchî], who was probably the heir-apparent as the term would indicate, he defeated the Cheras and the Pandyas on the banks of the river Kâri.[22] The three poems concerning this personage in the *Puṛanânûṛu* refer to his having been besieged at Uraiyûr and Âmûr by Nalaṁ-kiḷḷi. After the destruction of Puhâr he must have been reduced to the woeful plight from which Śeṅguṭṭuvan Sêra must have relieved him by his victory at Nêrivâyil[23] over the nine Chola princes who forgot their allegiance to the Kiḷḷi. This is borne out by the enmity between Neḍumuḍik-kiḷḷi and Naḷaṁkiḷḷi indicated in poems 44, 45 and 47 of *Puṛanânûṛu*. There are besides a number more of Kiḷḷis, each with a distinguishing epithet which would support the existence of the nine Kiḷḷis [Kiḷḷi being a generic name of the Cholas like Śenni, etc.] The author of these poems, **Kôvil Kiḻâr,** celebrates another Kiḷḷi who died at Kuḷamuṛṛam. None of these Kiḷḷis is associated with Puhâr. In fact neither in the *Puṛanânûṛu* nor in the *Śiṛupâṇâṛṛuppaḍai* do we find the city of Puhâr associated with these Cholas.

Leaving aside the Cholas, we find the whole time, during which the incidents narrated in the two epics, took place, taken up by **Śeṅguṭṭuvan Śêra,** whose capital was at Vañji [Karur] at the mouth of the Periyar on the west coast. His exploits are recorded in some detail in these works and the others referred to already. His father and uncle are celebrated in the two preceding sections of the "Ten Tens." His chief achievements were a naval victory over the 'Kaḍambu,' two invasions of the north with victories on the banks of the Ganges over Kanaka and Vijaya, sons of Bâlakumâra and the victories at Nêrivâyil and Viyalûr [there is a Viyalûr connected with Nannan, an ancestor of Vichchikkôn, whom Kapilar celebrates in poem 200 of the *Puṛanânûṛu*]. Like his father, Śeṅguṭṭuvan also claims to have cut out the bow-emblem on the Himalayas.

Coming to the Pandyas of Madura, we have two names in the 'Epic of the Anklet,' *viz.*, **Neḍuṁ Cheḻiyan,** victor over the "Aryan army," and **Iḷam Cheḻiyan,** who was viceroy at Korkai when Neḍuṁ Cheḻiyan died at Madura. Before discussing these names we have to dispose of one other Pandyan of importance in literary history. When Tiruvaḷḷuvar submitted the *Kuṛaḷ* to the Śaṅgam critics, the king was **Ugra-Pandyan,** victor over the "big forest fort [Kânappêreyil] under the chief Vêngaimârban." The *Tiruviḷaiyâḍal Purâṇam* ascribes to him some achievements which are of a legendary character, though some might have been possible. These are the very achievements[24] ascribed to a Pandya ruler by the Malainâḍu [hill-country] Brâhmaṇ from Mângâḍu, **(Alangâdu or Alavâyi)** then at Uraiyûr in the course of a pilgrimage to the shrines of Vishṇu, who directed Kôvalan to Madura from Uraiyûr. This praise would lose all point unless it referred to the ruling Pandyan when the Brâhmaṇ pilgrim sojourned at Madura, on his visit to Tirumâliruñjôlai. The author of the epic clearly designates him the Pandyan Nedum Cheḻiyan "victor over the Aryan forces," whatever these forces might have been. There are a number of references throughout the work to the erecting of the fish-emblem on the Himalayas. It is the boast of Karikâla Chola and Ugra-Pandyan, Neḍuṁśêralâdhan [father of Śeṅguṭṭuvan], that they cut out their respective emblems on the Himalayas. These achievements are clearly ascribed to the reigning Pandyan in the commencing and the concluding lines of canto xvii. Thus then the Ugra-Pandyan[25] of the

[22] Pandit Saminatha Iyer's edition of *Maṇimêkhala*, page 174, canto xix, lines 124-130.

[23] Nerivâyil in later history belonged to the Kshatriya Sikhâmaṇi Vaḷanâḍu, *i. e.*, the region round Uraiyur, and the royal secretary of Virarâjendra was the owner of this village as also of Tâḻi Tirappanangâḍu. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

[24] Canto xi, lines 23-31. There are besides references to his achievements in connection with the ruling Pandyan in many places throughout the work.

[25] Stanza 4, bottom of page 400. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his interesting papers on "The Tamils 1800 Years Ago," makes Ugra-Pandyan the contemporary of the successor of the Kiḷḷi, the grandson of Karikala. This would bring Tiruvaḷḷuvar's *Kuṛal* too late for quotation by the friendly authors of the two epics, as the *Kuṛaḷ* received the Śaṅgam approval under Ugra-Pandyan. [*Madras Review*, Vol. II, No. 6].

purânas and tradition could not have been any other than the ill-starred Pandyan Neḍum Cheḷiyan of the 'Epic of the Anklet.' Avvaiyâr's reference to Paraṇar referred to above would agree quite well with this identification, as in accordance with that reference, Paraṇar should have been the earlier of the two.

The successor of the Pandyan, apparently his son, **Pandyan Iḷam Cheḷiyan,** otherwise Veṟṟivêr-Cheḷiyan, was in Korkai when his father died and succeeded to his father's estate in the course of the story. We are vouchsafed no other informatian, except that he propitiated the manes of the injured lady, Kaṇṇahi, by the sacrifice of 100 goldsmiths [perhaps a massacre of that class of artisans]. Probably his reign was short and uneventful. He must have been succeeded by Pandyan Neḍum Cheḷiyan, victor at Talayâlaṅgânam[26] over the two other king and seven chiefs. Kapilar is connected with prince **Mântharaṁ Śêralirumporai** of the "elephant-look" by **Porundhil Iḷam Kîranâr** in poem 53 of *Puṟanânûṟu.* This Chera was ruling over Tonḍi [Quilandy, and not the Śolaṅ Tonḍi, on the east coast now in the Râmanâd *zamîndâri*], and was the master of Kolli Malai[27] [a hill in the Salem District quite on the border of Trichinopoly]. His position in this region would have been possible only in the light of Śeṅguṭṭuvan's victories over the Kongus at Seṅgaḷam [red-field], at Viyalûr, about the same region, and over the nine Cholas at Nêrivâyil [near Trichinopoly]. This personage was taken prisoner by the Pandyan Neḍum Cheḷiyan[28] of Talayâlaṅgânam fame. At this latter place, the young Pandyan overthrew the "Tamil army" under the two king and 'seven chiefs.' This Pandyan was a great celebrity in literature and in his reign flourished a number of poets of the Śaṅgam fame. He is the hero of Mâṅguḍi Marudanâr's *Maduraikkânji* and Narkîrar's *Neḍunalvâḍai* among the "Ten Tamil Idylls." He was himself, like several other rulers of those days, including his grandfather, a poet. There are a number of poems relating to him in the *Puṟanânûṟu* collection. Thus we see that during the course of the story, the **rulers of Puhâr** were Karikâla and his grandson, Kokkiḷḷi[29] of Madura, Neḍum Cheḷiyan identified with Ugra-Pandyan and Iḷam Cheḷiyan followed later by Neḍum Cheḷiyan, victor over the Tamil army at Talayâlaṅgânam; the Chera ruler all the time at Karur [Vaṅji] was Śeṅguṭṭuvan Śêra, the brother of the author of the epic and the patron of the author of the 'Jewel-Belt,' the father and the uncle of this personage having been the heroes of 2nd and 3rd section of the "Ten Tens." Chêy, (prince) of the "elephant-look" must have been his son and viceroy of the newly-conquered territories.

These were the sovereigns of the three kingdoms who flourished in the generation of the literary celebrities headed by the names chosen at the commencement, *viz.*, **Avvaiyâr, Paraṇar and Kapilar.** These were the three stars of the first magnitude in the literary firmament, as those in the political, of South India. Other poets there were and patrons likewise. Of the latter, mention has already been made of Pâri of Paṟambânaḍu and Paṟambu Hill; Kâri of Tirukkôvilûr in Malainâḍu and Muḷḷûr Hill; Irungôvêḷ of Arayam in the Western hill-country of the "Tuvarai[30] family with the special distinction of having killed a tiger to save a saint absorbed in contemplation"; Pêhan of Naḷḷûr in Malainâḍu [hill-country]; and Adiyamân Anji of Tagaḍûr and the Horse-hill, overthrown according to the 8th section of the "Ten Tens" by

[26] He must have been particularly young when he came to the throne, *Puṟam*, 7.

[27] The last lines of canto xiv, the 'Epic of the Anklet,' refer to the reigning Chera as the ruler over the country between the Himalayas with the bow-emblem and Kolli Malai.

[28] *S. A.*, canto xxviii, lines 115-125. Seḷiyan is again a generic name like Pandyan, and the father or the son have the adjunct "big" "young," much as 'Smith, senior or junior.'

[29] Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai places a Nalamkiḷḷi between these two. [*Madras Review*, Vol. II, No. 7.]

[30] Tuvaṟai might have been either Dvaraka in Guzerat or Dvaravati or Halibad in Mysore; but the latter does not appear till much later, and the name Tuvarai in classical works is always taken to mean Dvaraka.

the Perum Sêral who overthrew Tagadûr. These are all mentioned by name as well as by distinguishing achievements, most of them in a somewhat fabulous garb in the *Sirupâṇaṟṟuppaḍai* of Nallûr Nattattanâr. Besides these, we have already mentioned the prince Chera of the "elephant look," ruler of Toṇḍi and master of Kolli Hill. To come to the poets, in addition, to the three already referred to, we must mention here only a few of the more important, such as Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Iḷangôvaḍigal, Siththalai Sâttanâr, Rudirâṅgaṇṇanâr, Muḍathâmakkâṇṇiyâr, Mâṅguḍi Marudanâr, Narkîrar and others, whose works are held even to-day in high esteem by the Tamil world as masterpieces in their respective departments. Some of the rulers were themselves poets of some merit, and Avvaiyâr was not the only poetess. The two young daughters of Pâri could compose verses and the elegiacs ascribed to them is proof of their ability in this direction. There is besides a poem in *Puṟanânûṟu* ascribed to the wife of Bhûta Pandyan, who performed *satti* on the funeral pyre of her husband. These names raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that, as the age of Seṅguṭṭuvan [including in it a generation either way] was one of great literary activity, it might have been the time when the Saṅgam activity was at its height.[31] This was the age when the creed of the Buddha was in the ascendant, which, like all other reform movements of a later time, gave a powerful impetus to the development of the vernaculars of the country. Although the Saṅgam is not mentioned as such in these early works, we find the cultivation of Tamil specially associated with Madura, which is often referred to as "Tamil Kûḍal,"[32] despite the fact that a large number of poets mentioned above flourished in other courts. In the traditional lists of Saṅgam celebrities we find mention of the names of most of the authors referred to above. It is not improbable, therefore, that a board of censors like the Saṅgam existed about this age at Madura.

Without pausing to examine what other literary men could be grouped along with those spoken of already, we might pass on to the consideration of the more important question of the probable age of this great literary activity in South India. The two chief epics — the 'Epic of the Anklet' and the 'Jewel-Belt,' — were Buddhistic, the latter more so than the former; and the other works of the age show considerable Buddhistic influence and follow in this order with regard to dates of composition. The *Kuṟaḷ* is the earliest of the major works, as there are quotations from this work in the companion epics, which even acknowledge the quotations. The two epics must have been composed about the same period — the 'Jewel-Belt' preceding the epic — the *Ahânânuṟu* miscellany is ascribed to Ugra Pandyan, before whom the *Kuṟal* received the Saṅgam imprimatur. The *Kuṇḍalakêśi* is another Buddhistic work and, so far as we know it at present, of a controversial character, much like the 'Jewel-Belt' in plan of work. This was followed by the *Nilakêśitteruṭṭu*, which attempts a refutation of the *Kuṇḍalakêśi* and must, therefore, be of a later age. If this general course of literary activity is correctly indicated by the editor of 'Seṅ Tamil,' whose account is relied on here, and if we can fix the probable period of this literary activity, this will prove the sheet anchor in the literary chronology of South India.

In the midst of the confused tangle of mere names and names of similar sound and meaning, we have, luckily, just a few distinct characters and characteristics that make the attempt not altogether hopeless, provided the question be approached in the spirit of unbiassed enquiry. Although Kiḷḷi is quite a common name among the Chola rulers, Karikâla is somewhat uncommon. Seṅguṭṭuvan is definite enough and his Ceylon contemporary Gajabâhu's name occurs, luckily for students of Tamil

31 It will be clear from the above that the author of the *Kuṟal* could not have been much earlier than the friendly authors of the epics. Still they quote with great respect from the *Kuṟal*. This could only be if the *Kuṟal* were authoritatively approved of after being read out before the Saṅgam, Siththalai Sâttan being one of the august body. Iḷangô, however, was not among this body, although he quotes from the *Kuṟaḷ* likewise.

32 *Siṟupaṇ* and *Puṟânanûṟu* and *Kalingattupparaṇi*, of a later age.

history, but twice among 174 names unlike Vikramabhu, for instance. The *Kalingattupparani*, a work composed between (1111—1135 A. D.) refers to Karikâla and Kô-killi in the reverse order, Killi being followed by Kôchengan, Karikâla following both. There appears, from the *Purananûru*, to have been a Killi in the third generation before Karikâla; but the Chola succession is fixed as follows with respect to this, taking only such names as are specifically mentioned in the order given below:— Ilanjêtchenni, his son Karikâla, his grandson Nedumudi-killi. The *Kalingattupparani*, like the great commentator who must have lived after Jayam Kondân, the author of this work, ascribes to Killi the descent into the Hades. It is just possible that there was a mistake made, as to the particular Killi whose union with the Naga princess was thus described by later writers. If this were so, the Karikâla of the Himalayan fame could not have been Kullôttunga I. (1070 A. D.—1118 A. D.) certainly, nor the viceroy of Koli [Uraiyur] in the reign of his father-in-law Rajêndra [1053—1060 A. D.]. There is one other Karikala of the later dynasty[33] whose epigraphical records are available to us — Âditya Karikâla [*circa* 950—985 A. D.] who killed Vîra Pandyan in battle, as if in sport. But the author of the *Kalingattupparani* places Karikâla three names before Vîranârâyana or Parantaka I. while Âditya was the eldest son of Parantaka, a grandson of the first of that name. So then we are driven to the necessity of looking for **this Karikâla far earlier than 900 A. D.**

It was shewn above that the works themselves point to an age when the religion of the Buddha was in the ascendant as the probable period when the works under consideration — at least the greatest of them — were composed. Buddhism was overthrown by about the 7th century A. D. when Hiuen Thsang was travelling through India, and when Tirujñânasambanda flourished. About 862 A. D., a battle was fought between Varaguna Pandyan[34] and the western Ganga king Sivamara, at Sri Parambi [Tirupparambiyam near Kumbhakonam]. This would not have been possible had the Cholas been at all powerful. Nor do the works of the age under review mention the Gangas as so powerful. We are at this period (750—850 A. D.) passing out of the Pallava ascendency in South India which must have begun about 500 A. D., if not earlier, with Vishnugôpa of Kânchî, the contemporary of Samudragupta. There is no reference in the works under notice to such premier position of the Pallavas or even the Tondamân *râjâs* — the only Tondamân of the period figuring as a minor chief, Kânchî being a Chola viceroyalty. In the Rayakôtta[35] plates, a Pallava king by name Skandaśishya, who must have been earlier than Vishnugôpa claims descent from Aśvattâman through a Naga princess. Perhaps by this time the origin of Ilandirayan had been so far forgotten as to make this credible. These considerations leads us to an earlier period for Karikâla. This personage is associated with Puhâr even in tradition, and the 'Jewel-Belt' tells us in unmistakable language **that Puhar was submerged in Killi's reign.** All the poems in the *Purananûru* about Killi, a number of them with distinguisihing epithets, connect them with Uraiyûr, and none of them is connected with Puhâr. Uraiyûr figures as a considerable town in the 'Epic of the Anklet.' Even the *Sirupanârruppadai* does not mention Puhâr. This is a very important circumstance as will appear presently.

When **Senguttuvan** performed an elaborate sacrifice on the occasion of **the consecration of the temple to Pattinî Dêvi** [the heroine of the 'Anklet'], **there was present,** among others, **Gajabâhu of Lanka** surrounded by sea [as opposed to Mâvilangai of Erumânâttu Nalliyakkôn]. This Gajabâhu of Ceylon, Ilam Cheliyan of Madura, and Killi of Uraiyûr, built temples to the same deity, following the lead of the Chera. The question now is whether this Gajabahu is the first or the second of the name. The first Gajabâhu ruled as monarch of all Ceylon from 113—135 A.D.; the

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[33] For a list of this dynasty of kings, see the table prefixed to my article, "The Chola Ascendency in South India" (*Madras Review*) for November 1902, or the *South Indian Inscription*, Vol III, Part II, recently published.

[34] *Annual Report for Epigraphy*, 1905-03, Part II, p. 25, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 295 and 319.

[35] No. 8: *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V.

second as one of three from 1142—1164 A. D. as in the list appended to Miss Duff's *Chronology of India*. Dr. Hultzsch's challenge to the Honourable Mr. Coomarasamy is to establish by internal evidence that the Gajabâhu mentioned was the first and not the second of the name. As to the other part of his objection, it must have become clear from the above that for the myth about Kiḷḷi, later writers alone are responsible; and enough direct evidence has been adduced to show that Karikâla was ruling at Puhâr when Kôvalan began life as a married man, and that his daughter was the wife of the Chera king then reigning. To return to Gajabâhu; let us for the sake of argument take him to be the second of the name. We know something of the history of South India in the middle of the 12th century and the geographical distribution of powers. The Chola rulers ought to have been either Vikrama or Kulôttunga; the rulers of Madura, either Vîra Pandyan or Vikrama Pandyan, the sovereigns of the Chera country were Vîra Kêraḷa Varman and Vîra Ravi Varman; of the Mysore country, Vishṇuvardhana and his son, Narasimha. There were no separate rulers at Kânchi, except in the sense that it was an alternative capital of the Cholas. There was an Adiyamân, no doubt, about this period [somewhat earlier], but he was the Chola viceroy at Talakad [not connected with Tagaḍûr], who was driven across the Kaveri by Ganga Raja, the famous general of Vishṇuvardhana. There were no Kongu rulers such as are mentioned in the 'Epic of the Anklet.' Gajabâhu himself was in no plight to come to Vañji[36] [Karur] at the mouth of the Pêrâr, not far from the modern Kranganur [Koḍungalûr]. Gajabâhu was fighting his own battles nearer home with his two neighbours, Mânâbharaṇa and Parakramabahu, and it was all he could do to keep himself from being permanently overwhelmed.

The first Gajabâhu invaded the Chola country to bring back the inhabitants of Ceylon, carried off by the Chola army on a previous invasion of the island during his father's reign; they were then in bondage at 'the city of Kaveri in the country of Soḷi.' He brought back besides the relics and the begging-bowl of the Buddha ["which aforetime had been carried away by the Dhamilas"]. The *Râjaratṇakari* while ascribing the same achievements to him, states that the Ceylonese went of their own accord "to serve at the river Kaveri."[37] He is there said to have brought a number of the Tamils and settled them in Ceylon. In the *Râjavali*, however, there is an even more elaborate version. The ruler is there called Râjabâhu [which may be due to a mislection]. He was accustomed to make solitary night-rounds; when he heard the wailings of a widow in her house, for her two sons had been taken captive by the king of 'Soḷi Raṭṭa.' The *adigars* [officers] failing to discover anything wrong, the king sent for the woman and learnt from her that 12,000 families had been carried away, "when the king of Soḷi Raṭṭa made his descent upon the island." The same achievements as in the previous account are recorded, with the addition "that the king of Ceylon also, upon that occasion, brought away the foot ornaments of Pattinî Dêvî[38] and also the four arms of the gods." This Pattinî Dêvî could have been no other than the heroine of the epic, who was known as Pattinî Dêvî or Pattinî Kaḍavul. This must have been regarded as a valuable relic in those days, when relics played such a prominent part in religion. As to the begging-bowl of the Buddha, a bowl of extraordinary virtue had been brought by Maṇimêkhalâ from an island south of Puhâr, where there was a Buddha seat as well, which had the divine quality of letting people into the secrets of their former existence, a belief in which was one of the cardinal doctrines of Buddhism. The 'Jewel-Belt' also states that two Naga kings fought for the possession of this Buddha-seat. These then are the native accounts of the Ceylonese chronicles with respect to Gajabâhu I.; but, unfortunately, the

36 Vanji itself was not the capital of the Chera at the time. The capital of Kerala was then Quilon, and during the period of the Chola ascendency (900—1300 A.D.)

37 Vol. II, pages 57-58. This mention of the river instead of the town would shew that when the *Râjaratṇakari* was compiled the existence of the town was passing into oblivion.

38 The distinction between the Chola country and other parts of South India is not carefully made in the *Mahâvaṁsa*. Sometimes they specially talk of Soḷi Raṭṭa, at others of Malabar generally, meaning not the Malabar Coast necessarily, but India generally.

reference to Pattinî Dêvi does not occur in the earlier compilations. This is matter for great regret. It must, however, be noticed that all these works were compiled from earlier writings and living tradition. Here follows what the learned translator of the works has to say about them : — "So carefully has the text been handed down that the discrepancies found to exist between the more ancient and modern copies are very slight indeed. The *Râjavali* is a work of different hands and complied from local histories ; it is used as a corollary or addition to the two preceding works, continuing the narative through the struggles between the Portuguese and their rivals, the Dutch, etc."

All tradition, therefore, and the historical circumstances attending the stories of these epics point to the **first Gajabâhu**, as the Ceylon ruler who was present at the celebration of the sacrifice by Śeṅguṭṭuvan Śêra and if the *Râjavali* could be relied on, the conclusion would be forced upon us. As it is, however, there is but little ground to connect these events with the second Gajabâhu, as some scholars would have it.

As to **the date of the first Gajabâhu, the chronicle gives 113—135 A. D.** as the period of his reign. Whatever be the real worth of this actual date, we have little reason to regard that of his successor namesake as inaccurate. It has been pointed out that the middle of the 12th century could not possibly be the time when the poets flourished. There is the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, the date of composition of which could not have been much later than 1111 A. D., certainly not later than 1118 A. D. Sundaramûti Nâyanâr, whom the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai placed in the 8th century A.D. refers to Pari,[39] the patron of Kapilar, and the general tenor of the epic points to Buddhistic times, which the 12th century was not. Taking the Buddha Nirvâna, at 487 B. C. instead of 543 B. C., as recognised by most authorities now, the reign of Gajabahu I. go up to 162—191 A. D. Until it is proved that the earlier dates of the *Mahâvaṁsa* are unreliable[40] [except for this error], these dates will have to stand, and the **period of the greatest literary activity in Tamil must thus be put down as the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era at the latest.** This will be quite consistent with the power of the Tamils in the centuries preceding the Christian era, when they several times invaded Ceylon and imposed themselves on the Ceylonese as usurpers, about the middle of the 1st century B. C. These facts coupled with the emperor Asoka's reference to these Tamil powers, along with the five Hellenistic potentates, warrants great probability with respect to the high state of civilisation of the Tamils.

Besides the mention of Gajabâhu, we find mention of a number of other rulers in the course of the 'Epic of the Anklet,' who were some of them friendly and others hostile. The friendly kings were the "hundred *karnas*," who provided Śeṅguṭṭuvan with a fleet of ships with which to cross the Ganges, when he invaded the Northern country to punish Kanaka and Vijaya, sons of Bâlakumâra, who spoke disparagingly of the Tamil rulers. These brothers were helped by Uttara, Vichitra, Rudra, Bhairava, Chitra, Singa, Dhunuthara and Śvêta.[41] Mr. Kanakasabhai takes the "hundred *karnas*" as equal to Sâtakarnin of the *Matsyapurâṇa*. But against this, there is the objection that the Tamil poet mentions 'the hundred persons, the *karnas*' [42]; and in one place the author even speaks of "the *karnas*" without the hundred.[43]

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39 The reference is to the complaint which the devotee makes in respect to the lack of liberality in people in his days, although one should choose to describe a miser as a patron liberal as 'Pari,' much as Bacon complains of learned men turning Faustina into Lucretia.

40 Prof. Rhys Davids finds the chronicle borne out in important details by the inscriptions among the finds of the Sânchi Tope, etc. (*Buddhist India*, pp. 299-300), page 1 *et seq*; *J. R. A. S.*, 1908 ; *Indian Review*, May, 1908 ; the *Date of the Buddha* by Mr. Gopala Iyer.

41 *S. A.*, canto xxvi, ll. 180-185. 42 *S. A.*, canto xxvi, l. 149. 43 *S. A.*, canto xxvii, p. 177.

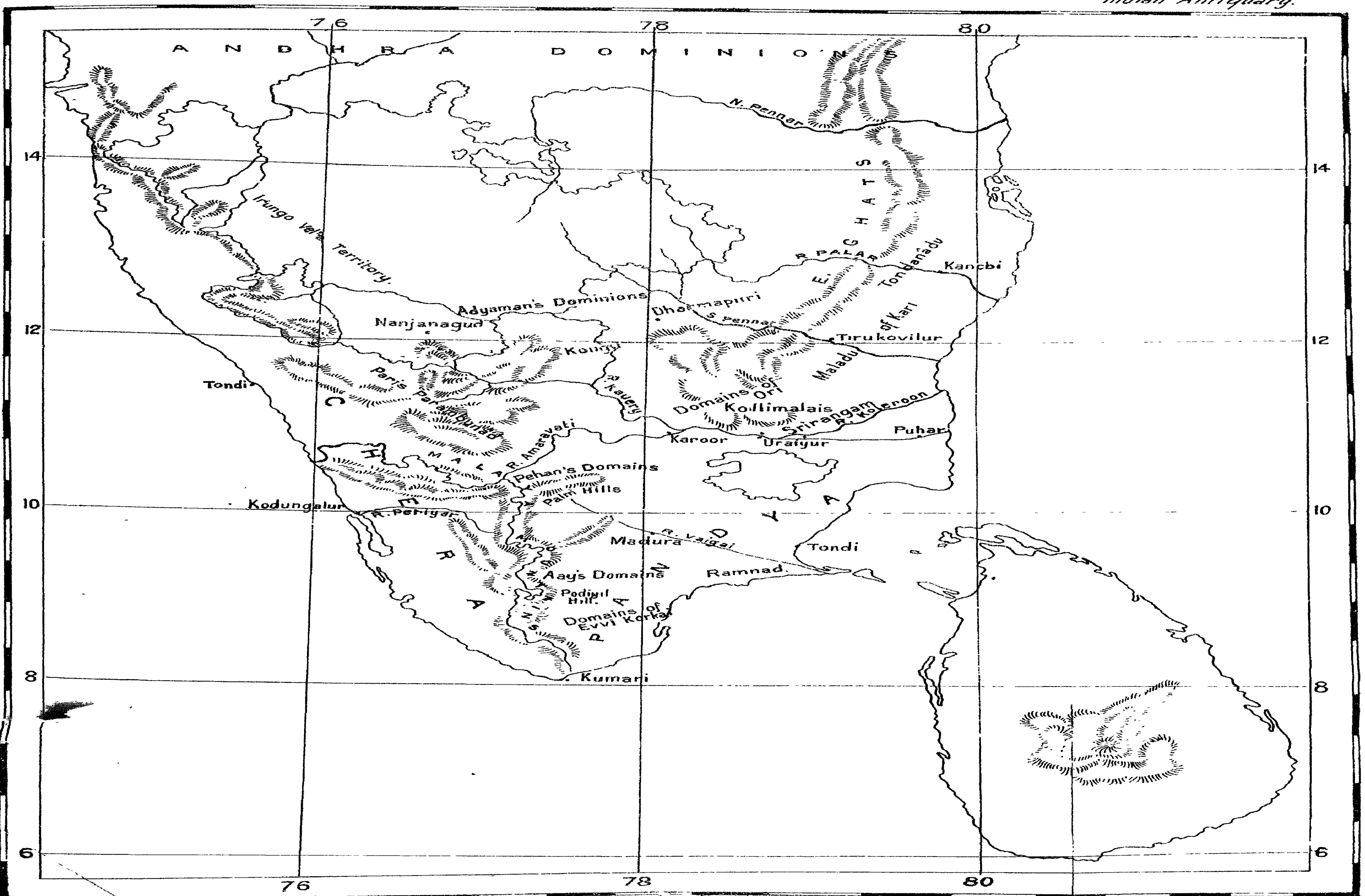
Besides, as would appear from Dr. Bhandarkar's *Dekhan,* the name Sâtakarnin was that of a dynasty and not of only one ruler. The name Sâtakarni alone appears in the early part of the list and the date is 40 B.C. to 16 A. D. [see 166, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II.] The word itself could be taken to mean "keen-eared" (rather than hundred-eared), figuratively. It is hard to understand how a contemporary could have rendered it with the number attached not to the ears but to men. Besides, these were ruling in Southern India, although Magadha was included in their dominions. So then, even if the "hundred *karnas*" meant Sâtakarnin, the particular sovereign might have been Yajña Śrî who ruled from 154—174 A.D. in the Mahârâshṭra, and 172—202 A. D. in Telingana. If this be so, we have also a Vijaya, mentioned in all the *purāṇas*, who was in Telingana from 202—208 A. D., but as against this, there is the objection that Śeṅguṭṭuvan crossed the Ganges and fought with Vijaya and his brother on the northern bank of Ganges. This notwithstanding, that Śeṅguṭṭuvan must have flourished about this time, could be inferred from the fact that Śeṅguṭṭavan's father, Pandyan Neḍuṁcheḻiyan and Karikâla all claim victory over the Aryan forces. It is very likely that the Tamil forces helped in the overthrow of the foreigners by Gôtamîputra Sâtakarni[44] and the direct mention of gifts to Karikâla by the Râjas of Bundelkhand [Vajranâḍu], Magadha and Mâḷava [Avanti] could not be altogether a figment of the imagination, since it is so very definite. **All circumstances attending point to the 2nd century A. D. as the era of Śeṅguṭṭuvan**; and the era of the greatest literary activity may be taken to be the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ.

Buddhism was introduced into South India during the last quarter of the 3rd century B. C. It must have taken some time to strike root, and in those days must have been somewhat slow in spreading. Judging from the exposition of it, as shown in the 'Jewel-Belt,' we might take it that it was as yet so free from any element of corruption as to evoke the admiration of even Christian scholars, like the learned translator of the Ceylonese chronicles. The early centuries after Christ may, therefore, be regarded as the age of Buddhistic ascendency in South India. When Fa Hian was travelling in India, there was already the early signs of revulsion, and Brahmanism returned to the fray. In the next two or three centuries Buddhism was swept off the country and the restoration of Brahmanism was completed when Hiuen Thsang came to India, chiefly through the agency in the Tamil country of the earlier Saiva devotees and some among the Vaishṇava. From this time the struggle is not so much between Buddhism and Brahmanism, as between the latter and Jainism.

In the first centuries of the Christian era then, we find India south of the Tungabhadra thus politically divided. If we start at the source of the Kaveri and follow its course till it meets the Amarâvati near Karûr, and then go up the latter river continuing our journey till we reach the Palnis and the Western Ghauts, we shall have marked the land-boundary of the Chera sphere of influence. If we take a straight south-easterly line from Karûr till we reach the sea, east of the Zamindari of Sivaganga and south of the old Chola town of Tonḍi, the south of this line would be the Pandya, and north of it the Chola sphere of influence. It must not be understood that the territory allotted to each power was always directly under it. The frontier regions were always of doubtful allegiance, as could be seen from the care with which rulers in those days fortified and strengthened frontier towns. So far as the Cholas were concerned, they had always prominently before them the strategical advantages of Uraiyûr on the west and Kânchî on the north, although their chief city was Puhâr on the sea-coast. Karûr was the meeting place of the three powers and it was in its neighbourhood that many

[44] This is the more likely, as the Śaka Nahapana and of his successor, Rishabadata, ruled over the Mahârâshṭra, with Junnâr for their capital, and their territory extended up to Malabar. This dynasty, together with that of Chashṭana in Mâlva, was overthrown by Gôtamîputra Sâtakarni and his son, Pulimayi, among whose possessions we find "the regions of the Malaya and the Sahya." These Andhrabhrityas came from Dhanakaṭaka near Guntur, and driving back the usurpers, recovered their ancestral dominions. (Introduction to *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Dhaji*, page 25, and Dr. Bhandarkar's *Dekhan*, Secs. iv, v, and vi).

South India at the Sangam Period.



a hard-fought battle took place. This central region, particularly the hilly portion, was therefore filled with petty chieftancies owing allegiance, so long as it could be enforced, to one or other of these powers, constituting a group of frontier "buffer-states." Thus there was Irungôvêḷ north of the Mysore District and on the frontiers of Coorg. Next to him was the Adiyamân in the southern-half of the Mysore District and part of Salem with his headquarters at Tagaḍûr. He belonged to the Chêra family. South of this must have been the territory of Pêhan with Nallûr for his headquarters, the country round the Palnis; between the two last was probably Paṟambunâḍu of Pâri. Next follows the Kongu country, which we might put down as including a part of the Coimbatore and Salem Districts. In a line east of this is the hill-country of Kâri with its headquarters, Tirukkôvilûr. South of this is the Chola country proper, and north the province or kingdom, according to circumstances, of Kânchî. South of the Pâlghât gap and in the Pandya country was the chieftancy of Â'ay round Podiyil Hill in the Western Ghats. On the opposite side round Korkai were the territories of Evvi. During the latter part of the reign of Śenguṭṭuvan there was a Chera, probaly a viceroy only, holding a tract of country extending from the Kolli Mal'ais[45] to Tondi on the coast, with the Chola and the Pandya countries on either side. This was the prince Chera of "elephant-look" [probably he had small deep-set eyes]. The above appears to have been the geographical division of the country. This kaleidascopic arrangement vanished and another pattern presented itself with every turn that affairs took.

If we call the age under consideration the age of the Chera ascendancy, as Śenguṭṭuvan Śêra appears to have been at one time in his life the arbiter of the destinies of this part of the country, we pass on gradually from this into a struggle, the Chera supremacy being shaken by the Pandyan. Here we lose the thread till we come to about A. D. 400, when the Pallavas rise into importance. The Pallava ascendancy begins with Vishṇugôpa of Kânchî, the contemporary of Samudragupta, and reaches its grand climacteric under Narasimhavarman, the destroyer of Badmi [Vâtâpi], the Chalukya capital about 640 A.D. A century hence we find the Gangas and Pandyas fighting near Kumbhakonam. This *rôle* the Pandyas play several times in history. Their position at the farthest end of the peninsula gives them safety. It is only when the frontier powers fall, that we see the Pandyas asserting themselves. Throughout history the South Indian powers had to oppose the incursion of the Dekhan powers, and from the rise of the Pallavas we can have a clear idea of the general position of the South Indian powers. Varguṇa Pandyan succeeded in chasing the Gangas back into their territory. In another century a new dynasty of the Cholas rise into eminence and achieve an ascendancy, matched only by that of the later empire of Vijayanagar in its best days. The decline of the Cholas again brings into prominence the Pandya in the south and the Hoyśalas in the north. Both alike of these powers are overwhelmed in that great wave of Moslem invasion under Malik Kâfûr. The Muhammadan is beaten back by the heroic efforts of a number of chiefs and this movement culminates in the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire in the middle of the 14th century. The fall of this empire brings the history of Hindu rule in South India practically to a close, and the Marâthâ Empire belongs to a different chapter of Indian history.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SELECTION OF ANCESTRAL NAMES AMONG HINDUS.

IN the Garbhâdhân (Conception) Ceremony, a Hindu woman is advised, on the authority of the *Purâṇas*, to 'hold in mind' the features of eminent ancestors of her husband. She is also advised[1] to 'look upon' her husband's features immediately after the purification bath, which she takes on the fourth day of the monthly distemper, or 'if he be absent to meditate on his features.' This seems to give expression to the notions underlying a custom in naming boys after the paternal grandfather, or if he be alive after the great-grandfather, which obtains in the Bombay Presidency.

Prominent instances are numerous. Sivâjî's grandson, nicknamed Shâhu by Aurangzêb, was named Śivâjî. At the adoption ceremony of the Gâikwâḍ of Baroda he was named Sayâjîrâo, the name of his illustrious ancestor, though his true name was Gopâlrâo. The hereditary Dîwân (Minister) of Baroda is named Vithâlrâo, which

[45] This was the tract taken from O'ri by his enemy Kari and given to the Chera.

[1] *Skanda Purâṇa, Madanaratna*, quoted in *Śûdra Kamalâkar*, p. 240, 2nd Ed. Bombay: 1895.

was also his grandfather's name. The son of Gangâdharrâo Mâdhavrâo Chitnavîs, C.I.E., a member of the Viceroy's Council, is named Mâdhavrâo, after his grandfather: and so is Gangâdharrâo himself.

The Guptês of Salsette,[2] to which the present writer belongs, have adopted the custom for a long while. His name of Bâlkṛishṇa was decided on for the following reasons. When he was born his grandfather was alive, and so he was named after his great-grandfather, whose uncle was also named Bâlkṛishṇa after the same personage, who was, of course, the uncle's grandfather. The writer's paternal grandfather was named Janârdan after his deceased grandfather, and this name is now that of the writer's uncle's grandson.

The eighth ancestor, who was the founder of the family in the Deccan, the Karkhânis at Râigaḍh under Śivâjî of historical fame, was named Râmâjî[3], and among the writer's cognate there have been Râmâs, Râmâjîs, and Râmchandras ever since. The father of Râo Bahâdur Appâjî Râmchandra Gupte, formerly Accountant-General of Baroda and the right-hand man of Sir Theodore Hope, the author of the *Bombay Account Code*, was an example in the last generation. So, again, the writer's uncle is named Jayarâm and his son Râma (Râmchandra).

The idea is that a boy named after an eminent ancestor will take after him, and if, at birth, a boy cries a great deal, the belief is still current that an ancestor who left some desires unfulfilled has been born again in him and demands a repetition of his name. He is solemnly promised that the demand shall be granted. On the 12th day after birth, the *nâmakaran* ceremony takes place and the babe is addressed thus: — "We accept you as so and so and thus give you your name. May you shine and prosper as you did in your former birth, and may your desires be fulfilled."

All this is done in the belief that the soul will have no salvation until the unfulfilled desire has been satisfied and must be reincarnated until that consummation is reached. But there is another aspect of this belief, as there is a fixed idea that naming a child after a living representative of the name in the family shortens the life of the person whose name has been taken. If also there is any emulation or jealousy between branches of a family it is held to be an affront, amounting to an insult, to name a child after a cousin just dead. The present writer, about twenty years ago, unwittingly got into a serious family scrape over the name Râma, which he gave to his son, and in this trouble his wife was involved, though she had no hand in the naming. When the child was born, he was in England on duty, and was not so close a student of custom as he is now, and had his child named Râma. It so happened that the wife of one of his uncles had just lost a good-looking boy of that name, and her superstitious feelings were grievously hurt. And then within a year another of her sons, a promising graduate, died leaving a child-widow behind. The loss of her son and the presence of the poor young widow roused her to such an extent that she sent us word: — "Go and tell Bâlkṛishṇa that *my* son is here laid, and that there is another vacancy in the names for him to appropriate for *his* sons." This was a veritable bomb thrown into the family-circle and all the *gotrajâs* (cognates) were aghast, strongly believing that the name unfortunately given to our son was the cause of all the trouble. One result was that the writer's next son should have been, in the ordinary course, named Lakshmaṇ, but that was the name of the deceased graduate. He had by that time learnt his experience and searched about for a safe name and found it in Raghunâth.

This personal experience is related to place the existence of the feeling and custom beyond all doubt, but here is another instance in the family to show how the stigma of a wrongly-bestowed name sticks. In 1861 Dâdobâ died in England, and of him the relatives were particularly proud. A cousin named his grandson after him, and the ill-feeling aroused thereby is quite lively to the present day. The generation that caused the trouble has passed away, but a few years ago the present writer observed the cynical smile that passed over the face of a direct descendant of Dâdobâ on hearing a boy shouting for another so named and belonging to the branch, which he considered had usurped the name.

A son of the Dâdobâ, who had been given the usurped name, should, in the ordinary course, have named his own son Dâdobâ, but he was wise in his generation and called him Śankar, a title of Sadâśiva. The ceremonial name of the child was, of course, Dâdobâ, but the additional and invariably used name Śankar was supposed to counteract its evil effect, owing to the attributes of the deity after whom it was given.

In yet another instance bad blood was avoided. An uncle had named his child Mâdhav while at a distance from the family home, but a brother also had that name, and as soon as the mother of the newly-named Mâdhav heard of it, she changed the name of her babe to Mahâdev and there was family peace.

B. A. GUPTE.

[2] No claim is made to a descent from the ancient Guptas.

[3] *Jî* represents *jaya*, success, and is an affix of respect.

THE INSCRIPTION P. ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

BY A. BARTH, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT.

(*Translated from the French by G. Tamson, M.A., Ph.D.*; *Göttingen.*)

[The original article, of which a translation is given here with the author's permission, appeared in the *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1907, p. 384 ff. The translation was made at the suggestion of the late Professor Kielhorn, who thought that it would be of interest to many readers who have no access to the original. The sudden and lamented death of Professor Kielhorn prevented him from adding any introductory remarks, which he could have done so much better than myself. — G. T.]

THIS inscription, one of the shortest, — it consists of only three words, — is perhaps, in some respects, the most important one, of the whole series ; for, even before it was published, it had become customary to see in it a direct proof that a whole dynasty of Satraps and Great Satraps, with barbarous names, some of which figure also in other records at this same place, Mathurā, and at Takṣaçılā in the Panjāb, the Τάξιλα of the ancients, and on coins, belonged to that branch of the Scythian nations which, from the time of Herodotus, was known among the Greeks under the name of Σάκαι, the Çakas of Sanskrit literature. So Mr. Fleet, one of the masters of Indian epigraphy, has recently drawn attention to this document : in a very ingenious article[1] he has improved the interpretation of the commencement: but he appears to me to have gone astray half-way, and I much fear that he has rather spoilt the interpretation of the end.

The inscription is cut, with seventeen others, on a capital of red sandstone, of rather modest dimensions (1 ft. 7¼ ins. by 2 ft. 8 ins.), formed by two lions placed back to back. Judging from the [385] mortises in it above and below, it ought to rest on one of those *stambhas* or pillars that formed a portion of the ornamentation of sanctuaries, and, in accordance with what we see on ancient bas-reliefs, it should itself be surmounted by some other religious symbol, such as a *dharmacakra* or wheel of the law. In one of the inscriptions, the one entitled I,[2] the interpretation of which, it is true, is very doubtful, it would seem that reference is made to an army, to war and victory ; and if so, the pillar would have been both a *dharmastambha* and a *jayastambha*, a monument of devotion and a trophy of victory.

The block came originally from the immediate neighbourhood of Mathurā, the Μέθορα of the ancients, on the Jumnā, the holy city of the cult of Krishṇa, but which, like almost all the great religious centres in India, was also a holy land for Buddhists and Jains. The stone was discovered in 1869, and was acquired in the following year, for his patron, Bhau Daji, by one of the men who have rendered the most eminent services to Indian archæology, the late Bhagvānlāl Indrajī. Unfortunately, the Pandit has not indicated the site of the find with sufficient accuracy ; he simply tells us that he made it at some distance from the Saptarṣiṭīlā, "the mound of the seven Rishis," no doubt one of the numerous tumuli in the plain of Mathurā, but for which I find no indication either in the *Reports* of Cunningham or in the voluminous monograph on the district of Mathurā by Growse. Moreover, at the time of the discovery, the stone was no longer *in situ* ; it had been used for erecting an altar consecrated to the goddess of small-pox. The exact provenance is therefore unknown, and we possess as yet no clue to locate, even approximately, the otherwise unknown **Guhāvihāra,** which is mentioned in inscription H, and to which the monument probably belonged. The capital was bequeathed by Bhagvānlāl to the British Museum, where it is now on view. [386] Also, it was only after the death of the Pandit, and from his papers preserved with

[1] *J. R. As. Soc.* of London, 1904, p. 703 *sq.*, and 1905, p. 154 *sq.*

[2] These letters refer to the publication of Bhagvānlāl — Bühler, in which the eighteen inscriptions are marked A. B. C. to R.

the Asiatic Society of London, that his great work on the Kşatrapas, both those of the West and those of the North, was summarised by Mr. Rapson,[3] and his version and translation of the present inscriptions were piously published by Bühler,[4] with the corrections of the editor, and as the result of a new and careful collation with the original monument.

The eighteen inscriptions are cut on every part of the capital, very irregularly, in various directions, and in letters of very different sizes. Thus, they strangely recall the mementos which, in every country, obtrusive travellers like to leave behind them on their way. Yet they are not mere scribblings; even the smallest of the characters are well-formed and cut deeply and carefully. Most, if not all, of them were nevertheless to be necessarily illegible when seen from the foot of the pillar, and two, A and N, cut close to the two mortises, were even entirely hidden when the capital was once put into its place and surmounted by its appendage. From this fact Bhagvānlāl concluded that they must all have been cut at one and the same time, before the stone was put into its place. And, in fact, this is very probable in the case of the chief inscription A, which records the consecration of relics of the Buddha Çākyamuni, of a *stupa*, and of a monastery, the whole for the benefit of a community of **Sarvāstivādin monks,** and the work of the chief queen of **the Great Satrap Rajula,** jointly with her mother, grandmother and other relations. It is the only one of these texts that presents a certain development, and it is exactly one of the two that were to remain for ever invisible. The same conclusion will also readily be admitted in the case of some others, relating, as is probable for some and certain for others of them, to members of the same family and commemorating acts of homage, [387] intended for those personages according to Bhagvānlāl, or rather, according to myself, performed by them. The fact that those commemorations should have been thus engraved so as never to be read would, in any case, be no objection. As the Pandit points out, nothing is more common with that sort of documents. In fact, instances abound in every period, from the numerous epigraphs buried within the *stūpas* up to that temple of Upper Siam in which, in a long gallery, a sort of absolutely dark tube made in the thickness of the masonry, M. Fournereau collected about a hundred bas-reliefs accompanied by descriptive inscriptions intended to be never seen by anyone. We may also recall the fact that at Girnār a portion of the inscriptions of Açoka, — which were, for all that, edicts, we might say notices, — can only be read by one lying down at full length under the rock, and that, it would seem, such has always been the case. Those are pious works which indeed admit of a certain amount of publicity, but a publicity intended especially for the next world.

But must the same conclusion be applied to all the inscriptions of the capital, even to those which concern personages who were as devoid of titles as possible and appear to have had no connection whatever with this family of Satraps? Here I should have considerable hesitation. On the one hand, there is the want of order in which all these epigraphs are scattered, as if at random, on the stone, while they record religious acts without any apparent interconnection; there are, moreover, the differences in the size of the characters, which appears in no way proportional to the dignity of the personages mentioned; also certain divergences of an orthographical kind; also many indications which do not well agree with the hypothesis of a common origin, of a work accomplished on one occasion, by the same hands and in the short space of time required for the construction of the capital. On the other hand, even in the still so regrettable absence of fac-similes,[5] it [388] must indeed be admitted that there are no characteristic differences in the writing, since, not to speak of Bhagvānlāl, epigraphists as distinguished as Bühler and Mr. Fleet, who were able to examine the stone and had excellent reproductions at their disposal, have not pointed to a single one. But I confess that this latter consideration does not appear to me to possess any great weight. Those inscriptions are in Kharoṣṭhī, in that cursive writing, with its indecisive forms, in which the

3 *J. R. As. Soc.* of London, 1890, p. 639 *sq.*, and 1894, p. 541 *sq.*

4 *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 525 *sq.*

5 Since the time when this was written, excellent fac-similes, prepared under Mr. Fleet's direction from photographs made by Sir Alexander Cunningham, have been published, as an accompaniment to an article on these inscriptions by Mr Thomas, in *Epigr. Ind.*, IX, p. 135 *sq.*

variations of the conformation, numerous as they are, do not allow themselves to be reduced to any definite chronological order. If we had the least doubt with regard to this, we should only have to refer to the strange interchange of positions (as in the figures of a dance) which equally capable and competent men continually make those dynasties to carry out that belong to some time about our own era, and do so, in fact, while basing their arguments on the same documents, some of which, nevertheless, are in Brāhmī, that is to say, in a more regular writing in which the variations are much more noticeable.

Every thing considered, I should, therefore, rather be inclined to believe that a considerable number of these inscriptions have nothing to do with the erection of the pillar, that they are not contemporaneous with the first consecration, and that they were engraved, not before the capital was put into its place, but on various occasions after its fall. Earthquakes are not unknown in the district; people there still remember that of 1804; nor can Mathurā, which according to tradition was ravaged by the Yavanas, the Greeks, have been safe from hostile enterprises during those certainly troubled times. We have no means of estimating the duration of that interval; yet there are reasons for believing that it cannot have been a long one; for the Kharoṣṭhī writing was never fully acclimatised at Mathurā, and, at whatever period its appearance there is placed, it does not seem to have remained long in use. At all events, I do not hesitate to class among those (in my opinion) later inscriptions our inscription P, to which I now return after this long preamble.

[389] The inscription is cut in two lines, on the flank of the lion on the right hand, and is entirely separated from its neighbours. It was read by Bhagvānlāl thus:—

Savasa sakastanasa puyae,[6]

and was translated by him: — "**In honour of the whole of Sakastana,**" that is to say, in honour of the whole Ségestan, in the name of which there has been preserved, down to our own days, the memory of the Çakas. The reading, on the testimony of Bühler and Mr. Fleet, is absolutely certain, and Bühler has also shown that the translation is faultless with respect both to phonology and to orthography. As far as the mere form of the Prākrit words is considered, these are in fact rendered perfectly and as it were spontaneously into Sanskrit by:—

Sarvasya Çakasthānasya pūjāyai.

From this glorification of Çakasthāna, the conclusion was afterwards drawn that all these Satraps and Great Satraps were Çakas, namely, those who figure here and elsewhere, Rajula or Rājuvūla and his son Çuḍāsa or Çoḍāsa, Kusulaka Patika and his father Liaka Kusulaka (the two last-mentioned being vassals of a Great King Moga), also others whose names are of little importance here, who appear to have ruled in one or in several divisions, as more or less independent sovereigns,[7] from the Jamnā to the Indus, and for whom we possess the dates 72 and 78 of a non-specified era.

If the preceding remarks as to the respective independence of these documents have any value, it may [390] perhaps be thought that the conclusion does not necessarily follow, even if the accuracy of the translation from which it was drawn be admitted. But is that translation an accurate one? Bühler, who admitted both the translation and the conclusion, appears, nevertheless, to have been somewhat astonished at this homage to the whole district of the Çakas. "It is a remarkable fact," he says, "no other analogous instance is known." As for myself it has always seemed to me that even this instance could not be taken into account, and for several reasons.

[6] [But the first word, as read by Bhagvānlāl, Bühler, and Fleet, is *sarvasa* not *savasa*. —ED.]

[7] There is, perhaps, an inclination to exaggerate the degree of independence of these Satraps, especially of those of whom we possess no coins. The title itself already indicates a certain subordination. To the case of Liaka and Patika, vassals of the Great King Moga, is now added that of the Great Satrap Kharapallāna and of the Satrap Vanaspara, who, in inscriptions recently discovered at Sārnāth, recognised the Great King Kaniṣka as their sovereign: *Epigr. Ind.*, VIII, 176-179.

In the first place, it is not evident that this name of Çaka, or any other of the same kind and of a very general signification, has ever occurred in the protocol of any of those foreign dynasties; here, as a matter of ethnology, are found only names of tribes or of clans. Even the members of those dynasties that are called Çakas by their enemies and are now, almost by universal consent, recognised as such, the founders of the era of that name, the Satraps and Great Satraps of Surāṣṭra and Mālwā, do not give themselves this qualification, with the exception of the son-in-law of one of them, Uṣavadāta, and even this unique confession of a foreign origin is not absolutely certain.[8]

Another reason that makes me suspect the translation is that no mention is found in it of the performer of the homage, in my opinion as essential a point as is the signature to a petition, and one which, in fact, is never absent. Even here it is absent only once, in inscription O, which, as is shown by the word *puya* in the nominative, is a quite general formula of adoration, like *namo buddhāya* and so many others, and does not imply any particular act of homage. Everywhere else, where, in these texts, a similar act is involved, the performer of the act is carefully mentioned; for, with Mr. Fleet, I think that all these proper names [391] in the genitive indicate the persons that pay the homage, not those that receive it.

Finally, one more reason, namely, that this translation appears to me contrary to the usage of the language and to the natural sense of the words. *Pūjā* has not the meaning of 'glorification;' it is a concrete act of worship, of homage, of great respect, which always attaches to something of a religious nature; it is addressed to a god, to a superior, to parents; accompanied by a mental invocation it may be addressed to an absent person; it may even be addressed to inanimate objects, to a sanctuary, a stream, a sacred tree; the warrior may make a *pūjā* to his weapons, the master of a house to his hearth; I could even understand that, on returning from a distance a traveller should make one to his native country. But I do not see how, from Mathurā, a *pūjā* should be made to the whole Ségestan. In short, "in honour of the whole Sakastana" is an English phrase; it is not a religious Indian phrase, nor even simply an Indian phrase at all.

Mr. Fleet is not any more satisfied than myself with that translation, but for another reason. He will absolutely not have it that there is the slightest mention made of Çakas in the epigraphy of Northern India. While he is dislodging them from another inscription of Mathurā in which it was thought that they were found,[9] they must therefore disappear from the present one. He therefore thinks that it is not this name, but the possessive adjective *svaka*, that forms the first term of the compound *sakastana*, which must be transcribed into Sanskrit as *svakasthāna*. As to *sarvasa*, he accepts it as a proper name, Sarva or Çarva, the genitive depending no longer on *puyae*, but on some word like *dāna*, 'gift, offering,' understood. He thus arrives, after a first trial on which I will not dwell, since he has himself abandoned it, at the translation :—

"(An offering) of Sarva, in honour of his home."

[392] That *savasa* should be a proper name of the donor and be construed with a word understood, is an excellent suggestion, quite in conformity with the usage of those documents; but the interpretation of *sakastanasa* appears to me absolutely inadmissible. *Sthāna* cannot, like our word "maison," and, strictly speaking, like the English word "home," be taken in the sense of "family;" it is the place of one's sojourn, the residence, the dwelling in the material sense, and only that. Now, one does not make a *pūjā* to one's lodging, any more than one makes one to "the whole Ségestan." Something else must, therefore, be looked for.

I will not stop to discuss the various propositions that one may be tempted to offer for the solution of this riddle, such as, for instance, that of seeing in it a homage addressed to the *Çākyasthāna*, the establishment of the Buddhist monks to which these inscriptions relate. That

[8] Nāsik, 6 A., ap. *Arch. Surv. West. India*, IV, p. 101, and No. 14, ap. *Epigr. Ind.*, VIII, p. 85. Çaka comes immediately after a lacuna.

[9] *J. R. As. Soc.* of London, 1905, p. 635 *sq.*

would give us neither the name of him who performed the homage nor any very acceptable expression for what the texts themselves indicate by the proper word *saṁgha*, 'the community.' I prefer to proceed directly to the interpretation which appears to me the most probable, the only one in conformity with the spirit of the language and the usage of the documents.

The inscription states that, at the Buddhist sanctuary of which the pillar formed a part, a *pūjā*, an act of homage, was performed, we do not know exactly what, but no doubt some offering or gift to the community; we therefore require the name of him who performed the act; for we may be quite sure that the act was registered only in order that the name might be so. Moreover, the designation of the person must be sufficiently explicit; to make it so, we require more than the simple name, we require at least a qualifying expression, that is to say, two words. Now, these two words are supplied by the text itself, namely, *savasa* and *sakastanasa*. For, *sakastana* is not only the proper name of a place, it is also the adjective derived from that proper name, with the meaning "native of Sakastana, inhabitant of Sakastana." In order that it may have this second signification, it suffices to assume a long *ā* in the first syllable, and nothing prevents us from reading it thus, for [393] the Kharoṣṭhī writing does not mark the quantity of the vowels. In the Brāhmī writing, in which this quantity is marked, we should probably have *sākastāna*, as in Sanskrit we have *māthura*, 'native of Mathurā,' *kānyakubja*, 'native of Kanyakubja,' *saurāṣṭra*, 'native of Surāṣṭra.' The Sanskrit grammarians have given rules for this derivation and have imposed restrictions on it; but the Prākrit dialects are very free in this respect; at the most, they sometimes add their ever-occurring suffix *ka*, as in *nāsikaka*, 'native of Nāsika,' and even here, in the inscription F, *nakaraa*, 'native of Nagara;' but in R we have *tachila*, 'native of Takṣilā,' the exact counterpart of our *sakastana*. According to a constant practice, these two genitives, indicating the performer of the act, depend on a term understood, which we may, however, be dispensed from supplying, since we do not know in what, exactly, the act consisted. At all events, they are independent of *puyae*; so much so even that the latter may in its turn be suppressed, as it is in O and R, where we only find "of Khardaa, Satrap," "of Kodina, native of Takṣilā," both of whom, however, without any possible doubt, claim to have performed an act of *pūjā*. We have, then, the following translation:—

"Of Sava, native of Sakastana; to render homage."

Who was this Sava, whose name, such as it is, I leave as it stands, as being probably a foreign one? Was he a soldier of fortune in the pay of an Indian sovereign, after the immemorial custom of the men of his country? And was this sovereign himself a Çaka, or some other barbarian or a native? Or again, was Sava a merchant on his travels, who came with one of those caravans from the Khyber, which at all times brought into India the horses and camels of Iran? Was he perhaps settled at Mathurā? Or was he a simple pilgrim? We know nothing about it; all we can say is that he must have been a man without a title, but of a [394] certain fortune; that he was a lay Buddhist; and that he had come from a country then called Sakastana. I believe that Mr. Fleet himself will take no umbrage at this mention of a Çaka, when it is reduced to these proportions; for it commits one neither to the acceptance nor to the denial of what he calls the historical presence of the Çakas in Northern India.

Here, however, there is a question on which I do not wish to touch. Were there in Northern India, somewhere about the commencement of our era, any Çaka rulers? We know absolutely nothing about it. Mr. Fleet denies it; and the fact is that, if there were any such, they have not told us so. But this is an argument that should not be strained; for the rulers of the South-West, who appear indeed to have been Çakas, also have not told us so at all, and from ancient times the name appears to have been a comprehensive designation very variously applied. However, the mention here of Sakastana should not surprise us. The term is an ancient one; it goes back at least to the time of Isodorus of Charax, in whom we have no reason for not recognising the geographer employed by Augustus. He places Σακαστανή between Drangiana and Arachosia,[10] that is to say, in the Ségestan of the later geography; and the appellation must have been already ancient, for the country was

[10] *Geogr. Graci Min.*, ed. C. Müller, I, pp. 244-245.

then under the dominion of the Parthians; much earlier, even, it was just about in this region, among the nations of the eastern frontier of his empire, that Darius enumerates the Çakas,[11] or at least certain tribes of the Çakas, who, as mercenaries much in request, must have possessed settlements in various places. It might even be that already, before the Christian era, they had some establishments on Indian soil; for, long ago Lassen,[12] and more recently M. Boyer,[13] have drawn attention to the fact [395] that with the Μὶν πόλις of Isidorus of Charax, one of the four capitals of the Çakas of Sakastanè, two others exactly correspond in the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea (2nd half of the 1st century), namely, Μινναγάρ or Μινναγάρα (*nagara* = πόλις), one on the lower Indus, the other on the Gulf of Cambay. And here also, if, as is probable, these names belong to the language of the Çakas, they should be ancient, for the Scythians, that is to say, the Çakas of the first of these capitals, were at the time of the Periplus subject to Parthian kinglets, and those of the second one were so thoroughly Hindooised that the compiler no longer recognised foreigners in them. "It is here," he says, "that India commences."[14]

Hitherto I have not touched upon the question of the date of these inscriptions, or at least I have only referred to it in vague terms as somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era; for I think it would be temerity to aim at greater precision. All that we actually possess of data, direct and indirect, foreign and indigenous, has been turned over again and again in all possible ways, and arranged in almost countless combinations, not one of which appears convincing to the exclusion of the others. When we see, for instance, Bühler asserting, as an absolutely certain fact, that the Satraps of our inscriptions came before Kaṇiṣka and the first Kuṣana emperors, and Mr. Fleet stating, as a no less certain fact, that they came after them, and this when, on one side and the other, Kaṇiṣka and his immediate successors are referred to epochs differing by 135 years, we may be allowed to think that the question is not ripe for solution, and may be excused from setting up one more system after so many others. We have seen that for two of the Satraps who figure in our inscriptions, and exactly in those which may probably be contemporaneous with the erection of the pillar and consequently may be the most ancient ones, namely, for Çuḍasa and Patika, we possess the two dates 72 and 78. Unfortunately, [396] these dates, like all which we have of that period and which are not simply regnal years, belong to an undetermined era. The Bhandarkars, father and son, refer them to the Çaka era of A. D. 78. Most scholars seek their origin towards the middle of the first century B. C., not to mention "outsiders" who contend that they should be removed much further back. Mr. Fleet, with greater precision, refers them, with all the other dates which we possess for this period, in Northern India, to the era afterwards called that of Vikrama, which commences 58 B. C. This is evidently a simplification of matters, and round this thesis, which he has been defending for some years, he has not failed to group, very ingeniously, a number of reasons which may render it plausible. But still it remains the principal one of these reasons that Northern India is in possession of a well-established era, the Saṃvat of Vikrama, that it is not proved that it had others for this period, and that, therefore, it had no others in reality. The reply to this might be that a plurality of eras is a normal fact in India, where almost every dynasty has had its own; that this plurality is *a priori* probable in that period of invasions and of rather unstable governments, when there were even several calendars, the Macedonian and at least two indigenous ones; that the general usage of the Vikrama-Saṃvat in ancient times would itself stand in great need of being proved; and that, finally, there is in this demonstration something like arguing in a circle; for, by taking everything for one of these anonymous eras, it is clear that nothing will remain for the others. But it is also very clear that all the objections in the world could not advance the question by a single step. It will be possible to take this step only when some fortunate find has introduced a truly solid fixed point into this mass of still floating data which lend themselves only to hypothetical constructions.

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[11] Behistan, I, 16; Persepolis, I, 18; N. Ra, 25. I quote after the edition of Spiegel, the only one that I have at hand. These lists are somewhat confused, but the general position shows clearly enough.

[12] *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, II², p. 387. [13] *Journ. As.*, X. (1897), p. 140. [14] *Geogr. Græci Min.*, I, p. 290.

THE NARAYANIYA AND THE BHAGAVATAS.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C. I. E., PH.D., D. LITT.

It is probable that at least ninety per cent of those who are popularly called Hindûs, follow some form or other of religion in which the essential element is bhakti, or devoted faith directed to a personal God. As will be seen hereafter, this is essentially **typical of a Monotheistic religion** and, as it is a commonplace amongst most Englishmen that Hindûs are polytheists, the point requires some explanation.

The object of the present paper is therefore to exhibit in a convenient form the contents of the oldest available text-book of **the Bhâgavata-Pâñcharâtra Religion,** from which all these various **sects of the Bhakti-mârga** are directly derived. This text-book is the *Nârâyaṇîya* section of the *Sânti Parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata.* As will be seen from the following remarks, it does not represent the tenets of the sect in their original purity, but, with the aid of notes, which I have given where I thought they would be necessary, I hope that it will not be found difficult to separate the kernel from the Brahmaist shell in which it has been enclosed.[1]

As Professor Oldenberg has pointed out in his *Life of the Buddha,* although that part of the Gangetic Valley which lies East of the confluence of the Gaṅgâ with the Yamunâ had been already occupied by Aryans when the Vedic Religion had become developed in the country to its west, nevertheless even so late as the 6th century B. C. these Eastern Aryans were not thoroughly Brahmanized. Here philosophic speculation was the characteristic rather of the warrior than of the priestly caste. Buddha and Mahâvîra were both Kshattriyas. So was Janaka, and so, according to the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa,* was Kapila.[2] Janaka's name is intimately connected with the origins of the Bhâgavata Religion, and the other three were founders of Buddhism, Jainism, and the Sâṁkhya philosophy, respectively, all of which were in their essence absolutely inconsistent with the Brahmanical Pantheism of the Upanishads.[3]

I think, however, that Oldenberg's proposition can be stated in wider terms. In these early times I would confine Brahmaism[4] to the old Madhyadêśa in its narrowest sense, — the country of the Kurus between the Sarasvatî on the West and lower Gangetic Dôâb on the East. I should say that round this, in an Outland semi-circle, east, south, and west, was a band of unorthodox Aryan communities. According to the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad,* II, i, 1 ff. and the *Kaushîtakî Brâhmaṇa Upanishad,* IV, 1 ff., Gârgya, a Brâhmaṇa of the Outland, was taught by the Outland Kshattriya, Ajâtaśatru of Kâśî. Immediately to the east and south of the old Madhyadêśa were Pañchâlas, whose king showed despite to Drôṇa, the Brâhmaṇa, in that

[1] In these introductory remarks, I have made free use of the following, to which the reader is referred for further particulars: — Professor R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year* 1883-84. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins's *Great Epic of India.* Professor R. Garbe's *Sâṁkhya-Philosophie,* and his German translation of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ.* Professor L. Barnett's English translation of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ.*

[2] III, xxi, 23. His mother was Dêvahûti, the daughter of the Râjarshi Manu. According to *Bhagavad Gîtâ,* IV, 1 ff., the doctrines of the poem were essentially the prerogative of the Kshattriyas, to whom they came through Manu from the sun. In Madhusûdana's commentary on the passage, emphasis is laid on the fact that the sun was the origin of the whole Kshattriya race. Kumârila Bhaṭṭa on *Mîmâṁsa-sûtra,* I, iii, 7, admits unwillingly that Manu was a Kshattriya, and Sômêśvara on I, iii, 3, states so plainly.

[3] Daksha, who was sprung from Brahmâ's right thumb (*cf.* the legend of the origin of Kshattriyas from Purusha's arms) had a thousand (*sahasra-sâṁkhya*) sons who, according to *MBh.*, I, lxxv, were taught Sâṁkhya by Nârada. The commentator explains that therefore they begat no children. Similarly Sanaka and his brethren, who, according to tradition, took a very prominent part in the promulgation of the Bhâgavata religion, refused to beget children (*Bhâg. P.*, III, xii, 4).

[4] This is the convenient name given by Professor Hopkins to the Brahmanical teaching of the *Upanishads* before it had developed into the later *Vêdanta.*

quarrel which (like the wrath of Peleus' son) created the devastating war of the *Mahâbhârata*, and who consented to the polyandrous marriage of his daughter with the Pâṇḍavas. Pravâhaṇa Jaivali was a Pañchâla Kshattriya, who according to the *Chhândôgya Upanishad*,[5] silenced the Brâhmaṇas and taught the Brâhmaṇa Gautama. He even (V, iii, 7) claimed that his system of religious thought belonged to the Kshattriya class alone.

At the time of the Mahâbhârata War, a tribe in close connection with these Pañchâlas was that of the Sṛiñjayas. So far back as the period of the *Atharva Vêda*,[6] these people were noted as enemies of what was perhaps the most typical Brâhmaṇa tribe in India, — that of Bhṛigu. It was a descendant of Bhṛigu, Paraśu Râma, who is said to have wiped the Kshattriyas off the face of the earth.

In the eleventh *khaṇḍa* of the 5th *prapâṭhaka* of the *Chhândôgya Upanishad* just quoted, we come to the Kaikêya country in the Panjâb, west of the Madhyadêśa. Five great theologians went to the Brâhmaṇa Uddâlaka with hard questions, which he could not answer; so he sent them on to Aśvapati, the Kshattriya king of Kaikêya, and brother-in-law of Daśaratha[7], and it was he who solved their difficulties. Nor were the doctrines of the Outland always considered as orthodox. The teaching of Svarjit of Gandhâra is made short work of by the author of *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, VIII, i, 4, 10, who contemptuously compares it to the words of a Kshattriya (*Râjanya*).

If we go further back to Vedic times, we see traces of the same contest between what was subsequently Brahmanical orthodoxy and Kshattriya unorthodoxy in the famous struggle between Vasishṭha and Viśvâmitra for possession of the sacrificial gifts of king Sudâs. At this stage of history, the Aryans had not penetrated so far into India as they had at the time of the Mahâbhârata War, and the scene of the combat is hence further west, — in the Panjâb, — but the relative positions are noteworthy. Vasishṭha, the Brâhmaṇa, was far to the west, while Viśvâmitra, the Kshattriya, came from the Gangetic Dôâb.

In later times, to the south of the Madhyadêśa, in the north of what is now Gujarât and Râjputâna, were **the Yâdavas,** and we shall see that **it was amongst them that the unorthodox Bhâgavata Religion arose.**[8]

Putting accidental alliances and enmities to one side, any one who takes a general view of the Mahâbhârata War will recognize that here the same state of affairs is reproduced. On one side were the Kurus, inhabitants of the central Madhyadêśa, supported by the Brahmanical caste represented by Drôṇa. On the other side were the Pañchâlas, the Yâdavas, and the Matsyas of the Southern Panjâb. The protagonists on this side were the polyandrous Pâṇḍavas, whose chief hero won the decisive combat of the battle by inflicting a stroke which, to Kuru eyes, was against the rules of Aryan warfare.[9]

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[5] I, viii, 1, and V, iii ff. *Cf. Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, VI, ii, 1 ff.

[6] V, xix, 1.

[7] Vâlmîki, *Râmâyaṇa*, II, i, 2.

[8] The anti-Brahmanist tendency of the Bhâgavata Religion is well illustrated by the story of Ambarîsha, as told by Priyâ-dâsa, the commentator of the *Bhakta-mâla*. Durvâsas, the Brâhmaṇ, has insulted a Bhâgavata Kshattriya (Ambarîsha). He is pursued by Vishṇu's discus, and after appealing without effect to Brahmâ and Śiva, is constrained at length to appeal to Bhagavat (Vishṇu). Vishṇu tells him that he (Vishṇu) had formerly three qualities, *i. e.*, (1) that of protecting suppliants; (2) that of destroying distress, and (3) that of being the god of *Brâhmaṇa*-hood (*Brâhmaṇya-dêva*). "Now I no longer honour these qualities," says he, "for they have been put aside by my new quality of tenderness to *bhaktas* (*bhakta-vâtsalya*)."

[9] Even so late as the 11th century A. D., the country inhabited by the Kurus was looked upon as the true home of Brahmanical orthodoxy. In the second act of the *Prabôdhachandrôdaya*, we have the unorthodox Chârvaka congratulating king Mahâmôha that all the world has abandoned the Vêdas, and that *even in the land of the Kurus* nothing is to be feared from learning or knowledge. *Têna kuru-kshêtrâ-'dishu tâvad dêvêna svapnê 'pi na vidyâ-prabôdhô-'dayah śaṅkanîyaḥ.*

We see again the same state of affairs in the language of India; the *Linguistic Survey of India* shows that there is a central language of the Madhyadêśa, and round it, west, south and east, a group of languages which are all much more closely related to each other than any of them is to the central one. It has long been suggested that these facts point to what may, for convenience sake, be called the existence of two Aryan invasions of India at widely separate epochs.[10] The descendants of one of these swarms were the Brahminized occupiers of the Madhyadêśa, while the descendants of the other were the people who inhabited what we may call the once unorthodox outer band. In this light, the war of the *Mahâbhârata* resolves itself into a struggle for supremacy between the two nationalities, as well as into a struggle between unorthodoxy and Brahmaism. In the struggle, the Kshattriya party vanquish the Brahmanical, but the victors were ultimately compelled to yield to those whom they had conquered. Nothing is more interesting in the history of Indian civilization than the skill displayed by the Brâhmaṇs, in gradually, with their characteristic astuteness, drawing the unorthodox Bhâgavatas, and their allies the followers of Sâṁkhya-yôga, into their fold, and in enlisting their aid in the struggles against Buddhism.

The Bhâgavata Religion was a very old one, — certainly older than Pâṇini, who mentions **bhakti** applied to Vâsudêva in one of his *sûtras* (IV, iii, 95, 98).[11] **Its founder was Kṛishṇa Vâsudêva,** — not the mythological Kṛishṇa of later Hindû legend, — but the actual person to whom the myths became attached, and who must be identified with the Kṛishṇa Dêvakîputra mentioned as a disciple of Ghôra Âṅgirasa in *Chhândôgya Upanishad*, III, xvii, 6. Kṛishṇa Vâsudêva was **a Kshattriya,** and a member of the Sâtvata or Sâttvata sept **of the Yâdava tribe.** In the older parts of the *Mahâbhârata* this Kṛishṇa appears in the two-fold character of a mighty warrior and of a religious teacher. He was the traditional founder of this religion which was **strictly monotheistic,** the object of worship being named **Bhagavat, "the Adorable One,"** and its followers calling themselves **Bhâgavatas,** the worshippers of Bhagavat. Its practical teaching was strongly ethical from the Kshattriya point of view. The religion was at first adopted by the people of Vâsudêva's tribe, the Yâdavas, especially by those of the Sâtvata[12] sept to which he himself belonged; and gradually spread beyond the national limits into other parts of India. Hence, in later writings, we often find the name Sâtvata used as a synonym for Bhâgavata without any ethnic signification whatever.

Before the time of Pâṇini, its founder, as has happened to other similar cases in India, became deified, and under his patronymic of Vâsudêva, he was identified with the Bhagavat. Long afterwards, his proper name, Kṛishṇa, received the same honour. Other names given to the Supreme in later times were Purusha or "the Male" (probably borrowed from Sâṁkhya-yôga) Nârâyaṇa, and so forth, but the oldest and the original name was, as has been said, Bhagavat. The passage just quoted from Pâṇini shows that in his time his worshippers were also called Vâsudêvakas and (from the name of Kṛishṇa's chief disciple) Ârjunakas.

We have no literary evidence as to the train of reasoning by which this doctrine was reached, but to me it appears more than probable that it was **a development of the Sun-worship** that was the common heritage of both branches of the Aryan people, — the Eranian and the Indian. All the legends dealing with the origins of the Bhâgavata Religion are connected in some way or other with the sun. According to the *Mahâbhârata* (xii, 12983),

[10] Or we may put it that the invasion lasted for several centuries, and that the latest comers were of a stock different from that of the earliest ones.

[11] See Kielhorn in *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 505. Neither Pâṇini nor Patañjali states in so many words that Vâsudêva is the name of a deity. The latter treats it merely as a proper name; but the application of the technical word *bhakti* to Vâsudêva makes it difficult to imagine who else can be intended, if it be not the God. To the present day, the most holy verse of the Bhâgavata teaching is the "twelve syllable *mantra*," *i. e., ôṁ namô Bhagavatê Vâsudêvâya.*

[12] *Cf. MBh.*, II, 1196-7; 1563-7; IV, 85, 140; XVI, 74, 91-4, 113.

the Bhagavat himself taught the religion to the seer Nârada, who taught it to, amongst others, the sun, who communicated it to mankind. The greatest and most worshipped of all the incarnations of the Bhagavat, — that of Râma-chandra, — was by human origin a descendant of the sun. Several of the legends connected with Bhâgavata saints are also connected with the sun. Sugrîva, Râma's ally, had the sun for his father. Many stories are told about Draupadî, the wife of the five Pâṇḍavas, but in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bhâgavatas, the *Bhakta-mâla*, only one is thought worthy of mention, and that is connected with a miracle performed by Kṛishṇa with the aid of a marvellous cooking-pot given to her by the sun. Satrâjit, Kṛishṇa's father-in-law was a sun-worshipper, and received from the luminary a jewel which became the subject of many stories. One of the very earliest heretics recorded in Brahmanical literature was Yâjñavalkya. According to the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* (III, v, ff.) he refused to obey his preceptor's command to join in worship with people whom he styled "miserable and inefficient Brâhmaṇs." He explained that he acted "in" or "for *bhakti*"[13] (the MSS. differ) and rejected so much of the *Yajur Vêda* as he had learnt from his teacher. He then departed and worshipped the sun, who imparted to him a new and schismatical *White Yajur Vêda* of its own. With this he betook himself to Janaka, a famous king of the Outland, the legendary father-in-law of Râma-chandra, and intimately connected with the origins of the Bhâgavata monotheism. The *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad* (III, i) of this *Vêda* tells how he discussed religious matters with Janaka and converted him, and how he disputed with and silenced orthodox Brâhmaṇs. According to Bhâgavata eschatology, the saved soul first of all passes through the sun on its way to the Bhagavat after death. Nimbâditya, the earliest of the modern Bhâgavata reformers, commenced his career by causing the sun to stand still, and was an incarnation of the sun. Even at the present day the sun is given the title of "Bhagavat" by the peasants of Northern India. In modern language *Bhagavat Sûrya*, the Adorable Sun, becomes *Sûruj Bhagavân*. Finally, in the latter stages of the Bhâgavata Religion, the Bhagavat is identified with Vishṇu, a deity who, in the oldest Indian literature, was worshipped as a sun-god.

We know little about the Bhâgavata Religion as it was originally promulgated by Kṛishṇa Vâsudêva. The usual tradition is that it was taught by the Deity Himself to the ancient Ṛishi Nârada, who taught it to various saints, including the Sun. The Sun told it to the Ṛishis in his train, who taught it to the Gods, who taught it to Asita, a famous Hindû worthy, the traditional Simeon of Buddhism, though not a Buddhist. From Asita it spread over the world through various channels.

Modern Bhâgavatas recognize two great teachers of their Religion. One of these was the Nârada just mentioned, to whom is attributed a work entitled the *Nâradîya-bhaktiśâstra.* It possesses great authority. Equally esteemed is the collection of *Śâṇḍilya-bhaktisûtras*. Like the other it is of modern origin. The author to whom it is attributed, composed the *Śâṇḍilya-vidyâ* quoted in the *Chhândôgya Upanishad*, III, xiv.[14]

The doctrines of the Bhâgavata Religion will be discussed on a later page. Here we may briefly say, that in contradistinction to the Pantheistic Brahmaism of the Madhyadêśa, it was from the beginning strongly monotheistic. It also taught that the Supreme Deity was infinite, eternal, and full of grace (prasâda), and that salvation consisted in a life of perpetual bliss near him.

[13] This is important for what follows.

[14] This famous description of Brahma closely agrees with the idea of the deity found in Bhâgavata scriptures. It is noteworthy that Śaṁkarâchârya (*Vêdânta-sûtras*, III, iii, 19, 31 and elsewhere) maintains that it does not teach the knowledge of the Highest Brahma, who is destitute of constituents. *Râmânuja* (III, iii, 19, 32) who was himself a Bhâgavata, quotes the text with approval.

As Professor Garbe has well remarked,[15] in India there has always been manifest a strong tendency to combine religion with philosophy, and this being fostered by the speculative inclinations of the Kshattriya caste, it followed that as time went on, and as interest in philosophical questions spread among the people of India, this monotheism, as expressed in their Bhâgavata Religion, was given a philosophical basis. We have seen that the pantheistic Brahmaism was radically opposed to this monotheistic belief, and the professors of the latter naturally turned to those systems of philosophy which sprang up in the freer atmosphere of the less Brahmanized outer band of nationalities. These were the ancient Sâṁkhya system, and its daughter the Yôga.

Sâṁkhya is a purely atheistical system of dualism. It recognises nothing but countless eternally existing souls (or males, *purusha*), and matter. It is the oldest philosophical system of India,[16] and had arisen in the eastern portion of our outer band where for centuries it had developed unregarded by the Brâhmaṇs to its west. It is not till after the time of the Buddha that we see traces of its influence upon Brahmaism.[17] Besides that of the Bhâgavatas, several other Indian Religions owe their philosophy to Sâṁkhya or Yôga: such are the forms of belief founded by the Śiva-worshipping Śâktas and Pâśupâtas,[18] not to mention the far more important Buddhism and Jainism.

I have above referred to the Yôga system of philosophy, as the "daughter" of Sâṁkhya This is true only of the system, not of Yôga itself. According to Sâṁkhya, the soul obtains release from personality and transmigration by contemplation on the nature of the soul and matter. The system does not trouble itself with the ethical side of life. This deficiency was supplied by the Yôga system. As Garbe points out,[19] in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, which is largely influenced by both Sâṁkhya and Yôga, the word *yôga* is employed to mean the teaching in regard to duty, while *sâṁkhya* is, in contradistinction, used to mean the abstract theory of right knowledge. The conception of Yôga — the abstraction of the thought from the outer world, and the internal concentration of the mind, — was very old in India. Originally a belief in the superhuman powers which could be gained by this concentration (a kind of Shamanism), it became a branch of philosophy when this acquired power was intended to be utilized for the obtainment of the knowledge demanded by Sâṁkhya. The interaction of the two currents of thought was certainly older than Buddhism,[20] and, as we have it now, it was systematized in the second century B. C., long after the rise of Buddhism, by Patañjali. But, as a branch of the Sâṁkhya system, — Sâṁkhya-yôga as it is called, — it was then no new thing. The Bhâgavata scriptures continually refer to Sâṁkhya-yôga, but never to Patañjali. According to them the author of the system was Hiraṇyagarbha "and no other."[21] The teaching of *yôga* inculcates morality, a feature which was almost wanting in Sâṁkhya; and the strong ethical tendency of the Bhâgavata Religion led it to ally itself with the *yôga* development of Sâṁkhya, rather than with the original system of philosophy.

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[15] *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, p. 28.

[16] Hardly, however, so ancient as the unsystematized Brahmaism of the older *Upanishads*; Garbe, *Sâṁkhya Philosophie*, p. 7.

[17] Garbe, *Sâṁkhya Philosophie*, p. 15.

[18] It is worth noting that in the *Nârâyaṇîya* (13293) the close connexion between the Vaishṇava Bhâgavatas and the Śaiva worshippers is strongly insisted upon.

[19] *Sâṁkhya Philosophie*, p. 44 and elsewhere.

[20] See Senart, *Origines Buddhiques*, pp. 17 ff.

[21] See Nârâyaṇîya, 13703. Manu Svâyaṁbhuva was called Hiraṇyagarbha, and his daughter, Dêvahûti, was the mother of Kapila. This tends to show that, traditionally, Yôga was older than Sâṁkhya.

But Sâṁkhya has no God, nor, originally, had Yôga. There is no room for the deity in these philosophies. On the other hand **the Bhâgavata Religion was not only theistic but was monotheistic.** How were these two opposing theories as to the soul's relation to the Infinite to be reconciled? The Bhâgavatas solved the puzzle by giving Sâṁkhya-yôga a God.

The Yôga system agrees with Sâṁkhya, and differs from that of the Bhâgavatas, in its definition of salvation, or "release," as the absolute isolation of the soul, which remains henceforth for ever without consciousness of any kind. On the other hand, the prominent characteristic of the Yôga system as distinguished from the Sâṁkhya is that it is theistic (*sêśvara*), while the latter is atheistic (*nirîśvara*). Sâṁkhya philosophy gives no place for God in the arrangement of its principles. The Yôga system on the other hand adds a God, and thereby disturbs the philosophy. In order to avoid this disturbance as much as possible, the Yôga *îśvara* is described as merely a particular soul, possessed of supreme knowledge and power. He is not the origin of other souls, but is quite distinct from them. He is gracious and merciful, and can influence the connexion of the other souls with matter. He is hence able to assist these souls in their efforts to obtain the release defined above. It has long been recognized[22] that the Yôga system adopted this theism, in order to make its teaching acceptable to wider circles. The conception of God has really nothing to do with its system of philosophy, and was added on to it from outside without organically affecting it. Although the Yôga God may help a soul to obtain release, his help is not necessary. All that he does is at most to put the soul into the right way of understanding its connexion with matter. **That the conception of God, — a monotheos — was taken from the Bhâgavata Religion there can be no doubt.** The fact was admitted so long ago as 1883 by Rajêndra Lâla Mitra on p. 28 of his translation of the *Yôga-sûtras.*

On the other hand, the Bhâgavata Religion was counter-influenced by the philosophy to which it had allied itself; while it gave theism to Yôga, it took in exchange the general conception of Yôga,[23] but in doing so altered the meaning of the word from "concentration of thought" to "devotion to God."

In later writings of the sect we can trace the various changes of signification through which the word has passed. Professor Garbe points out that in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, it sometimes means the regular *yôga* practices of the Yôga philosophy, but more often signifies "devotion to God." In combination with other words we have *karma-yôga* in the sense of the disinterested practice of duty or morality, in contradistinction to *jñâna-yôga*, the Sâṁkhya unmoral system of contemplation on the distinction between the soul and matter. The *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, III, xxiv ff. makes much the same distinction.

In later times the expression *karma-yôga*, under Brahmanical influence gradually lost its moral aspect, and became identified with the *karma-mârga* of the Mîmâṁsâ system, and we see this fully developed in the *Arthapañchaka* of *Nârâyaṇa-parivrâj*,[24] which mentions five *upâyas* or ways to God, *viz.*:—(1) *karma-yôga*; (2) *jñâna-yôga*; (3) *bhakti-yôga*; (4) *prapatti-yôga*; (5) *âchâryâbhimâna-yôga*. The first is now represented as the whole Vedic sacrificial ritual and the Smârta ceremonies, along with fasts and other observances. These give purification, and, having attained this by the performance of the proper *yôga* practices, the devotee is led to the stage of *jñâna-yôga*,

[22] See, for instance, Garbe, *Sâṁkhya und Yôga* in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, p. 50.

[23] See Garbe, *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, p. 43.

[24] See Professor R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year* 1883-84, p. 69.

which is now no longer Sâṁkhya philosophy, but consists in concentrating the mind upon Vâsudêva. This leads to the third and highest stage, — *bhakti-yôga*, in which the devotee sees nothing but the deity. The two remaining ways are resorts for the weaker brethren, and do not concern us here.[25]

In tracing the development of the meaning of the word *yôga*, we have, however, anticipated events. When we branched off on to that subject we were in presence of the monotheistic Bhâgavata Religion in alliance with the Yôga system. In the second stage of its existence we find this religion in process of Brahmanization. It was, as we have seen, radically opposed to the pantheistic Brahmaism of the Brâhmaṇs of the Madhyadêśa, but the latter conquered it and absorbed it. The incorporation was carried out in exactly the same way as that in which we see Brahmanism extending its frontiers amongst aboriginal tribes at the present day. We have the process before our eyes. Animism is discovered to be orthodoxy. Local aboriginal deities are discovered to be identical with Śiva or some other member of the Brâhmaṇ pantheon, and the distinction of caste is conferred upon the converts. In other respects the aboriginal customs and belief are at first left untouched and are allowed to develop of themselves into one of the many branches of modern Hinduism.

So was it with the Bhâgavatas. Professor Garbe[26] has suggested, and it seems to me that his suggestion bears upon its face the greatest probability, that the immediate cause was the struggle for life and death between Brahmaism and Buddhism. The period of absorption (300 B.C. to 0 A.D.), which has been fixed on entirely different grounds, exactly agrees with the requirements of this supposition. The purely atheistic Buddhism, also an offshoot of Sâṁkhya-yôga, was naturally further removed from the Bhâgavata monotheistic position than the Pantheism of the Brâhmaṇs, and the latter won over the Bhâgavatas as their allies, the price paid being the identification of Vâsudêva with the Brahmanical Vishṇu, and the admission of the Brahmanical orthodoxy of the Kshattriya monotheism. The result was a cult of Brahmaized anti-Brahmaists. The treaty of peace is found in the older portions of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* which belong to this time.[27] These are the earliest available documents referring to the teaching of the school. Already Vâsudêva has been identified with Vishṇu, but not with the Brahma of the Upanishads; and the personal name of the warrior Kṛishṇa, the founder of the religion, who, under his family name had been deified as Vâsudêva, is now also given admission to the Hindû pantheon, as that of an incarnation of the same deity. Brahmanism has now become master of the souls of India, and has imposed upon them chains, — light enough it must be admitted — from which they have never been released.

As time went on, the Bhâgavata Religion became more and more Brahmaized. We see this earliest in the later parts of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, which belong to the first two centuries of our era. In Northern India, where the Brahmanic influence of the Madhyadêśa was strongest, we even see the Bhâgavatas adopting the Brahmaism of the Upanishads: but they

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25 The value of the Yôga system of philosophy is recognized by Bhâgavatas down to the present day. A legend of the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* is still popular, and is referred to by Malik Muḥammad in his *Padumâwatî* (*dôhâ*, 245), which was written 1540 A. D. Malik Muḥammad says :— *chharahî kâja kirisuna kara sâjâ*, "They (*sc. yôgîs*) can destroy the well-planned actions (even) of Kṛishṇa." The commentator explains that this is a reference to *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, X, lvii, 29. Akrûra, who was a proficient in *yôga*, fled in terror from Dvârakâ on hearing of the death of Satadhanu. Kṛishṇa thereupon became powerless ; and disease, famine, and other calamities, supernatural and physical, assailed Dvârakâ. Kṛishṇa advised the people to call him back. They did so, and peace and plenty again reigned in the country.

26 *Bhag. Gî.*, p. 35.

27 Garbe, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

never made it a real vital part of their religion. It was added on as loosely as their own theism had in former times been added to the Yôga philosophy. It never worked itself into the texture of the doctrines, but is proclaimed and recognized as truth, or silently ignored almost according to the passing mood of the votary. We may say that the text-book of one form of this semi-Brahmaized Bhâgavata religion is the *Nârâyaṇîya* section of the *Śânti Parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*, which is one of the latest portions of the epic (between 200 and 400 A.D.), and of which a summary is given below. In this, while the influence of Brahmaism is clearly visible, the old Sâṁkhya-yôga doctrines still form the essential groundwork of the teaching.

The *Nârâyaṇîya* sometimes alludes to the religion which it teaches as the doctrine of the Bhâgavatas, and sometimes as that of the Pâñcharâtras. The two terms are not exactly synonymous, for the Pâñcharâtras[28] formed only one sect of the great Bhâgavata Religion. Professor Bhandarkar[29] tells us that Dhruvasêna I, one of the earliest princes of the Valabhî Dynasty (*circ.* 530 A.D.) is called a Bhâgavata, and Bâṇa (*circ.* 600 A.D.) in the 8th chapter of the *Harsha-charita* mentions both Bhâgavatas and Pâñcharâtras.

In the early part of the ninth century, Śaṁkarâchârya systematized the Brahmaist Pantheism, and founded the modern Vêdânta philosophy with its doctrine of *mâyâ*, or illusion. In a well-known passage of his commentary on the *Brahma-sûtras* (II, ii, 42-45) he combats the Bhâgavata doctrine (which he also calls Pâñcharâtra) and asserts its incompleteness and unorthodoxy.

I have said that the Brahmaist influence upon the Bhâgavata religion had been strongest in Northern India. In Southern India, where the old monotheistic Sâṁkhya-yôga basis had been preserved in greater purity, Śâṁkara's doctrines were vigorously opposed. The best known reply is that of Râmânuja (himself a convert to the Pâñcharâtra religion) who, in his commentary on the same *Brahma-sûtras* (early part of the 12th century) strongly maintained the orthodoxy of the Pâñcharâtra cult, and asserted that its dogmas were in essential agreement with the Upanishads. He accepted the original *Brahma-sûtras*, but interpreted them differently from Śaṁkara.

Later in the same century, another Bhâgavata convert from Śaivism, Ânandatîrtha or Madhvâchârya, also attacked Śaṁkara, and maintained that his doctrines of *mâyâ* and the unity of the spirit with the Supreme Brahmâ, were but Buddhist nihilism in disguise.[30] He went further than Râmânuja, — who, at least nominally, found a Brahmaist basis for the Bhâgavata Religion, —and propounded a doctrine of duality, laying particular stress on the five eternal distinctions, between (1) God and the soul, (2) God and matter, (3) the soul and matter, (4) one soul and another, and (5) one material object and another.

Ânandatîrtha's teaching has remained in Southern India, but Râmânuja's was carried north by Râmânanda to the Valley of the Ganges, and there, in its turn, superseded the prevailing pseudo-Brahmaism which was current under the influence of the Madhyadêśa, and developed through the preaching of Kabîr, Tulasî-dâsa, and many other reformers of less importance, into the Bhakti Religion of northern India. This Bhakti Religion is still in its essence strongly

[28] The name is a derivative of *Pañcha-râtra*, a period of five nights, and probably refers to the five sacrifices performed by the sect. See note to *Nârâyaṇîya*, 12847, below.

[29] *Op. cit.*, 72.

[30] See Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 74, from which the following account of Ânandatîrtha's teaching s taken.

monotheistic, and in spite of what we are told by writers about India, it is no more polytheistic than was that of the Jew who wrote the Eighth Psalm. Just as the Psalmist believed in one God, *'elôhîm,* and at the same time speaks of man as "a little lower than the angels" (*'elôhîm*) (8[5]), so **the modern Hindû believes in the existence of one personal God,** Bhagavat, Nârâyaṇa, Purusha, Vâsudêva, or Vishṇu, whom he calls a *dêva,* and who created Brahmâ, Siva and countless other beings, divine but finite, also called *dêva,* to work his will. The fact that we translate the word *dêva,* uniformly by "God," whatever idea it expressed in the original, does not prove that the Bhâgavatas are polytheists. It is true that these subordinate *dêvas* are objects of adoration; but many Christians, who adore persons other than the Supreme, would be most indignant if they were told that they were not monotheists. **The Bhâgavata scriptures, continually insist that a true believer must be a monotheist,** — an *êkântin.* This word which literally means "devoted to one," cannot be interpreted as meaning "devoted to one amongst several Gods." The context, and the whole course of the argument shows that it can only be translated as "solely devoted to The One."

It is well-known that the great characteristic of the Religion is **bhakti, or "faith devoted to the Supreme."** It has often been discussed whether this characteristic is of Indian origin, or is a later addition borrowed from Nestorian Christianity.[31] The subject has been last considered by Professor Garbe in his translation (pp. 29 ff.) of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ,* and his arguments as to the Indian origin of this phase of religion, and as to the pre-Christian application of the word to the idea are conclusive. In the first place, a monotheistic religion, in which the object of worship was looked upon as a kindly, not a terrible, deity, would naturally beget the feeling of *bhakti* in the hearts of his worshippers; but Professor Garbe shows that the word itself was used in Pâli scriptures in this sense in the 4th century B. C., and that Pâṇini, as has already been stated, probably in the same century actually speaks of *bhakti* dedicated to Vâsudêva. That *bhakti,* under this name, formed a constituent doctrine of the original Bhâgavata Religion before the 4th century B. C., we cannot prove, but the *feeling* existed in India from the earliest times and was not confined to the Bhâgavatas, though it was amongst them that it subsequently received its full development as a cardinal point in the religious attitude of the soul to the Supreme. We see what it is difficult to distinguish from *bhakti* even in the Varuṇa hymns of the *Ṛig Vêda.*[3] But there is no room for the idea in the impersonal pantheism of Brahmaism, and it is therefore natural that the occurrence of the word in early Sanskrit literature should be rare. **India owes the preservation of the idea of faith to the Bhâgavatas.**

The object of this devoted faith is The One God, Bhagavat, Nârâyaṇa, Purusha, or Vâsudêva, existing from eternity and to eternity. He is defined as The Endless (*ananta*), The Imperishable (*achyuta*), and The Indestructible (*avinâsin*). He is the Creator of all things out of matter,[33] to

31 On the present occasion I avoid discussing the question of the relationship of Christianity to the modern forms of the Bhakti Religion; but it is necessary to state that I believe that these have been in many particulars influence by the cognate doctrines of the Nestorians of Southern India. Râmânuja, who was brought up as a Vedantist, studied, lived most of his life, and became a Pâñcharâtra, within a few miles of the Hindû-Christian Shrine of St. Thomé. Similarly Madhvâchârya was born at Uḍipi, near Kalyâṇ, where there was an ancient Christian bishopric.

32 *Ṛig Vêda,* II, 28; V, 85; VII, 86-89. I have to thank Mr. Tawney for these references. See also Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 537 ff.

33 I find different statements about matter. The original belief of the Bhâgavatas seems to have been that matter was the first thing created out of nothing (ברא *bârâ* not עשה *'âsâh* or יצר *yâtsar*) by the Bhagavat, but sometimes we notice echoes of the Sâṁkhya-yôga theory of the independent pre-existence of matter from all eternity.

which is given the Sâṁkhya name of Prakṛiti, Pradhâna, or the Indiscrete (*avyakta*). From Him issue all souls, which henceforth exist for ever as distinct individuals. He has created Brahmâ, Śiva, and the countless subordinate deities to carry out his orders in creating and ruling the world, and to promulgate the true religion. He generally leaves the burden of ruling the earth upon their shoulders, but, as occasion demands, from time to time in His infinite grace (*prasâda*),[34] He Himself becomes incarnate to relieve the world from sin, or His followers from trouble. The greatest and most perfect incarnations are those of Râma-chandra and Kṛishṇa, but there are twenty-four (not the usual ten) in all[35]. **India, again, owes the preservation of the idea of a God of Grace, — of the Fatherhood of God, — to the Bhâgavatas.**

There is the usual theory of æons (*kalpa*), each divided into four ages (*yuga*). At the end of a *kalpa*, the universe is absorbed into primeval matter and thence into the Bhagavat, awaiting emission again in the creation at the commencement of another *kalpa*.

Turning to the relationship of the individual soul to God, it is most probable[36] that from the earliest times the soul was not looked upon as eternally self-existent from the past. Each soul was considered to be an eternal part (*aṁśa*) of the Supreme, emitted by Him and given a separate existence. On the other hand, once so emitted, a soul exists for ever and ever as an independent entity. It may be taken as certain[37] that **the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was an essential part of the original Bhâgavata Religion.**

We may also say with certainty that from the earliest stages of their Religion the Bhâgavatas have shared the universal Indian belief in **the transmigration of souls,** and in the inevitable sequence of cause and effect. Everything that a man does is at once an effect of things that have gone before, and a cause of things to come. These causes and effects cling to the particular soul that produces them, and determine its fate after death. As a man soweth, so shall he reap, and the harvest is the weary round of perpetual transmigration. All the religious systems of India have been based on the principle that it is possible to break the chain of cause and effect, and so to "release" the soul from the necessity of rebirth. They differ in the means proposed for effecting this, and in their accounts of what becomes of the soul when so released. The Mîmâṁsâ method of release consists in the due performance of ceremonial works. That of the Vêdânta is recognition of the identity of the soul with the Pantheos. And that of the Sâṁkhya is recognition of the dual nature of soul and matter.

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[34] This doctrine of *prasâda* or grace has formed an essential part of the Bhâgavata Religion, so far back as literature takes us. It is true that the same doctrine appears in the Upanishads but only in the latest ones (*Kaṭha*, I, ii, 20; *Svêt*, III, 20; VI, 21; *Muṇd*, III, ii, 3: See Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 188). It is hence reasonable to assume that in these cases it has been borrowed from the Bhâgavatas. Indeed it is difficult to see how such a doctrine could form part of the pantheistic Brahmaism.

[35] The following is the usual list of these incarnations. (1) The Fish, (2) The Boar, (3) The Tortoise, (4) The Man-lion, (5) The Dwarf, (6) Paraśu-râma, (7) Râma-chandra, (8) Kṛishṇa, (9) The Buddha, (10) The Kalki, (11) The Vyâsa, (12) Pṛithu, (13) Hari, (14) The Swan, (*haṁsa*), (15) Manvantara, (16) The Sacrifice, *yajña* (*cf. Taittirîya Saṁhita*, I, vii, 4), (17) Ṛishabha, (18) Hayagrîva, (19) Dhruva, (20) Dhanvantari, 21) Nara and Nârâyaṇa, (22) Dattâtrêya, (23) Kapila, (24) Sanaka and his brethren. Note that No. 13, Hari, is not the Supreme Himself, but an incarnation.

[36] Garbe, *Bhag. Gî.*, pp. 41, 48.

[37] Garbe, *ib.*, p. 53.

Putting the Mîmâṁsâ doctrine of works to one side, we have before us three alternative systems of philosophy. In one (the Sâṁkhya) there is an assertion of two co-existent eternal principles. In the second (the Vêdânta), the predominance of the intellectual principle is asserted, and this in the end necessarily leads to the negation of the opposite principle. The third, — that of the Bhâgavatas — argues that the Supreme Being carries within His own nature "an element from which the material universe originates; an element, which indeed is not an independent entity, like the *pradhâna* of the Sâṁkhyas, but which at the same time is not an unreal *mâyâ* (as the Vedantists assert), but quite as real as any other part of the Deity's own nature."[38]

Modern Bhâgavata doctors arrange souls under four classes, according to their position in regard to release. These are (1) those who are devoted to things of this life (*baddha*), and who are not on the way of salvation; (2) those who desire salvation, but have not yet become fit for it (*mumukshu*); (3) the pure in heart, who are devoted only to the Bhagavat, and who are thus on the way of salvation (*kêvala*); and (4) the saved (*mukta*). These last enjoy a perpetual independent existence of never-ending bliss at the feet of the Supreme (*Bhagavat-pada*). Their only joy is waiting upon Him (*kaiṁkarya*), they become like Him, and remain in peace.[39] Note that they become *like* Him. They do not become Him, or the same as Him. There is no absorption into the Supreme, as taught by the Vêdânta, nor is there the loss of all consciousness that is aimed at by the Sâṁkhyas. The doctrine that the released soul has an everlasting individual conscious existence "near the Lord," has been the persistent mark of the Bhâgavata religion down to the present day. Here we have **another debt which India owes to the Bhâgavatas, the belief in the immortality of the soul.**

The principles according to which creation is developed resemble closely those of Sâṁkhya-yôga, but, owing to the assumed difficulty of bringing the purely spiritual Supreme into connexion with matter, the initial stages are more complicated, and the terminology is not always the same. The Bhagavat, or (as he is usually called when looked upon as the Creator) Vâsudêva, in the act of creation produces from Himself, not only *prakṛiti*, the indiscrete primal matter of the Sâṁkhyas, but also a *vyûha* or phase of conditioned spirit called *saṁkarshaṇa*. From the combination of *saṁkarshaṇa* and *prakṛiti* spring *manas*, corresponding to the Sâṁkhya *buddhi* or intelligence,[40] and also a secondary phase of conditioned spirit called *pradyumna*. From the association of *pradyumna* with *manas* spring the Sâṁkhya *ahaṁkâra* or consciousness, and also a tertiary phase of conditioned spirit known as *aniruddha*. From the association of *aniruddha* with *ahaṁkâra* spring the Sâṁkhya *mahâbhûtas* or elements, with their qualities, and also Brahmâ, who from the elements, fashions the earth and all that it contains.[41] I have put all this quite shortly, as full accounts can be found in Colebrooke's *Essays* (I, 437 ff.), and in Professor Barnett's English translation of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* (pp. 48 ff.).

The Bhâgavata eschatology of the saved is peculiar and interesting. It need not be given here as it will be found in the *Nârâyaṇîya* below (v. 13383).

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[38] Thibaut, *Translation of Vêdânta-sûtras*, I, cxvii, with one or two verbal alterations.

[39] There is a fifth class, which hardly concerns us, *viz.*, the *nitya-mukta*, or those who, like the Bhagavat's personal attendants, are saved from the moment of coming into existence.

[40] Often, however, confused with the Sâṁkhya *manas*, which is a later stage of creation.

[41] Cf. *Nârâyaṇîya*, 12893, 13034. It will be observed that several of the Sâṁkhya categories, *viz.*, the subtile elements, the ten organs of sense, and the Sâṁkhya *manas* are omitted in the above scheme. *Nârâyaṇîya*, 13034 omits *pradyumna manas*. See however, 13603 ff.

The twelfth, or *Śânti, Parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* is divided into several sections, the latter half (Chapters 174—367) is called the *Môkshadharma Parvan*, and a portion of this (Chapters 336—353) is called the *Nârâyaṇîya*. Nearly the whole of the *Môkshadharma Parvan*, consists of lectures on Sâṁkhya-yôga, together with attempts to reconcile it with Brahmaism.[42] One system which results from the attempted reconciliation of these two opposing philosophies is attributed to *Pañchaśikha*, and is explained at some length, but not very clearly, in Chapters 218, 276 and 320 ff. Another attempt at reconciliation is found in Chapters 194, 248 ff. and 286. They have nothing to do with the Bhâgavata teaching, and it is sufficient to refer to Professor Hopkins's excellent account of the various, and somewhat incoherent, doctrines, on pp. 143 ff. and 157 ff. of his *Great Epic of India*.

The *Nârâyaṇîya* on the other hand, while claiming to describe Sâṁkhya-yôga, really describes the Bhâgavata monotheism as united with this system, but also with more of a Brahmaist colouring than we find in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*. It is valuable as, till the formal scriptures of the sect are made available, it is the only fairly full account of the Pâñcharâtra doctrines that we possess in the original Sanskrit.

The religious system of modern Aryan India, if we except a few tracts where Śiva or Durgâ is the object of worship, is loosely called **Vishnuism. Everywhere it is really some form or other of Bhâgavata Monotheism,** and the immense importance, for the study of the attitude of the modern Hindû mind towards the Supreme, of an accurate acquaintance with the system of theology on which it is founded, is my excuse for presenting the following pages to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. My own experience is that it is useless to attempt to understand the work of the Great Mediæval Bhakti Reformers, without being familiar at least with the *Nârâyaṇîya*. I myself wandered through a maze without a clue till my attention was directed to it. All the *bhakti* writers from Râmânuja down to those of the present day, assume the reader's acquaintance with the principles inculcated therein and in its absence hundreds of allusions will be passed over or misunderstood.

I think there are very few Englishmen who have ever taken the trouble to read it. If it had been more generally known, we should have been spared the frequent mistaken allusions to Hindû polytheism, which are a commonplace wherever Indian religions are discussed. At the present time **it cannot be too emphatically stated that modern Hinduism is at its base a religion of Monotheism.**[43] What follows is a very brief summary of the earlier chapters of the *Môkshadharma Parvan*, succeeded by a pretty full abstract of the contents of the *Nârâyaṇîya*. As to whether the religion here taught is polytheism or monotheism, the reader will now be in a position to judge for himself.

(*To be continued.*)

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[42] It calls this Brahmaism "Vêdânta," but it is hardly necessary to point out that it is much older than the developed "Vêdânta" of Śaṁkarâcharya.

[43] The gross cloud of combined polytheism and fetishism which covers and hides this monotheism, is kept, even by the unlearned Hindûs, upon a different plane of thought. The monotheism has to do with the future life and with what we should call "salvation." The polytheism and fetishism serve only for the daily needs of the material world. In a country where, as in India, the majority of the people are poor and ignorant, the material overshadows the spiritual; but even the poorest recognizes (even if he think them too high for him) the truth of the doctrines concerning the One Supreme Being, which have descended to him from the Bhâgavatas.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

No. III.

AMBROSE SALISBURY.

(*Continued from p. 227.*)

From this time until his re-instatement in the Company's service, in 1672, Salisbury remained at Peddapalle and conducted the Company's investments in much the same way as before, at the same time, no doubt, carrying on a profitable trade for himself. The correspondence between Salisbury at Peddapalle and Mohun and the Council at Masulipatam, from 1670 to 1672, on the subject of Saltpetre, the dyeing of Ginghams,[72] etc., is complete and tells its own story.

"*Metchlepatam Generall to Pettepolee.*

Mr Ambrose Salisbury, Being ordered by our Masters to send them 50 peices of Ginghams dyed red, which wee Suppose are for an experiment, they being soe small a quantity, and to bee in a readiness against the returne of their Shipps from the Bay, which wee presume will bee early in the month of December, if not before, you may remember upon your departure hence,[73] wee did then make it our request unto you that you would undertake the getting of it done at Pettepolee, it being the onely place in these parts for dying that Colour, which wee now againe desire, and that they may bee dyed a very good red, and with what possible speed they may bee. Wee endeavoured their getting done at Maddapollam[74] where wee provided the Cloth, but the people there not being accustomed to that Colour, would not undertake it. The Cloth wee have some dayes since ordered to bee sent you from thence directly, which wee hope will arrive soe tymely as that you may Seasonably gett it finished. Wee desire you would pardon the trouble which from us is unwillingly imposed upon you by Your loving friends to serve you, W. LANGHORNE; RICHARD MOHUN; JOSEPH HYNMERS.

Metchlepatam, the 28*th October*, 1670."[75]

"*Metchlepatam Generall to Pettepolee.*

Mr Salusbury, Sir, this day was received yours of the 3d Current,[76] which gives us an account of your reception of our Generall, wherein wee desired you would take care for the dying of fifty peices of Ginghams for the account of our Masters, which wee had then ordered to bee sent from Maddapollam, and is, as wee finde by Mr Hopkins's and Fields last Letter unto us, accordingly done. Wee accept of your readiness in the preparation you have already made with the Dyers for the more speedy finishing, and returne you our thancks, desireing you will excuse the trouble wee have given you and, according unto your desire, have sent you Eighty Eight Pagos. which, at the rate that you informe us they will stand the Company in, or neare it, being one Pago. and three quarters per peice, is Eighty Seaven and a halfe. Wee intreate your care in the goodness of the Colour, and that you will gett them dyed as Cheape as you can, in both which you Will doe your Selfe noe disservice, since you know whoes Concernes they are and alsoe oblidge us to continue Your reall friends to serve you, W. LANGHORNE; RICHARD MOHUN; JOSEPH HYNMERS.

Wee have alsoe sent you according to your desire six yards of red broad cloth.[77]

Metchlepatam, the 5th November, 1670."

[72] An Indian cotton cloth, generally striped, see *ante*, Vol. XXIX., p. 339.

[73] There is no note of Salisbury's visit to Masulipatam in 1670, but it was probably then that Langhorne enquired into his case and formed a favourable estimate of his character.

[74] Maddapollam (Mādhavayapālem) factory, a settlement of the Company, subordinate to Masulipatam, was a depôt for cotton cloths, also a place for ship-building and a health resort.

[75] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[76] This letter does not exist.

[77] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

On the same date (5th Nov. 1670) the sending of 88 pagodas to Salisbury at Peddapalle is recorded in the Masulipatam Consultation Book,[78] where Salisbury is described as "a person experienced in those parts and the Honble. Company having no servant there at present."

" *Metchlepatam Generall to Pettepolee.*

Mr Ambrose Salusbury, Sir, your severall Letters of the 7th were all received the 9th instant with some you desired may bee sent the Honoble Company, which shall accordingly bee done. Weeare sorry that you made that mistake about the charge of dying the Ginghams sent you, which wee now finde is 2¾ Pagos. per peice and formerly you advised us was but 1¾ each, which wee had before your last acquainted the Agent and Council with, but must now pass for a mistake of yours. Wee then sent you according to your desire Eighty Eight Pagos. and now send you more fifty Pagos. which, after the rate of 2¾ Pa. per peice, is more than Compleates the Summ you write for [by] halfe a Pago.

Sir, wee desire you will hasten your dispatch what possible you can, for that wee have had lately advice from the Bay, a Pattermarr [*pathmār*, a courier] arriveing with us the 7th past, that the *Happy Entrance* they intended to dispatch from thence the [?] ulto. last month and two More immediatly to follow her. The last Ship, the *Zant*, will bee detained with them untill the 5th of December and noe longer. Sir, you now know the longest tyme wee have, therefore pray use all dilligence to have them in a readiness against the tyme, but if possible before, for wee would not deferr it untill the last. Mr Stiles is dead. Haveing not farther to add, Saveing the committing you to the protection of the Allmighty, doe remain, Your loveing friends, W. LANGHORNE; RICHARD MOHUN; JOSEPH HYNMERS.

Metchlepatam the 11th November, 1670."[79]

" *Metchlepatam Generall to Pettepolee.*

Mr Ambrose Salusbury, Our Masters occasions requireing packing trade, and understanding from severall of your Letters that its much cheaper to bee had with you then here, wee have thought good by your Peone to send you two hundred Pagos. to provide 1000 Gunneys [*goṇī*, sacking], Ropes 10 Candies, Twine 5 Candies, Cotton 5 Candies and of Dungarees [*dangrī*, coarse cotton cloth] of 12 Covits [of 18 in.] in length, if to bee bought at 6 patch[80] to a Pago. 5 or 600 patch, all which wee presume you will gett as cheape as you can; and for money, wee shall furnish you withall as the necessity shall require, desireing you that you will bee as speedy in your returnes as possible, for that wee stand in great need of them, haveing much Cloth still to bee imbaled. The Ginghams wee hope you will have in a readiness to bee here against the appointed tyme, which you may conclude will not exceed the 10 next month, therefore hasten your quick dispatch, which will undoubtedly doe you a kindness With the Company, noe less to us, Your loveing freinds, W. LANGHORNE; RICHARD MOHUN; JOSEPH HYNMERS.[81]

Metchlepatam the 28th November 1670."

The above transactions with Peddapalle were entered in the Masulipatam Consultation Book as follows: — "Observing the packing Charge of the Honble. Companyes to amount to a considerable sume and that supplyed hitherto at worst hand, wherein much might be saved by providing the stuff from Pettipolee, it was resolved to enorder Mr Salusbury, he living there upon place and the Honble. Company having no Factor there, to make a provision of Dungarees, Gunnyes, Cotton Roape and twine for their Accompt and to send up to us by Boates : on accompt whereof wee send him new pagodaes 200 this day."[82]

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[78] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 1.

[79] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[80] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* Patch. Here the word seems to be used, as Mr. Wm. Foster suggests, for 'piece.'

[81] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[82] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 1.

Salisbury's answer to the letter from Masulipatam of the 28th Nov. is dated four days later.

"*Mr. Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, I have received yours of the 28th ultimo with two hundred Pagos. which you desire to have speedely returned in Packing Trade for Supply of your present occations, therefore, in Conformity to your order, upon reception, Sent one hundred and fifty Pagos. with strict charge to hasten all that possibly may bee and to take speciall Care to buy as good and cheape as any Merchants doe. I have enordered one hundred Pagos. for Dungarees and suppose their will bee per Pa. 6 Peices of them of 12 Co. if not more, it being the onely place for that Sort of Cloth in the Country that I know, as alsoe for Cotton, of which have enordered 5 Candy which price cannot certainely advize you, but assure you as much as cann bee boughte, doubt not in both you will find a Considerable difference betwixt that price and Metchlepatam it being much cheaper then in that place. The remaining fourty Pagos. have this morning delivered in parte for Gunnyes, Ropes and Twine, haveing contracted for 200 Pa. and promised one hundred and fivety Pa. Speedely, therefore desire the favour of you to remitt the Sayd Vallue that I may Comply, and what of that above Sorts now in a readyness shall Speedely bee sent you, the remainder Soe soone as finished. The Gunghams, had not the Wethere prevented, would now have been neare finished. Here hath been noe cleare Wether this 12 dayes and more, but now hope it will not bee wanting, and that they will bee donn by the tyme lymmitted or in two or three dayes after, for I doe hasten them all that may bee, and shall endeavour in all the above expressed the Honble. Companyes advantage and your good likeing. With kind respects subscribed, Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[83]

Pettepolee, 2nd Dec. 1670."

On the 5th December 1670, it is recorded in the Masulipatam Consultations that " New Pagos. 88 " were to be sent to "Mr Ambrose Salusbury att Pettipolee in order to the dying of 50 Ps. Ghinghams into red . . . he being a person experienced in those parts and the Honble. Company having no servant there at present nor any here that can be spared from hence to assist therein.[84]

On the 8th December "150 New Pagos. more" were sent to Ambrose Salisbury upon his "advice that he was at work to make provision of Dungarees, Gunnys &ca."[85]

The letters containing these remittances must have also contained orders for Salisbury to repair to Masulipatam. In reply, he wrote: —

"*Mr. Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, By your Servant have received yours of the 8th with one hundred and fivety Pagos., which shall lay out according to your Order in your formers, and at my comeing give you account of all received for Account of the Honble. Company. The Ginghams might now have been finished, had not the Weather prevented, here having been noe fitting Weather for this purpose, for this Close Clowdy Weather the Chay[86] cannot speedely bee dryed and prepared. All haste possible is made with them, and they will very speedely bee donn. The Dungarees and Cotton have send againe to hasten, and may now dayly expect them. I shall now hasten what Ginghams etca. in a readyness, and shall set forward towards you soe soe soone as the Ginghams donn and that the Dungarees Arrive. [I] Take Notis of the Companys order to Accompany you to Fort St George[87] which shall readely Obay, with kind respects, conclude, Your assured friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[88]

Pettepolee, the 11th December 1670."

[83] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[84] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 1.

[85] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 1.

[86] Indian Madder: the root of the Indian plant, *oldenlandia umbellata*, used to give a deep red dye to Indian cottons. See *ante*, Vol. XXX., p. 399 f.

[87] See *ante*, order of 30th Sept. 1669.

[88] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

"*Metchlepatam Generall to Pettepolee.*

Mr Ambrose Salusbury, Sir, The *Coast* had her dispatch hence the 14th instant, and just now is a great shipp comeing into the Roade, which wee judge to bee the *Rainbow.* Wee therefore desire you to hasten the Ginghams Etca. Packing trade that all may arrive seasonably with us, for that wee shall not longer detaine her then there is a necessity for, which, as wee suppose, will not bee above foure dayes at farthest. Therefore pray faile not as you vallue the Esteeme of those whoes buisness it is, besides the kindness done to Sir, Your loveing friends, W. LANGHORNE; RICHARD MOHUN; JOSEPH HYNMERS; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.[89]

Metchlepatam, the 19*th December* 1670."

"*Mr. Richard Mohun,* I presume you have received the Ginghams sent you with myne of 19th, which hope are to your likeing; the remainder shall bring with me. Sir, I writt to the Peeter Brameney [Brahman], who is now in Metchlepatam, that I have Sent for such Goods for you, and wisht him to give a Peon (he having Severall now unimployed) that the Goods might not bee hindered in the Way, but hee, on purpose that [I] might gaine your displeasure by non complyance hath denyed, and I have the news that they are detayned [by the] Governor of Cundeveare[90] to whome have writt to free them. They were stoped by a nother before, otherwise they had beene with you eight dayes agonn. Sir, pray demand of him the Cause of his denying a peon, the Goods being for the Company. Sir, I doubt not in the future more erly complyance, and purpose to Set forth, as in my laste advised. In the meane tyme Present you the Service off, Sir, Your much obliged friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[91]

Pettepolee the 21*th December* 1670."

"*Metchlepatam Generall to Pettepolee.*

Mr Ambrose Salusbury, The last night was received yours with 25 Ps. of Ginghams, which are soe well done as wee doubt not but will bee to our Masters Likeings and future encouragement for the dying that Comodity. Wee desire you to hasten the remainder with all Speed. Captain Goodlad came into the Roade yesterday about 5 a Clock, but as yet none come on Shoare, soe that wee cannot informe you any thing of the Bay affaires. Pray minde the quick dispatch of the Packing trade to us, for that wee stand in great need thereof, which is all at present from Sir, Your friends, RICHARD MOHUN; JOSEPH HYNMERS; GEO: CHAMBERLAINE.[92]

Metchlepatam the 22*th December* 1670."

On the 28th December, 1670, in a "Generall to the Honble. Company" the factors at Masulipatam thus alluded to Salisbury's services:—"We shall bee glad the redd Ginghams dyed att Pettepolee may give good content, Mr Salisbury haveing looked very well after that buisiness and reduced the Charge to 2½ Pa. per peice, which wee have tryed with Lime Juice and finde to hold the Colour extraordinary well. Wee are informed they will looke much better when washed, which doubting whither to bee done soe cheape or well with you, shall reserve two or three Ps. for the tryall to send hence by the first shipp. The said Mr Salusbury haveing likewise done you very good service in the provideing of Dungarees Etca. Packing stuff enordered to him. And truely, whatsoever may have been said of him for the past, whereof wee cannot altogeather excuse him, wee heare noe new cause of blame since our arrivall, hopeing your pious animadversions on the like occasions have and will worke a very good effect in all your Factories and bring the desired blessing on your affaires."[93]

[89] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[90] ? Cundanore, the ancient name of Karnūl.

[91] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[92] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[93] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

Salisbury duly arrived at Masulipatam, probably early in January 1671. While there, he received the following letter:—"*Mr. Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir Wm. Langhorne and Mr. Hynmers intending this day to Sett forwards towards Madrass, Wee thought good a second time to mind you of your goeing thither, It being our maisters orders for your soe doeing, as wee formerly advised you, wishing your Complyance in accompanying these Gentlemen thither, and that you accommodate Sir Wm. with the Companys Flagg, Trumpets, Crooked hornes, pipes and Drum, which is all at present to tell you wee are Sir, Your Loveinge Friend, RICHARD MOHUN; MATT: MAINWARING; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.[94]

Metchlepatam, the 4th February 1670-1."

It is to be presumed that, as directed, Salisbury proceeded to Fort St. George, but there is no record of his arrival at or departure from that place. In August of 1671 he was once again at Masulipatam, engaged on business of his own, and he subsequently resumed his investments at Peddapalle for the Company. From September onwards he kept up a constant correspondence with Richard Mohun and the Council at Masulipatam.

"*Mr. Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, We haveing an order from the Agent and Councell for the Spediest provision of Gunnyes and Ropes for theire Occasions at the Fort, it was the Cheifs &ca. intentions upon his first arriveall here from thence, findeing you here, to have desired your speedy undertakeing it, since we know you are well acquainted and knowing in those Commodities, and did the last yeare make provision for us of what we had then occasion to use, but findeing you then had some buisness of your owne which Detarded you in this place, we were not so pressing as otherwise the necessity of that buisness required, which now from your one information being accomplished, and your Selfe ready to imbrace your desires, we herewith give you 500 hundred Pa., in the investment of which we minde you to use all possible dilligence for its procury and at the Cheapest and best termes, since it Concernes our masters, wherein with them you will doe your Selfe Credit. We likewise remember you of Clearing the last yeares account upon the Same occasion, which is all at present Save to wish you good success in your undertakeing. We remaine, Sir, your loveing Freinds, RICHARD MOHUN; MATTHEW MAINWARING; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.

Metchlepatam September 3rd 1671."[95]

"*Mr. Richard Mohun &ca., Esteemed friends,* In performance of your order, inclose the accounts which suppose you will find to agree with your bookes. I did use my utmost endeavoure to agree with the Gunny people and, upon the same condition agreed on last yeare, would have given them out the 500 Pagos. received from you for that account, but their demands are [so] unreasonable that I could not close with them, they denying to give more then 50 Gunneys per Pago. and their price for ropes is 3 Pa. per Twine, 4 Pa. per Candy, pretending want of Raines hath advanced the price of Hemp, but I am of opinion they will accept the former termes in a day or two. If not, shall forbeare to give out money without your order. There is one Gundell Ancatawdree [Gundāla Venkatādri] in Metchlepatam of the Gunney people cast, who hath a long tyme taken the name of the English and under that pretence employeth most of these persons that are best able to comply, and lately received one boates Ladeing of the above Goods and hath now two more Ladeing which you may justly make Seizure on and take at the prime cost which, should hee refuse, and make his address to the Governour, hee will fleese him when you informe him this action; hee hath given out 150 Pa. new lately, which you may please to returne hin, or I will doe it heare to his order, which hee cannot deny, for hee hath not any such grant from the king. Please to hasten your order for the money shall remain untill your answer. I shall by next give you account of Alejayes[96] and Dungarees. In the Interim, with kinde respects, close up, resting Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[97]

Pettepolee the 11th September 1671."

[94] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

[95] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

[96] *Alāchah*, a silk cloth.

[97] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vo . 9.

"*Mr. Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Yours of the 11th present came to hand this day, by which wee observe that the packing trade wee enordered you to provide cannot be done upon those cheape termes which both you and us expected. However Since their occasions at the Fort require them, and that as speedy as possible, wee desire you to make the best and cheapest contract for them you can. And for Gundell Ancatadree, whome you mention to be a greate dealer in that Commodity, haveing one boate laden and two more in a readiness with you to come away, and all this done under the notion of the English, wee disowne the knowledge of it, and are resolved as his boates thence arrive here, to make seizure of them ; and if he shall upon it make any address to the Governor, wee shall then acquaint him that, Contrary to our knowledg, he hath used the name of the English to abuse both him and us. Minde the Dungarees and musters of Allijaes to send as soone as conveniently you can unto your loveing freinds, R. MOHUN ; M. MAINWARING G ; CHAMBERLAINE.

Wee intend to send you the same quantity of Ginghams wee did the last yeare to bee dyed red. Wee therefore desire you to advise us when you can be in a readiness for them.[98]

Metchlepatan, the 13 *September* 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca.*, Esteemed friends, last night yours of the 13th instant received, wherein you are pleased to referr it to me to make the cheapest contract I can with the Gunney People. With much difficulty had concluded with them the day before yours arrived, for 300 Pa. at 34 great Gunnyes, 60 [Pa.] the small, Ropes 2¼, twine 3¼ as before. Indeed theirs more trouble and danger in dealeing with theise People for this Summ then with Merchants for tenn tymes its vallue. I have sent to other places for them sort of People and hope in few dayes to make an agreement for the remainder. The tyme is so Short for soe great a quantity that causeth them to stand upon their tearmes. Had it been for my owne account, should have given them their demands, rather then have been troubled soe long with discourseing about it. As to Gundell Ancataudree, shall referr him to you when the two Boates arrived, which Suppose may already, or in a day or two, but hope shall have sufficient for the Fort. I am enquireing for Allejaes, which shall speedily give you account of. If you intend the Dyeing of Ginghams the sooner you send them the better, for the longer tyme they have to take the oyle the better they will take the Dye. This is what the present requires, save that to assure you my readiness to comply with any of your Commands imposed upon Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[99]

Pettepolee, the 22*th September* 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councill*, the 20th instant writt you by a Peone I sent to accompany 7100 Gunneys therein expressed, which you may expect by Land to be with you [in nine] or tenn [days]. The 21th writt you, concerning the above, as alsoe the red Ginghams, to which referr you, having used all Dilligence to accomodate your occasions with Packing stuff and sent to many parts of the Countrey Where its named [? made]. Have now, this very Instant, bought the quantities undernamed you saying you should want more then the amount of the 500 Pa.; and they being now made thought it might bee an acceptable Service, the price being the same as formerly, and such a quantity is not at any tyme to bee had, and to give out money for provision of them may stay Six months, that I hope you accept, therefore desire you to send by a Servant of yours 200 Pa., and assure you all hast possible shall bee made for their speedy arrivall to you. I hope the Ballance of last account will alsoe bee cleared. These [I] hope will bee a Sufficient Supply for the Fort and your owne occasions for the present shipping. I shall bee glad if in any other service I may appeare to bee Your assured friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

98 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

99 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

I have given earnest and received a bill for the following Goods *vizt.*:—

Gunneys at 34 Pr. Pa. 4760 Pa.	140	0	0
Ditto at 60 Pr. Pa. 600 Pa.	10	0	0
Roapes 16C.9 Mds. at $2\frac{1}{4}$ Pa. Pr. Md.	37	0	0
Twine 4 Candy $3\frac{1}{4}$ Pa.	13	0	0
	Pa. 200	0	0[100]

Pettepolee, the 22th September 1671."

"*Mr. Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* These are to acquaint you that in 10 dayes or 12 you may expect 7100 Gunneys, Soe that if the Bantam shipp with you and your occasions require her stay neare that tyme, a day or two presume will not hinder her proceedings, and if the Fort in present want of Packing stuffe, in my Judgement you cannot have a better opportunity to supply them. The remainder, to compleate the vallue of that summ received last from you, will arrive in good tyme with you, for I hope you will have 5 or 6000 more with you within a month; the rest will follow Soone after. I assure you have used all Dilligence to Comply with your desires. If your Intentions for the Dyeing of the Ginghams you mentioned continue, pray procure your Governours Letter to this, that I may have freedome to Employ my Dyers whome I please, for the Late Governour was soe abusive that many people have left the Government and the Dyers that are here will compell mee to employ them, and forbid my takeing any other unless you send the Letter above desired. I have not more but to assure you my ready desires to Comply with any your Commands, which shall upon all occasions endeavour to mannifest, as alsoe that I am Your assured friend to serve you, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[1]

Pettepolee 24th September 1671."

Mr. Ambrose Salusbury, Sir, Yours of the 22d Came to hand yesterday, wherein wee observed the quantity of packing trade allready provided, with what now contracted for. The 500 Pagos. already delivered you, wee would have its full vallue sent from Pettepolee to the Fort upon boates, which wee suppose may be hyred there, which wee desire you to doe, and not to send it heither, Since it will by soe doeing only ad to its charge, which wee would avoyd what possible, therefore pray minde it. 200 Pagos. according to your desire wee now send you to be invested as the former, and sent us heither, but would have the Gunneys to be those of 60 for a Pago. and likewise those for the Fort if possible, but if the other sort of 34 for a Pago. already contracted for and must be received, wee know not how to help it, but must accept them, which wee desire with all speed may by boate be dispatched for the Fort directly from you, and the Ginghams, as already advised, to be dyed red, wee shall with what possible speed send you from Madapollam, they being of the same sort wee sent you the last yeare which pray prepare for. Our Governors letter to your Governor shall send you that you may be permitted to make choyce of your owne dyers without any molestation. We hope this will be timely to prevent the comeing heither of the packing stuff for the Fort, which is the needfull at present from Your Loveing freinds, RICHD. MOHUN; MAT. MAINWARING; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.

As to Gundall Ancatadrees boate of packing trade which you informed us he had bought in the name of the English, at their arrivall we seized upon them, but the Dutch cheife sent to us that they were his and that he had been imployed by him, upon which we dismissed them.[2]

Metchlepatam the 25th September 1671."

100 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

1 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

2 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

"*Mr. Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee have now four of yours before us, *vizt.* the first of the 28 past with two of date the next day, the latter of the 12 presant,[3] to all which wee shall reply the most needfull. The 200 Pagos. sent you we understand you have received, and that you intend the observance of our order in the sending for Madrass 500 pagos. worth of packing trade, which we still confirme, but for what part of it you have sent us heither wee intend to keepe and returne you your boate empty, Since have lately received the Forts Generall, wherein wee finde they are not soe pressing for that Commodity as formerly, and therefore you will have the better leizure to make up on the quantity out of what youll since have or shall provide, which, being accomplished, dispatch directly to them, and the overplus to us as soone as conveniently you can. Your accompt wee likewise received. Wee reiterate our desires concerning those Gunneys of 60 for a pago., that as many of them as you can be sent us, and those of 34 for a pago. to the Fort. You have done well in makeing provisions for dying the 50 ps. of Ginghams, which, whilst wee were at Madapollam, used our utmost endeavors to get in a readiness to send you, but the wevers could not soe soone provide them. Wee hope ere this they are upon the way towards you, haveing given Mr Feild (whome we have appointed there for the negotiating our Masters affaires) a strick charge for their speedy dispatch. Your dilligence in the things will undoubtedly much commend you to their favours and oblidge us to remaine, Your verry loveing freinds, R. MOHUN; M. MAINWARING; G. CHAMBERLAINE.[4]

Metchlepatam 17*th October* 1671."

"*Mr Mohun &ca. Councell*, my last was of the 12th instant, to which have not my reply. You may please to understand that I have contracted and delivered out the vallue of the 700 Pagos. and there will bee more 37 pagos., as I am advised, due to the Gunney men with Charges, which please to send, some Gunneys being now deteyned for it. Alsoe, please to remitt 75 Pagos. for Boates. I shall have them as cheape as Customary. Soe soone as the Goods arrived and laden shall send you the account. If you please to supply your present occasions with 2 or 3000 of them Gunneys, shall have Sufficient to make up the Fort 500 Pagos. I have given forth money for ashes for the Ginghams, but here is none arrived. I did omitt with the Ginghams last yeare to advise you write with them to England, that if they should, when they arrive, bee spotted (as I doe thinck they may, being not well dyed) that wash them in faire water and the Chay will returne and not a spott appeare after being well dyed. This is the property of good Chay, which bad will not endure. Desireing your speedy answer and Complyance, I remain, Your assured friend to serve you, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee the 19*th October*, 1671."[5]

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, Yesterday Morning writt you, and in the Evening received yours of the 17th[6], wherein you have confirmed your order for sending to Madarass 500 pagos. worth of packing trade, which shall accomplish with what hast may bee, and, Since the occasions are not soe urgent, you have done well in keeping them sent you. When the above Summ Compleated, the remainder shall bee sent you in that Sort of 60 Per pago. with the accompt of the whole. My last desired you to send 37 pagos. for said account and 71 Pagos. for Boate Cooly [hire], which doubt not of your Complyance. I have, as advised, given out money for Ashes, and yesterday, before yours arrived, Sent money for oyle, and have this Morning delivered money for Potts, the tyme being

[3] These letters do not exist.

[4] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

[5] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[6] See above.

very short for that worke and the Season is unfitting, Dry weather being the tyme for Dyeing; but however, my Endeavours shall bee Employed to have them done in tyme. When the Company shall thinck mee worthey the Service, hope your friendshipp will bee ready to give it. Your reall friend to serve you, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 20th October, 1671."[7]

Salisbury was, at that time, looking forward to the arrival of the Company's letter in answer to the one in which Agent Langhorne had commended his conduct.[8] On the 23rd October 1671 in a "Generall to Metchlepatam" the Council at Fort St. George wrote to Masulipatam; "Pettepole was the only Factory the Company settled under Metchlepatam and that order hath never been contradicted, therefore we still continue our former order that what business is transacted there that it be ordered by you, and an account thereof be given to you, and if there may be such Considerable Investments be made there at cheaper Rates then at Metchlepatam as Mr. Salisbury formerly advised, there may the next yeare, if our Masters advise for such Commoditye as are there to be had, then be occasion to settle factors there if it be found needfull."[9]

The correspondence between Peddapalle and Masulipatam from the 24th Oct. untill the 26th Nov 1671 is mainly concerned with details about the dyeing of Ginghams, the procuring of "packing trade" and Salisbury's difficulties with the sub-governor.

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* This Instant is arrived the 50 Ps. of Ginghams you enordered for Dyeing, which shall with all possible speed hasten, therefore intreate you to send effects that tyme may not bee lost. I desired you to send 75 pa. for Boates, but am not yet assured how many Boates they will require, but assure you I will bee as frugall as I can in this and what else you shall Committ to my care. With kinde respects, I remaine, Your friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee the 24th October 1671.

Sirs you may please to send 50 pa., which, if not Sufficient for Boates, shall advise."[10]

"*Mr. Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* I desired you to send 37 pa. for Gunneys, there being that quantity laden more than I delivered money for, which have returned. I doubt not Complyance to the full amount of what received. Last night arrived a Boate with the vallue of 200 pa. in packing stuff or neare that amount. The rest will in few dayes bee ready. I alsoe writt for 75 pa. for account of Boates, but you may please forbeare Sending untill the Boates Laden and my advice arrive of it, but for Dyeing the Ginghams, pray hasten Effects that they may not bee hindred. I remaine, Your assured friend to Command, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 25th October 1671."[11]

[7] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[8] See *ante*, p. 227.

[9] *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* Vol. 13.

[10] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[11] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vo . 9.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee shall now give answer to both yours of the 20 and 24 instant, received the 25 and 26 following, and to the first take notice of your dilligence in your quick provision of the packing trade appointed for the Fort, and of your speedy intentions to dispatch them towards them, and, for the surplusage, to hasten to us as soone as ready in that sort of 60 Gunneys for a pago., wherein you will doe well. The 37 and 55 pags. you desire to have sent you, wee have now delivered to two of our house peones with more pags. 59 towards the Charge of the 50 peeces of Ginghams in your last advised us to have received, which we desire you to see that they are well dyed and timely for our shipping. Your frugallity and readiness in the manadgement of those our Masters concernes will undoubtedly give them occasion to take notice thereof and oblidge us to Continue Your assured freinds, RICHARD MOHUN,[12] &ca.

Metchlepatam, the 27th October 1671."

"*Mr. Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, I have received yours of the 27th October with the money sent by your Servants, being 200 pags., 37 pa. on account of packing trade my last acquainted you I had returned, but my order came to late, they being on the way before it was received. The 75 pa. for Boates shall deliver soe soone as the Contract made, and when the Goods are laden, shall advise you what agreement made, and sent you the account. I have paid good part of the 88 pa. received toward the Ginghams, which shall take care to have well Dyed and tymely, which doubt not of, the weather being now fitting for that worke, and assure you shall bee as frugall as I can. I am oblidged to you for your readiness in answering my desires, the money comeing very opportunately to pay for a quantity of Chay, which had I must, and if been disappointed of, should have found it difficult to have mett with soe much of the like Goodness. I hope my Endeavonrs and Complyance with your Commands will bee answerable to your expectations, which if you please to approve, the Honoble. Company will accept, for which favour shall acknowledge my selfe, Your oblidged friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 1st November, 1671."[13]

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, Since your Peons departure this Morning, a person hath enformed the Governour the Garden upon the Island is not the Companys but his owne, upon which I sent a Bill under his hand, received by Mr. Wm. Daniell, in which two Moores are named as wittnesses, who deny that they had any knowledge of it. It is the Custome of these People to putt the names of absent persons as witnesses. There hath formerly been many disputes in tyme of Sir Edward, who can best informe you of it, as alsoe Mr Fleetwood, if with you. I doe understand the buisiness in reallity to bee thus. The Persons father whom I have above named, being Servant to Mr Miller who made the Garden or planted it, this person haveing the mannadgment of it at the Charge of his Master after Mr Miller gone, hee pretends the Garden to bee his owne, here being none of the Nation in many years. I have all my tyme kept a Gardner in it to continue the right to the Company, and have had noe discourse of it many years. This Governour being newly come, may thinck to gaine of mee Something, but hee will miss of his expectation, nor doe I thinck the Garden worth a rupee, onely to continue the name of our Nation. The Governour sent word hee would bu[i]ld a Musket [Mosque] in the Garden to prevent our further Clame to it, and place the man that pretends hath right to it to oversee it. I leave it to you to end the dispute with your Governour to whome this Governour now writeth, and remaine, Your assured friend and Servant AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepollee, the 4th November 1671.

This Bill is indorsed by Mr Daniell with his name to it."[14]

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[12] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

[13] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[14] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

Mr. Richard Mohun &ca. Councell, I have acquainted you what I conceive needfull concerning the Garden,[15] which if you please to have the buisness ended there and confirmed under the hands of the Governour &ca. it will prevent any further demands. Please to send your Governours Letter to the Governour that the Dyeing worke &ca. may not bee hindred, the Governour being gone you sent a Letter unto from your Governour. Last night hee sent to mee to take some Chay of him for my Dyeing work, but I sent him word that I was furnished, but though I am not fully, yet I will not bring up that custome to buy of a Governour, for it will bee after demanded as a Custome, and in tyme, may force it upon them that may Succeed here, and his Chay is all refuge, the best being Cull'd out and gone, but were it as good and cheape as I buy else where, I will buy none of him, and this I presume, sticks in his stomack and maketh him bee soe busy about the Garden, which doth not concerne him, which I sent him word, but I keepe faire weather with him and purpose to continue it, desireing you to hasten the Letters, which pray lett bee effectuall. I remaine, Your friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 4th November 1671."[16]

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury,* Sir, Wee have now before us two of yours both bareing date the 4th Currt, by which wee understand your receipt of one from us of the 27th past with the 200 pags. sent you for the carrying on our Masters affaires appointed by us under your manadgment. That you are provided with materialls necessary for dyeing the Ginghams wee are pleased, the same that the money sent soe opportunely arrived for its procure. Wee hope their well and timely finishing that they may be here soe early as to take their passage upon our homeward bound shipping, which pray minde, since it concernes you as well as us, and for any further supply, if needfull for the carrying on of those concernes of our Masters, advise us and wee shall furnish you. Wee shall not be unmindefull to acquaint the Governor the indignity offered to the Honble. Company by a pretender to their Garden with you, and doubt not but to procure this reprehensive Letter to his Sub Governor for permitting and punnishing the imposture with what elce requisite, wee shall in a few dayes advise you. In the interim, wee remaine, Sir, Your Loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN,[17] &ca.

Metchlepatam, the 6th November 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* Yours of the 6th present have received and doubt not of a tymely Complyance in what you have Committed to my Charge for account of the Honoble. Company, the Packing trade being neare done, and the Ginghams will not bee long in hand, but I have not yet the full quantity of Chay they require, and the money received is all disposed on for Chay and other Charges, Therefore, desire you by the Bearer to send the remainder 37 pagos. If the Companys occasions require a quantity of those Goods, and the Chay bought at first hand in the Season when new cometh in, which will bee in January and February, they will finde the Dyeing to come much cheaper, but at this tyme good Chay is difficult to procure, being very little remaineing now in the hands of persons that will part with it. This is what at present requires from Your assured friend to Command, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 10th November, 1671."[18]

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15 See the foregoing letter.

16 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

17 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

18 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Yours of the 10th wee received the last night, and are well satisfied that our Masters Affaires committed to your manadgment are in soe good a forwardness and will, according to expectation, be in a timely readiness both for the Fort and this place. The 30 pags you desire wee now send you, and for what elce necessary for the compleateing their business upon advice shall be complyed withall, from Sir, Your loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN[19] &ca.

Metchlepatam, the 14*th November* 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, I have received yours of the the 14th with 37 pa. The Ginghams will bee with you in good tyme and the packing trade is all done. When laden, shall advise you the quantity, and what more is requisit for that occasion, which is all the present requires from Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 17*th November*, 1671."[20]

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, The Companys goods contracted for are now most of them brought into the Factory and our presant want for imbaleing them is roapes and twine, which wee desire you to dispatch towards us per the first oppertunity of wind and weather, and that you hasten the Ginghams that all may be timely for our expected shipping, which by Gods blessing will not now be long ere doe arrive here. The packing trade for Madrass, if not already sent, wee judge will now doe better to send it directly heither for the saveing of charges, which may be done by ladeing it upon the Companys ship from hence theither, but let it be made up apart with a distinct account of it sent therewith to Sir, Your loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN[21] &ca.

Metchlepatam, the 24*th November* 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, This Instant yours of the 24th received, by which understand your occasions require Ropes and Twine for Imbaleing your Goods, which shall speedily bee sent you. The Ginghams will bee finished in 10 dayes, which suppose will bee tyme enough for the Shipping, but had not I a dayly Eye over them, they would not bee done in this short tyme. The Packing trade, as you enorderd, have prepared Boates for, and paid the money received from you in part, therefore cannot now get back, part being Laden and the rest will very speedily, when you shall have account of the whole and what Contract made. This is the needfull from Your Assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 26*th November* 1671."[22]

On the 28th November 1671, Salisbury was re-instated in the Companys service.

"*At a Court of Committees holden the* 28*th day of November* 1671: Resolved That upon the good character received of Mr Salusbury of his being reclaimed, the Court consent that he be readmitted into their service and to receive encouragement as he shall deserve."[23]

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19 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

20 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

21 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

22 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

23 *Court Minutes*, Vol. 27, fol. 192.

Extract from a "General Letter to the Agent and Counsell at Fort St George" from the Court of Directors, dated London, 18 *December,* 1671:—

"Wee doe also order that Mr Ambrose Salisbury be againe admitted into our Service and that he receive such incoragement as his abillityes and faithfullness in our Service shall merritt."[24]

Extract from a "Generall Letter to the Cheife and Counsell at Mesulapatam" from the Court of Directors, dated as above:—

"Upon creditt of your Recomends, wee have againe enterteyned . . . Mr Ambrose Salisbury."[25]

The news of his rehabilitation did not reach Salisbury until the June of 1672. Meanwhile, he continued to transact the Company's business at Peddapalle as before.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury,* Sir, Yours of the 26th presant are received yesterday, which advises your receipt of ours of the 24th and that you will, according to our desires, hasten the roapes and twine therein mentioned, and as for the packing trade ordered to be sent to Madrass, Since the boate agreed for and the moneys paid in part to them for its transport theither, you must keepe to your contract and dispatch it away as soone as you can. The Ginghams, if heere in the time you mention, I hope will be erely enough for the Bay shipping, which wee presume you will not be unmindfull of, Since wee in a verry few dayes expect one from thence if not all three, which is all save that we remember us unto you, and remaine Your verry loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN,[26] &ca.

Metchlepatam, the 29*th November* 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* I have received yours of the 29th ulto. In Performance of your order, have sent a boate for Roapes and Twine, but the Governour of Battapunde [? Bāpatla] hath sent mee word that noe boate shall pass untill hee have a peice of good redd Cloth for his Master, Mahmud Cawne [Muhammad Khān]. Therefore, pray, by the bearer, send three yards of the best Broad Cloth of 2 pagos. per yard, and if you please not to allow it, Charge mee with it. This Governour hath now detained a Boate of Gunneys about Six dayes and demands juncan.[27] Since the falling out about the Garden,[28] wee have not had any Message or buisiness till now, and hee knowing that I sent you the Engagement, and in all this tyme you not giveing any reply, doth encourage him, as well it may, to proceed in this manner. Therefore, pray Immediatly send an Effectuall order from your Governour to cause him to Suffer all business to pass freely. The Ginghams are neare done. Had not the Cloudy weather hindred they had been with you now. They will bee with you in good tyme, doubt it not, and the Gunneys &ca. will have dispatch as soone as your Governours Letter received. With Kinde respects, Remaine, Your reall friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 3*rd December,* 1671."[29]

[24] *Letter Book,* Vol. 4, p. 501.

[25] *Letter Book,* Vol. 4, p. 511.

[26] *Factory Records, Masulipatam.* Vol. 5.

[27] Customs. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson,* who derives it from the Tamil word *chungam.*

[28] See *ante,* p. 272.

[29] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Late last night wee received yours of the 3 presant, which advises that the Governor of Beattapunde would not permitt those boates to pass you intended with roapes and twine for us untill you have presented him with a peece of fine Red Cloth 3 yards, of which, as you desire, wee now send you, which you may present him, rather then that our business should be impeded, since our Masters goods are now most in the Factory and ready to embale, had wee those materialls, which wee desire you to hasten, since our want presses us to it. To your Governor of Pettipolee, wee send you two of this Governors letters, which he hath sent us word are to require and Command him that he peaceably permitt you to send us the Companys goods as you shall think most requisite, and that in his assistance he doth further you by boates or what e'ce necessary for your accommodation, and likewise about the Garden, that you continue it undisturbed. Pray hasten the Ginghams, for wee now every houre expect ship on ships from the Bay. Not haveing further to enlarge, wee remaine, Sir, Your loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN &ca.[30]

Metchlepatam, the 6th December 1671."

The Masulipatam Council evidently realized that Salisbury's position at this period was anomalous, and if we can judge from a paragraph in a letter to Fort St. George, were anxious for his re-instatement.

Extract from "Metchlepatam Generall to the Fort," 13th December 1671.

"As touching Pettepolee, if a settled Factory there by appointment of the Company, wee should then concurr with you in point of provision of packing materialls for your supply, but since they have not, and that wee are forced to request Mr Salusbury to doe us that kindeness, who neither to hath done it for God amercy, although out of there Service, wee judge you may better doe it then us being a power above to gratifie him.[31]

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

L. D. BARNETT. A SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT, PALI, AND PRAKRIT BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ACQUIRED DURING THE YEARS 1892—1906. London: 1908. viii pp., 1,096 col.

THE present catalogue is a continuation of the volume published by the late Professor Bendall, and Dr. Barnett in the preface informs us that the principles observed are mainly the same in both works. The various works of the Pâli Canon have, however, been arranged under the heads of Abhidhamma, Sutta and Vinaya, and the various recensions of Pâṇini and Kachchâyana under the headings Pâṇini and Kachchâyana, respectively. This is, of course, a deviation from the strictly alphabetical arrangement, but I think it is a welcome one. The numerous cross-references make it easy to find every book, even to those who do not know that it may belong to one of the above wider groups, and those who know will like to see such books brought together in one place.

The number of books with Burmese titles occurring in this catalogue has made it necessary to give rules for the transliteration of the Burmese alphabet. These have been drawn up in accordance with the actual pronunciation, and, as closely as possible, follow the official transliteration. I have always thought this a very unsatisfactory method. The use of *aw* to denote an *o*- sound is not in accordance with the transliteration of other connected alphabets, and the same holds good for the denotation of aspirates. On the whole, the transliteration of Burmese is, from the point of view of philology and bibliography, a very difficult question, and also a very important one. I hope that the system adopted by the British Museum will not become generally used. This is, however, here a minor consideration. The whole catalogue is an admirable work, which will be extremely useful to the student, and the author is to be heartily congratulated on its completion.

STEN KONOW.

30 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

31 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

SOME REMARKS ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH CARRIED OUT IN THE YEAR 1904-5.

BY F. O. OERTEL.

[THIS paper was read in the Indian Section of the Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in August. 1908. The Congress formerly adopted Mr. Oertel's suggestion, that arrangements should be made to collect and translate all the Silpaśāstras, dealing with architecture and sculpture, that can be traced Perhaps some of our readers may see their way to co-operating in this work. — EDITOR.]

I MUST claim your kind indulgence in respect of my paper being somewhat sketchy and wanting in illustrations, but I had only a few hours yesterday afternoon to prepare it in. The *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for the year 1904-5, with the account of the excavations carried out by me during that year, has only just appeared, and until it was published I did not feel justified in making any communication on the subject. The volume is amongst the books presented to the Congress by Sir Charles Lyall on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, and I only saw it for the first time yesterday.

The appearance of the volume at this time enables me to give you a brief supplementary account of the results of my work at Sārnāth. It may not be out of place if I explain how I, an engineer by profession, came to undertake these excavations. The study of Indian art and architecture has for many years engaged my attention, and my travels in Burma and Ceylon have given me a special interest in the Buddhist art and religion. So, when Benares became my head-quarters, I soon came to occupy myself with the ruins at Sārnāth. My first work there was to erect a suitable building for the custody of some statues and carved stones, which had been removed from Queen's College to Sārnāth. Next I prevailed on the local authorities to construct a good metalled approach-road to the site. And finally, during the last season I was there, I obtained through Mr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archæology, the permission of the Government to attempt some excavations. The success attending my preliminary trials led to a liberal grant from the Government of India, supplemented by one from the Local Government. There were about two hundred coolies at work for nearly four months, and the total expenditure incurred by me approximated to £400. The excavations were started in December, 1904, and brought to a close at the beginning of April, 1905, when I was transferred to Agra. It was a matter of great regret to me that I was unable to continue the work at Sārnāth, but the exigencies of the Government service did not permit of it. I am glad, however, to be able to report that the Archæological Survey Department, under the direction of Mr. Marshall, have since resumed my excavations and are carrying them on to completion.

Sārnāth lies a few miles to the north of Benares, and is a very ancient site, originally known as *ṛishipatana*, 'the alighting or dwelling-place of sages.' In Buddha's time it was known as *mṛigadāva*, 'the deer-park,' where the Blessed One once gave his life to save that of a doe with young. For this reason the armorial device of the Sārnāth establishment contained two deer, which were placed on either side of a wheel, the symbol of the Sacred Law. This device has been found on many old clay seals and stone images at Sārnāth, and is used to the present day as the symbol of the Dalai Lama in Tibet. Sārnāth may be looked upon as the birthplace of Buddhism, for it was here that Buddha commenced "turning the Wheel of the Law," made his first converts, and established his first community. Its interest is heightened by its close proximity to Benares, the old sacred city on the Ganges, a city which must have already taken a leading part in Buddha's time. for, when he had attained to supreme wisdom under the *bōdhi*-tree at Bōdh-Gayā, he turned to Benares as the most suitable place for promulgating his doctrine. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang tells us that a column was erected to mark the spot where Buddha delivered his first address. This column, with

a magnificent lion-capital and a **long inscription,** I was fortunate enough to discover, and was thus able to add another to the number of the so-called edicts of the great emperor **Aśōka.** The capital of this column is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type, crowned by four lions supporting a stone wheel or Dharmachakra — the symbol of the Law first promulgated at Sārnāth. Mr. Marshall, the well-known head of the Indian Archæological Department, who is a recognised authority on Greek as well as Indian art, speaks of the capital as follows : — "Both bell and lions are in an excellent state of preservation and masterpieces in point of both style and technique — the finest carvings, indeed, that India has yet produced, and unsurpassed, I venture to think, by anything of their kind in the ancient world." [1] Professor Flinders Petrie has drawn my attention to the similarity of the treatment of the hair of the lions to those found at Halicarnasus and now preserved in the British Museum. The edict found in the column sets forth some regulations of monastic discipline, and threatens with expulsion from the community all monks and nuns not following its precepts. The text and rendering have been given by Dr. Vogel and others in various epigraphical journals.[2] Among the other **inscriptions** found by me at Sārnāth are **two of Kanishka,** whose connection with a place so far east as Benares was, I believe, previously unknown. Two other inscriptions mention an otherwise unknown king **Aśvaghōsha.** Altogether **forty-one inscriptions** were discovered by me, ranging from the 3rd century B. C. to the 12th century A. D., and displaying in a continuous series the various changes in the written characters and Prākrit dialects, which should make these inscriptions of special interest to the students of Indian epigraphy. It is probable that this covers the period of the supremacy and decline of Buddhism at Benares, and that the 12th century, with the advent of the Muhammadan invaders, saw the final overthrow of the Buddhist establishment at Sārnāth. Signs are not wanting to show that the overthrow was of a sudden and violent nature ; the shattered walls, broken columns, and mutilated images, and the charred roof-timbers and remains of food, testify to this. It is curious to note that at Sārnāth, as elsewhere in India, there are no remains earlier than Aśōka. There can be little doubt that such remains do exist here or elsewhere, and that it only remains to discover them.

Although Sārnāth was probably sacked and burned as earlier as the 12th century, — when its shrines and cloisters were wilfully destroyed, its columns and images were mutilated and overthrown, and its sacred community was dispersed never to assemble again, — much remained to testify its past greatness and to attract the wonder of succeeding generations. We have a record of a visit of the emperor Humāyun and his son Akbar to the ruins, in **a Persian inscription dated A. D. 1588.** This inscription is found in the octagonal tower, which Akbar erected on the Chaukhandi mound, south of Sārnāth, to commemorate the visit of his father, and testifies alike to the liberal views of the great Mughal emperor and to the importance of the ruins in his days. It is sad to think that all this should have been now changed, and that all that made the site of interest should have been removed, leaving nothing but a barren wilderness round the one solid tower, which had resisted all attempts at spoliation. This is how I found the site on arrival at Benares. What it was like before even as late as Cunningham's time, we can learn from his own words. When speaking of the Mahābōdhi temple at Bōdh-Gayā, he wrote : — " The same countless number of small Stūpas was found by Kittoe and myself around the great Stūpa of Dhamek, Benares. But there were hundreds of thousands of even smaller offerings in the shape of little clay Stūpas, both baked and unbaked, from two or three inches in height, to the size of a walnut. Scores, and sometimes even hundreds, of these miniature Stūpas were found inside the larger Stūpas, enclosing small

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1904—5, p. 36. The capital is illustrated in plate XX. of the Report. I give herewith another illustration of it from a photograph placed at my disposal by Dr. Holy.

[2] I take this opportunity to correct a misprint on p. 70 in my official report. It was Professor Venis of Benares and not ' Aenis, ' as it is there spelt, who gave the reading in the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Journal*.

CAPITAL OF THE ASOKA COLUMN AT SARNATH.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY DR HOEY.

clay seals."[3] We cannot but regret that all these multitude of interesting objects should have entirely disappeared. Probably their very abundance was partially the cause of their destruction, as it did not seem necessary to preserve what was so plentiful. As instances of ruthless spoliation, Sherring mentions that "in the erection of one of the bridges over the river Barnā (*viz.*, the stone bridge erected by Jonathan Duncan), forty-eight statues and other sculptured stones were removed from Sārnāth and thrown into the river, to serve as a break-water to the piers;" and that, "in the erection of the second bridge (locally known as the Iron Bridge) from fifty to sixty cart-loads of stones from the Sārnāth buildings were employed."[4] Cunningham further tells us: — "My excavations at Sārnāth were brought to a close suddenly by my removal to Calcutta. Luckily I had prepared plans of the buildings while the exhumation was going on, for nothing whatever now remains of all my excavations, every stone and every brick having been removed long ago."[5] That I was able to discover as much as I did, was entirely due to the hardness of the soil at the part where I carried on my excavations. It was only after a very long study of the ground that I came to select this spot, as there were few or no indications above ground to guide me.

I have so far only spoken of the inscriptions, as these are our guide to the history of the place, but the detailed lists at the end of my official report show that the yield in sculptures and other antiquities was equally important. I laid bare the remains of a great temple or Vihāra, which once contained a large brazen image of Buddha "turning the Wheel of the Law" or, in other words, seated in the *dharmachakra-mudrā* or attitude. Round this temple and the so-called Jagat-Singh Stūpa to the south of it, I uncovered numberless smaller shrines and Stūpas of all sizes, with stone images and carvings scattered about amongst them to the number of 470 separate pieces of sculpture. These are described in my official report, but they admit of a great deal more study in detail. Much information may be gained from them about Buddhist iconography. There is a continuous series of Buddha images from the earliest known examples to the last, beginning with a colossal inscribed image of Kanishka's time, carved at a time when the conventional Buddha type was not yet settled, and representing him as a monk with shaven head and without the ūrṇā or topknot. This image is of special interest, as it was accompanied by a magnificent stone umbrella, 10 feet in diameter, which the inscription on the post declares to be the gift of the same two donors in the third year of Kanishka's reign. The series continues through the Gupta period, when the Buddha type is seen already fixed, and ends with the latest presentations of Buddha acccompanied by numerous Bōdhisatvas and Tārās and other northern female deities with many arms and heads. These sculptures and inscriptions may also be found useful to settle the relative positions of the northern and southern Buddhist churches in Behar. Hiuen Tsang speaks of 1,500 priests at Sārnāth studying the "Little Vehicle," and makes no mention here of the Northern Church, but, as the sculptures shew that the "Greater Vehicle" was also represented at Sārnāth, we may perhaps conclude that its influence arose after Hiuen Tsang's time.

Another direction in which the recent discoveries should be useful, is in fixing the identity of some of the ruins with the buildings described by Hiuen Tsang, and in modifying some of our previous views on the subject. The Dharmek tower, for instance, has so far been generally taken for the Stūpa erected by Aśōka. The discovery of the *dharmachakra* column completely upsets this view, and makes it more likely, that we have to seek the Aśōka Stūpa in the so-called Jagat-Singh Stūpa, not far from the column. If this be so, then the Dharmek tower may perhaps be identified with a Maitrēya Stūpa spoken of by Hiuen Tsang. I have given some reasons in favour of this view, but we must await the completion of the excavation before we can venture to pronounce a final judgment on this point.

In the meantime, I am glad to be able to announce that all the finds of my excavation, as well as the subsequent ones, are to be kept at Sārnāth, and that a commodious new building is

[3] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 45. [4] Sherring, *Sacred City*, p. 25. [5] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 45.

now in course of erection, in which they will be housed, and in which some accommodation will also be provided for scholars, who may wish to study the Sārnāth antiquities on the spot.

Before concluding my remarks on Sārnāth, I may mention that there are traces left of the old direct road which used to lead due north from the centre of Benares to Sārnāth and crossed the river Barnā near a spot known as Purānā Pul, or Old Bridge. Near this spot, on the Benares side of the river, is a large 'Idgāh or Muhammadan place of worship, erected on the site, and with the materials, of some more ancient buildings. On the platform of this 'Idgāh, facing the *kiblah* or place of worship, is the stump of a large column, now covered with a copper casing and worshipped by the Hindus as **Lāt Bhairo** or 'the Staff of Bhairo,' the hereditary Kōtwāl or police-officer of Benares. We know, from the accounts of early European residents of Benares, that this stump is the remains of a large and beautiful column which was upset by the Muhammadans in a riot during the 'Id festivals in the early part of last century. Now, turning to Hiuen Tsang, we find that, just after leaving the city of Benares on his way to Sārnāth, he passed a large Stūpa, with an Aśōka column near it. This makes it probable that the 'Idgāh just mentioned, was erected on the site of the ancient Stūpa, outside the northern gate of Benares, and that the Lāt Bhairo is the remains of the Aśōka column mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. If this be so, and I have little doubt on the point, the column probably bears an Aśōka inscription hidden under the platform of the 'Idgāh which is some 16 feet above the ground around it. It would be interesting, could permission be obtained, to remove some of the pavement of the platform and dig round the stump to verify this conjecture. There is no need for disturbing the column in doing so, and the place could be covered up again after a copy has been made of the inscription, if found there.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Congress to the difficulty experienced in the study of Indian art and architecture, owing to the want of accurate translations of the **Silpaśāstras** dealing with these subjects. Dr. Coomaraswamy, in his forthcoming book on Indian art, is, I understand, giving a translation of a portion of a manuscript from Ceylon dealing with the making of images. This will be interesting in its way, but what we more particularly want is full translations of the Sanskrit works on the subject of architecture, with the rules for the construction of Stūpas, temples, monasteries and other edifices, rules still partially followed by the present-day native builders.[6] That such works exist, not only in India, but also in Ceylon and other countries in the east, is well-known, but, so far, Sanskrit scholars have not cared to take up the subject, probably on account of the difficulty of translating the technical terms. If the Congress agree with me and will give their support to my proposal, something may perhaps be done to supply this defect. Professor Thibaut has already announced that the Calcutta University are going to arrange for the translation of Sanskrit astronomical works. This encourages me to suggest that some other University or public body, should take up the subject of Indian architectural works, and, if possible, depute some young Sanskritist to study the subject in India itself. The only work I know of, which deals at all with the subject, is a book on Hindu architecture by a native of India, Rām Rāz by name, which was printed as long ago as 1830 or thereabouts by the Oriental Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society. This book has proved of some use, and was the source from which, I understand, Fergusson and others derived their technical terms. But it is out of date now, and it would be more satisfactory if we could go direct to the Sanskrit works from which Rām Rāz obtained his information.

6 [In the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, chapter 53 deals with the building of houses, chapter 56 with the description and sizes of various kinds of temples, and chapter 58 with the description and measures of images. These chapters, presenting a variety of interesting details, have been translated by Professor Kern in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. 6 (1873), pp. 279-300, 316-20, 322-30. Reference may also be made to *The Hindu Law of Endowment*, by Saraswati. Calcutta: 1897 (Tagore Law Lectures for 1892). This work contains translations from various Sanskrit books regarding the establishment and consecration of temples, the material, sizes, and proportions of images, etc., etc. — EDITOR.]

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M. A., RAI BAHADUR.

(Continued from p. 201.)

The Early Period.

The inscriptions at Amarâvati and Bhaṭṭiprôlu, some of which are as old as the Maurya period,[10] show that the civilizing influence of the emperor Aśôka and of his Buddhist creed extended into the delta of the river Kṛishṇâ. Mr. V. A. Smith goes further and declares that the river Northern Pennar may be regarded as the limit of the imperial jurisdiction on the south-east.[11] If this be the case, the northern portion of the modern Nellore district must have come under the influence of the Maurya emperor.

The Andhras who, in later periods, occupied the modern Telugu country, are mentioned already in the *Aitrêya-Brâhmaṇa*,[12] where they figure among the progeny of the sage Viśvâmitra condemned to live on the borders of Aryan settlements.[13] The same work gives the names of certain degraded, barbarous tribes, and mentions the Andhras among them.[14] In the *Mahâbhârata*, Sahadêva, one of the five Pâṇḍavas, is said to have subdued the Andhras along with several other tribes.[15] The Greek ambassador Megasthenes mentions the Andhras,[16] who occupied the deltas of the Gôdâvarî and Kṛishṇâ rivers. The Andhra territory included 30 walled towns, besides numerous villages, and their army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants. Their capital at the time was Śrîkâkuḷam on the lower course of the river Kṛishṇâ, about 19 miles west of Masulipatam.[17] In one of the edicts of Aśôka, the Andhras are mentioned among the tribes resident on the outskirts of Maurya dominions.[18] According to Mr. Smith they were subject to the imperial commands, but enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy.[19] It may, therefore, be supposed that the modern Nellore district, — or at least the northern portion of it, — was originally subject to the Andhras and that the latter, also called Śâlivâhanas[20] or Śâtavâhanas and Ândhrabhṛityas,[21] became subject to the powerful influence of the Mauryas during the time of Aśôka. Soon after the close of Aśôka's reign, the Andhras became independent and expanded so rapidly that in the reign of the second king their dominions extended as far west as Nasik in the Bombay Presidency.[22] The names of several kings of the family are known from the Purâṇas and inscriptions found mostly in Western India. The capital of the dynasty in later times was Dhânyakaṭaka or Dharaṇikôṭa,[23] and the family must have exercised no small influence over the history of the northern portion of the Nellore district.

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10 Dr. Burgess' *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 12, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 325.

11 *Early History of India*, second edition, p. 151. In the first edition, p. 143, Mr. Smith remarked: "On the south-east, the Palar river, the northern frontier of the Tamil race, may be regarded as the limit of the imperial jurisdiction." In his book entitled *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, p. 70, the same scholar says that the 12th degree of North Latitude would approximately represent the southern boundary of the Maurya empire.

12 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 138; see also Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Civilisation in Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 148.

13 Professor Bühler was of opinion that the sage Âpastamba, who lived not later than the 3rd century B. C. (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II, p. xlvi), must have been born or naturalized in the Andhra country; *ibid*, p. xxxvi, and Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Civilisation in Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 202.

14 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II, p. xxxvii.

15 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 142.

16 Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, p. 9.

17 Dr. Burgess' *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 3 f.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 471.

19 *Early History of India*, second edition, p. 195.

20 Śâlivâhana is another mode of pronouncing the word Śâtavâhana; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 131.

21 *Ibid*, p. 156.

22 Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, second edition, p. 195.

23 When the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited Southern India, Dhanakaṭaka was the name of the province south of Andhra. How far it extended we do not know at present. Perhaps Dhanakaṭaka and the northern portion of the Nellore district belonged to the Eastern Chalukyas of Vêṅgî.

The Pallavas.

There is no necessity here to enter into the question of the origin of the Pallavas, Mr. Vincent Smith, who had accepted the identity of the Pallavas with the Pahlavas, Pahṇavas or Palhavas, mentioned in the *Purâṇas*, in the first editon of his *Early History of India*, discredits it in the second edition. He says that recent research does not support the hypothesis and adds that the Pallavas were probably a tribe, clan or caste, which was formed in the country between the Kṛishṇâ and Gôdâvarî rivers.[24] There are some difficulties, which I have pointed out elsewhere[25] in accepting this theory of the origin of the Pallavas. At any rate, until Mr. Smith's theory is satisfactorily established,[26] we may proceed on the assumption that the Pallavas are identical with the Pahlavas, Pahṇavas and Palhavas of the *Purâṇas*. In A. D. 150 we find a Pahlava named Suviśâkha as a minister of the Kshatrapa king Rudradâman in Kâṭhiâwâḍ.[27] Twenty years earlier, the Andhra king Gôtamiputra claims to have destroyed the Palhavas with the Śakas and Yavanas.[28] This defeat was probably one of the causes that led them to seek their fortunes further south and east. Their alliance[29] with the Kshatrapas, who, in spite of an intermarriage, were fighting against the Andhras, might possibly have led to their migration to the east coast. The exact time when they settled in the south is not known. In editing the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman, Dr. Hultzsch remarks[30]: "The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince Śivaskandavarman, who issued the Mayidavôlu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi and Vâsishṭhîputra Puḷumâyi, that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of these two Andhra kings." At any rate, we have the Pallava king Vishṇugôpa settled in Kâñchî about the middle of the 4th century A. D.,[31] and it is quite reasonable to suppose that the family must have taken possession of Kâñchî sometime before the reign of Vishṇugôpa. It is, however, doubtful if the Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavôlu and Hîrahaḍagalli plates was earlier or later than Vishṇugôpa.[32] The former claims to have performed the *aśvamêdha* sacrifice,[33] which implies that he was a strong and powerful ruler and that he could boast of extensive conquests.[34] The facts that his capital was Kâñchî and that he had a subordinate at Dhânyakaṭaka give us some idea of the extent of his dominions. Vijaya-Skandavarman and his son Vijaya-Buddhavarman of the British Museum plates of Chârudêvî[35] come next. Of Vishṇugôpa, who was the contemporary of Samudragupta, no records have been so far found.

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[24] *Early History of India*, second edition, p. 423.

[25] In an article on the Pallavas which will be published in the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-07.

[26] Mr Smith does not seem to be quite convinced of the indigenous origin of the Pallavas. Before putting forward this theory on p. 423, he remarks that no definite answer can be given at present to the question of the origin of the Pallavas. On p. 404 he says that the origin and affinities of the Pallavas remain obscure.

[27] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 49.

[28] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 317.

[29] The position occupied by the Pahlava chief is shown by the fact that he had been entrusted with the government of two provinces in the Kshatrapa dominions. He was an able administrator, and, in repairing the extensive breaches of the Sudarśana tank, accomplished a task which had been given up as impossible by the other ministers.

[30] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 316. The Andhra dynasty came to a close, at least in the Telugu country, in the 3rd century A. D. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 168), and as at Jaggayyapêṭa there is an inscription of Purushadatta, son of Mâdharî, of the family of Ikshvâku, who must have preceded the Pallavas (Dr. Burgess' *Buddhist Stupas of Amarâvati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 110 A.), the latter could have become the ruling power in the south only about the end of the 3rd century A. D.

[31] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 319. Mr. V. A. Smith remarks: "Samudragupta's inscription is good evidence to prove that the Pallavas had occupied Kâñchî (Conjeeveram) as their capital at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century A. D." (*Early History of India*, second edition, p. 425).

[32] Dr. Fleet seems to think that Vishuṇagôpa was earlier (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 319), while Professor Hultzsch appears to believe that Śivaskandavarman was earlier.

[33] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 7.

[34] These conquests of his are, however, not mentioned.

[35] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 145.

The Pallava kings of the Sanskrit charters.

The kings mentioned in the Sanskṛit copper-plates are admittedly later,[36] and this is their succession: —

Skandavarman I.
|
Vîravarman.
|
Skandavarman II.
|
Yuvamahârâja-Vishṇugôpa.
|
Siṁhavarman.

This pedigree is derived from three copper-plates, *viz.* the Uruvupalli,[37] the Mâṅgaḷûr,[38] and the Pîkira grants,[39] which are all critically edited. The first records the grant by the *Yuvamahârâja*-Vishṇugôpavarman of the village of Uruvupalli in the Muṇḍarâshṭra to a temple at Kaṇḍukûra.[40] Muṇḍarâshṭra must be identical with the Muṇḍai-nâḍu mentioned in some of the Nellore inscriptions,[41] while Kaṇḍukûra is perhaps identical with the modern Kandukûr.[42] The second and third grants belong to the time of Siṁhavarman. The former records an order addressed to the villagers of Mâṅgaḷûr in the Veṅgôrâshṭra country, and the latter registers the gift of the village of Pîkira in the Muṇḍarâshṭra. The Darśi fragment[43] belongs also to the same family. No inscriptions have been found so far of the first three kings, *viz.* Skandavarman I., Vîravarman and Skandavarman II. The fourth does not appear to have reigned, as he is called *Yuvamahârâja* in two of the grants, while, in the third, he makes a gift during the reign of Siṁhavarman.[44] Of these four charters, two were issued from Daśanapura, one from Palakkada and the fourth from the king's camp pitched at Mênmâtura. Daśanapura[45] seems to have been the capital at the time, while Palakkada was the name of the locality where the *Yuvamahârâja*-Vishṇugôpa was residing. The Chendalûr grant of Kumâravishṇu II.[46] and the Udayêndiram grant of Nandivarman[47] have to be assigned to about the same

[36] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 320.

[37] *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 50—53.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 154—57.

[39] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 159—63.

[40] The temple (*dêvakula*) was built by the general (*sênâpati*) Vishṇuvarman and was called Vishṇuhâra. The Kadamba king Ravivarman, who may be assigned roughly to the 6th century A. D. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 291) boasts of having slain Vishṇuvarman and other kings and of having uprooted Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kâñchî (above, Vol. VI. p. 29 f.). The Vishṇuvarman slain by the Kadamba king might be either the *sênâpati* Vishṇuvarman or the *Yuvamahârâja*-Vishṇugôpa. The family to which Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kâñchî, belonged is not stated.

[41] Gaṇḍavaram (N. 19), Koḍavalûru (N. 31), and Vegûru (N. 121) in the Nellore tâluka belonged to Muṇḍai-nâḍu. N. 63, N. 72, and N. 109 also mention the district.

[42] The village of Kandukûr is called Skandapura in a Sanskṛit inscription (KR. 35). A fragment of an ancient stone inscription of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty has been found at the place (KR. 31 and 32). The other inscriptions of the town are much later.

[43] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 397 f. It belongs to the time of the great-grandson of Vîra-Kôrchavarman whose name must be mentioned in the missing portion of the grant. Vîra-Kôrchavarman might be identical with the Vîravarman of the foregoing pedigree. In this case, it is just possible that the Darśi fragment belongs to the reign of Siṁhavarman. Vîrakûrcha is mentioned in the Kâśâkuḍi plates among the remote ancestors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 343).

[44] Skandavarman, Vishṇugôpa and Siṁhavarman are mentioned in the Kâśâkuḍi plates among the remote ancestors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 343). Kalindavarman, Kâṇagôpa, Vîrasiṁha and Vishṇusiṁha referred to in the same connection probably belonged to about the same period.

[45] It is not impossible that Daśanapura was the ancient name of the modern village of Darśi. It is called Darisi (D. 10, D. 12) and Daraśi (D. 13) in inscriptions of the 14th century found at the place.

[46] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 233—36.

[47] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 142—47.

period.[48] Professor Hultzsch is of opinion that the former is palæographically later than the Pîkira grant.[49] The extent of the Pallava dominions during the period from the 4th to the end of the 6th century A. D. cannot be ascertained. At any rate, they appear to have been in possession of the modern Nellore district or at least a portion of it. In fact, four of the abovementioned Pallava grants are from that district. Kâñchî, which was the capital during the reign of Śivaskandavarman and Vishṇugôpa, figures as such only in the last two of the abovementioned grants, which are evidently later than the rest.[50]

(To be continued.)

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

No. III.

AMBROSE SALISBURY.

(Continued from p. 276.)

From Dec. 1671 until the end of March 1671 the correspondence between Peddapalle and Masulipatam contains bitter complaints by Salisbury of the obstructions he met with from the petty governors in their endeavours to extract undue customs from the English. Salisbury's letters seem to imply that he considered the Council at Masulipatam somewhat lax in that they did not force their governor to give him protection at Peddapalle. At the same time, though he was most insistent about getting the "chay" into his own hands free of duty, he appeared to be quite indifferent as to the fate of the Company's "Allom." It seems probable, therefore, that the "Chay" was his own private investment, for it is not likely that he would have remained at Peddapalle doing the Company's work and receiving no pay, had he not, in addition, done enough business on his own account to make it worth his while.

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48 How they fit in with the pedigree given above is not apparent. Besides, the authenticity of the Udayêndiram grant has been questioned by the late Professor Kielhorn.

A. Chendalûr grant—
1. Skandavarman.
2. Kumâravishṇu I.
3. Buddhavarman.
4. Kumâravishṇu II.

B. Udayêndiram grant—
1. Skandavarman I.
2. Siṁhavarman.
3. Skandavarman II.
4. Nandivarman.

The pedigree of the Uruvupalli, Mâṅgaḷûr, and Pîkira grants furnished in the text is in accordance with the suggestion made by Professor Hultzsch on p. 160 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII. The pedigree originally given by Dr. Fleet which we may call *C* for convenience of reference is as follows:—

C.—
1. Skandavarman I.
2. Vîravarman.
3. Skandavarman II.
4. Siṁhavarman I. — 5. Vishṇugôpa.
6. Siṁhavarman II. (son of 5)

1 and 2 of *B* might be identical with 3 and 4 of *C*. In that case, it may be supposed, tentatively, that Siṁhavarman I. of *C* had a son called Skandavarman III. and his son would be the Nandivarman of the Udayêndiram grant. As regards *A*, its connection with *C* is more difficult to imagine. Kumâravishṇu I. may possibly be identical with the *Yuvamahârâja*-Vishṇugôpa (No. 5 of *C*), who does not appear to have reigned. If we suppose further that, in addition to Siṁhavarman II, he had a son named Buddhavarman, it is possible to connect *A* also with *C*.

49 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

50 If this is not due to a mere accident, it may be that the Pallavas had to retreat from Conjeeveram owing, perhaps, to a coalition among the Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Chêra kings or to the domination of one of them. In this case, the Pallavas had probably to confine themselves to the Nellore district or to a portion of it, where the villages granted in two of the copper-plate inscriptions can be traced. Daśanapura, Palakkada, and Mênmâtura have, accordingly, to be looked for in the Telugu country.

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* I desired in my last 3 yds. of red Cloth of two pa. per yd. The Boate which hath been gone about ten dayes cannot return with Gunneys &ca. untill it arrive, therefore if not sent before this arrive, pray hasten it, and you shall speedily bee Supplyed with Roapes and Twine. I writt you of a Boate of Gunneys arrived hither which are to bee laden on another Boate to proceed to Madarass, But the Governour will not Suffer them to bee removed or Landed, therefore desired your Governours Letter, which pray hasten and the Cloth that the Boates may proceed, all being ready. The Ginghams next weeke [you] shall not faile to receive. Desireing your Speedy Complyance, and if you please not to allow the Cloth, Charge mee with it. This, with kinde respects, is the needfull from Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[32]

Pettepolee, the 8*th December*, 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* I have deferred answering yours of the 6th, which accompanyed the red Cloth, which immediately sent the Governour of Beattapunde, who hath given leave for the Goods, but that your occasion may not bee hindred for want of Roape and Twine, have now sent you 15 Candy of the former and 5 candy of the latter, which will bee there delivered you upon receipt of this, which esteeme better then to stay for some from hence, because they may bee tedious comeing to you. The Ginghams will bee with you on Tewsday. Had not the weather hindred, they should have been with you long Since. The Gunneys &ca. will have their dispatch to Madaras very speedily when shall advise you the needfull. In the Interim, remaine Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[33]

Pettepolee, the 16*th December*, 1671."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* My last to you was of the 16th instant, which hope you have received with the Roape and Twine therein Mentioned, which hope will bee Sufficient for your present occasions. The Dyers have caused the Breach of my word in the Ginghams, which accompany this, and doubt not to your content, and hope they are in good tyme, although not soe soone as I expected. Soe soone as the Boates arrived which I writt you the Governour of Beattapunde had detained, which I expect to Morrow or next day, they shall proceed, all Being ready. By next shall give you account at large. In the Interim, Subscribe, Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 16*th December*, 1671.

If the dampness of the Shipp should cause the Ginghams to spott (which suppose not, they being well Dyed) you may please to write with them to wash them in faire water and the spotts will not appeare.[34] Otherwise it may bee they may bee esteemed not well Dyed or not know they will endure washing, as our reds will not." [35]

"*Mr Richard Mohun &c. Councell,* I here inclose the account which hope will give you satisfaction, Haveing Endeavoured Complyance with your order as near as in my power, which hope you will accept. Some of the Gunney people have failed of Complyance and are now my Debtors that I have been forced to buy of others to make good their defect. The Ginghams hope to heare are to your likeing, assure you they are very much Courser then the former that I was fearefull they would not take the Dye. I have not more at present save to assure you that I am Your ready friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 31*th December*, 1671." [36]

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* I sent you an account which pray returne, the Boatmen haveing taken out part from one Boate, being over laden. They not willing to venture to Sea, have laden the same upon one that was not fully compleeted, and that you may not bee displeased at the Boatehire Charge as formerly advised, although assure you I offered a Due [Diu] Boateman 35 and hee would not proceed under 40 pago. I have not more then to assure you that I am Your ready friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 3*rd January*, 1671-2." [37]

[32] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[33] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

[34] See *ante*, letter of 19th Oct. 1671.

[35] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[36] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[37] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*. Vol. 9.

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca Councell*, In my last to Mr Mohun sent the accompt, the Error being rectifyed, the Ballance is pa. 71: 12: 4 which pray lett bee the Same in your bookes. Understanding your Allome remaineing, did Acquainte one or two of the Gunney people, who promised to accept it at ½ fa. less 1 pa. per Maund, which is pa. 19 : 6 fa. per Candy 520 *li.* if I deliver it where they appointe in truck of Packing trade at the price formerly delivered, but them persons are gone some distance hence. However, if you please to accept of the above, then pray with all speed send the Allome, for about this tyme of yeare is brought out of the Countrey a sort of red Allome which will hinder the Sale of this if not very speedily disposed on. If you send it, I must bee at Charge to conveigh it unto places convenient, for it will not sell for 12 fa. per Maund in this place, the Custome and Charges here being greate. What packing trade in a readiness shall bee sent you, which I heare is to the vallue of two or three hundred pago., the rest shall bee with you in good tyme. With my service, I rest, Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Of noe date [? *23rd February* 1671-2]." [38]

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Your Generall to us without date came to hand the 25th Currant, and, according as you therein desire, have now laden all your Masters Allom on board of a boate, to which wee shall give the speediest dispatch wee can to Pettepolee that you may there receive it according to your expectation and appointment. The price you have proffered us for it wee are contented to accept, which is 19 Pa. 6 fa. per Candy of 520 pound, only doe expect that wee are at noe further Charge or Risq of it then boate hyre unto you. The invoyce of it goeth here inclosed. Its amount wee desire may (as you advise) be as speedy sent us in packing trade as conveniently you can, which is what wee have at presant to impart save to remember us kindly unto you. Wee remaine, Your loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN,[39] &ca.

Metchlepatam, the 28th February 1671-2."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Yesterday came to hand yours of the 10th Currant by which wee observe that you are still obstructed by your Governor aboute landing and disposeing of the Companys Allome sent you, though had this Governors rucca[40] for its peeceable disposure. Inclosed wee now send you another, which even now cane to us from him, which wee have perused and judge to be effectuall. Mirabola Bakere [Mīr 'Abdullah Bāḳir] at present is not in towne but will be here this night, soe that to morrow you may expect his letter to your Governor though we Judge that what now sent will be sufficient to the accomplishment of the prementioned business, which is the most necessary at presant from Sir, Your loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN, &ca.[41]

Metchlepatam, the 12th March, 1671-2."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, Yours of the 11th with your Governours rucca received, when Immediatly sent it to the Bramany, who still saith hee hath not order to lett the Boate goe hence, nor had hee knowne of it, had not your Governor advised and given him order to detaine her, which otherwise hee had not, therefore please to hasten an absolute order that the Boate may pass and that I may have freedome to carry the Allom where I please without obstruction. If the Governour send a Nobuttee [*nambiti*, Mal., a trustworthy messenger] will bee more effectuall then his ruccas, for hee giveing onely his order to his Bramany who both not write an absolute order. With my Service, I remain, Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 14th March, 1671-2." [42]

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, When I writt you for the Allom thought your Governour would not have made any denyall of former priviledge, but hees soe unreasonable to demand juncan or land the Goods, when, as advised it will not sell for 15 pa. per Candy in seven yeares, nor will any come hither to buy it, the Custome soe unreasonable, therefore shall returne it. With my Service remaine, Your assured friend to Command, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the [?] *March*, 1671-2." [43]

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[38] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[39] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

[40] Ar. Ruḳ'a, a letter, written document.

[41] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

[42] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[43] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

Mr. Ambrose Salusbury, Sir, Wee expected that the last Rucca sent your Governor by us from this would have been sufficient for the cleareing the Company's Aliome but since yours of the 14th instant wee finde the Contrary. Wee have againe sent to this Governor for another Rucca more effectuall which he hath now sent, which goeth here inclosed unto you. Our Dubash acquaints us that the Governor was passionately concerned when he heard that his former Ruccaes sent were not observed, that if, upon the receipt of this, it was not imediately released he would discharge him from his place and soe acquainted your Governor's Brother who was then presant. Wee likewise advised him concerning your Chay that there might be noe stop, but that you might be free to carry and dispose of it as you should see most Convenient, which he readily Consented unto, wherein, if you finde any obstruction, as also in the Allome, be speedy in your advices, and wee shall indeavour what in us lyes, which is all at presant, save that wee remember us heartily unto you, and Remaine, Sir, your reall friends, RICHARD MOHUN, &ca.[44]

Metchlepatam, the 16*th March* 1671-72."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, The Letter you sent with yours of the 16th is of noe vallue, the Governour denying to lett the Allom goe. I think I formerly advised if landed here, the buyer must pay 5 pa. juncan per Candy. I formerly landed some here, and it lying two years neare upon by the walls, was forced to send it from hence. The juncan where I purpose to send it, is about 80 fan. or, at most ⅝ pa. per Candy, which difference is great. This Bramany Rogue pretending to your Governour hee doth this for his proffitt soe that 50 such Rucces will bee of noe more vallue then these received and the Boate must thus remaine. Hee makes noe account of Mier Abdula Bakeirs Letter, nor will hee lett my Chay goe. Please to send such order that the Allome and Chay may pass. With my Service, I remaine, Your assured friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 19*th March*, 1671-2.

I suppose your Governour giveth private order not to lett the Goods goe although hee pretended to you fairely but hees false as they are all, if not, the least Rucca this Bramany would not deny to obey."[45]

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, Last night in hast advised you the Bramany continueth his resolution to detayne the Allom and hath the Impudence to say your Governour his Master is a foole to give his Ruccoes. I thinck your Governour useth the Sea Custome and giveth one order to lett the Goods goe, another that it should not, which is most certaine, if not, it would have gone at the first, this fellow not dareing to deny his absolute order, but it is like unto that, give Butter, give none. Pray acquainte Mier Abdula Bakeir that his Letter was not regarded by the Bramany and please to desire him to send one that may free my Chay and pray lett the Governours Rucca cleare all that I may not give you nor him further trouble. Hee may save the Paper hee sends in Ruccas for another use And send a Moldarr [*mahāldar*, revenue officer] to carry the Boates away, and in future shall not trouble his Goverment nor myselfe with any more Chay, and what have to doe shall bee out of his power where shall have assistance of the Governour and nott the least obstruction. With hearty respects, I remaine, Your assured friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[46]

Pettepolee, the 20*th March*, 1671-2."

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, My last acquainted you the effect your Governours Ruccaes produceth. This Bramany Governour saith all the Ruccaes hee hath yet received giveth him order not to suffer the Boate to goe before junccan paid. This peone of yours will acquaint you the same, by which you may judge how false your Governour is to pretend one thing and act contrary. The least rucca if absolute, would be Sufficient, but 100 such will availe nothing. Therefore, since hee writeth noebody knoweth what, it were much better hee save his paines and paper and send Nobuttee to carry the Boates away and pray lett him have the same order for my Chay. The old Bramanys are gone to Golcondah. Had they been in place, the Boates would not have been thus long detained. With kind respects, remaine, Your assured friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 22*d March*, 1671-2."[47]

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[44] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.
[45] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.
[46] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.
[47] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol 9.

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, I was in hopes you would have sent one Rucca to have served for all the Boates, but you mention onely the Allom. I desire you will please to procure a Rucca for three Boates of Chay and shall not in future trouble you on the like occasion. Had the Boatemen observed my order, the Chay had been landed at Mottepallee [Motupalle], which would have prevented the inconvenience. To land the Chay I will not, because in Seaven years it will not sell in this place and to pay junccan am unwilling, haveing not hitherto, for if now paid, all other Goods must, in the future, doe the Same, which will bee prejudiciall to them Which may hereafter reside here. If you cannot prevaile with the Governour Mier Abdula Bakeir or Mierneir Sier,[48] at your request will doe it. I shall send you some Gunneys on the Allome account soe soone as my Boates are free. Please to hasten such a Rucca as you now sent, for here was raine last night. I remaine, Your assured friend and Servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 26*th March* 1672."[49]

Whether Salisbury's "chay" was ever "cleared" does not appear, for there are no further letters in existence between Peddapalle and Masulipatam until nearly two months later.

It was some time in this year that Thomas Bowrey, captain of a "country" vessel, was entertained by Salisbury at Peddapalle. Bowrey gives the following account of his visit:—"Anno Domini 1672 I stroke downe to Pettipolee in a Journey I tooke Overland From Fort St Georg's to Metchlepatam, where I visited and paid my respects to Mr Ambrose Salsbury at his new house he built in a pleasant part of the towne, he being Chiefe of the Affaires of the Honourable English East India Companie here. He treated me and my people very Gentilely and wold not Suffer me to depart that night. I condescended to Stay all night and take my leave Early in the Morninge, but he was as loth to part with me then. I Staid to take a View of the towne and after dinner set forward."[50] Bowrey's reference to his host as "Chiefe" seems to show that the visit took place after the receipt of the Company's orders for Salisbury's reinstatement.

On the 13th June, 1672, the correspondence between Peddapalle and Masulipatam recommences.

"*Mr. Richard Mohun &ca. Councell*, The packing trade to make good my Contract hath been redy some time, but the Rivers are not yet soe furnished with water but hope will bee speedily when you may expect the full amount to Ballance my account, although were I now to buy the like quantity of Allome, should not give ½ a pago. or ⅝ Per Maund. With my respects I rest, Your Reall friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolee, the 13*th June*, 1672.

Pray send the weight of each Caske with the number."[51]

On the 21st June, 1672, the Council at Masulipatam wrote to Salisbury desiring that he would undertake the business of procuring saltpetre for the Company.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Its our desire that you Speedylye advise us what Quantitiye of Peeter you Can provide for us in four or five mounths time at furthest, and the Sorts, wether double or treble refined, with the respective prizes, for we have occasion either for 30: 40: or 50 tonns as you Shall be able to procure, which pray acquaint us, and wether you will engage the provision of it, wherein desire you will [be] as Speedy as Conveniently you can, not omitting the full Charge upon it, untill it Shall come to be laden on board. We Cannot give you an account of the weight [of the] Caske Sent you, Since those that Allom Came out in were So miserable Shatered and torn that we were forced, at its landing, to shift in other Caske as we Could get, which were not

48 Mir Mirshahr, which would mean the Governor of the City, but probably Mirbahr, Chief of the Customs, is meant.

49 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

50 *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal* (Hakluyt Society's Publications), Second Series, No. XII., p. 57 f.

51 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

weighed. Pray advise the most profitable time in the yeare for makeing investments in Packing trade, and what you have now by you of that Commodity to Compleate the former Account Send hither as Soone as you Can. Further we have not to add then that we are, Sir, Your Very Loving Friends, RICHARD MOHUN &ca.

We shall expect your advises and accordingly returne you Answer.[52]

Metchlepatam, June 21, 1672."

Unfortunately, Salisbury's reply to this letter is much damaged, but his mention of Jearsey and his unwillingness to again undertake the saltpetre investment are evidently connected with his recollection of the disastrous consequences that resulted from his dealings in that commodity prior to 1670.[53]

Mr Richard Mohun and Councell, I had . . . . [54] Bus'ness but Mr Jearseys . . . . . Investments. God Almighty in his Justice reward him in his due time and way for what I have Sustained by his means. I returned two or three times very ill, in danger of my life, from the Peter Countrey and the Company have given me the reward you see, therefore resolve to medle noe more with Peter. The Company want not Servants for their other buisiness, therefore may spare one or two for this if their occasions require it. I sent you a Boate of packing stuff and shall hasten the remainder to Ballance the account. The dry time is the fittest time for provision of that Comodity, it being usually made not in the house, but for price I suppose noe difference in the time, for it will bee difficult to alter the price. They are a very poore People and therefore danger in dealeing with them. I remaine, Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[55]

Metchlepatam, 24th June 1672."

Mr Ambrose Salusbury, Sir, Yesterday came to hand yours of the 24 instant in Answer unto ours concerning the provision of Peeter, wherein we finde you all togather unwilling to that under-takeing so shall [not] further impose it upon you then to desire you will direct us in that affayre how we shall proceede for the Speediest obtaineing that quantitye mentioned by the Agent and Councill for the Honble. Companys occasions, which we Communicated in our last unto you, wherein we doubt not your redy Complyance. Your boate of Packing trade not yet arrived, the remainder to Ballance that Account you promise will haysten, which we shall accordingly expect and subscribe, Sir, Your loveing Friends, RICHARD MOHUN &ca.[56]

Metchlepatam, June 27th 1672."

However, unwilling as Salisbury was to "meddle" again with "peter" he was afraid to risk the Company's displeasure by an absolute refusal. Therefore, when he received the news of his re-instatement, he wrote in a different strain. At the same time he showed his resentment for the injustice he considered he had suffered. Throughout the whole of his career in India, Salisbury behaved like a petulant child, indulging in occasional outbursts of indignation, with as sudden transition to almost cringing humility.

"*Mr Richard Mohun &ca. Councell,* Although the many years loss of time in expectation of the Companys Imployment answerable to the knowledge of the Commerce of the Countrey, and the losses have Sustained by leaveing my residence to serve them may Sufficiently discourage mee from takeing the trouble of the Peter buisiness, however, Since the Company are now pleased to esteeme mee worthy their Service (although know not what it is) am willing to accomodate their occasions and comply with your desires, which they have not deserved from mee, haveing preferred all strangers, and not taken the least observance of mee, saveing to displace mee upon the Clandestine reports of them ill minded persons, whome God will, in his due tyme, reward. I desire you not to lett your

[52] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5. [53] See *ante,* 5th July, 1670. [54] Some lines are torn away here.
[55] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9. [56] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

house Servants know of your want of Peter, for they will lett the Peter men know it, which will cause them to advance the price as they please themselves and the Peter Braminy is much behinde hand by renting of tenn townes, that hee's not to be trusted. Your desire is to receive the Peter free from debts and Charges and to bee at a certainty in the price, which indeed is the onely way for the Companys advantage. The Companys price was old for the Sort double refined besides the debts and the Dutch now give $6\frac{1}{2}$ and 7 pagos. new for the Peter they receive at Ramapatam [Rāmapatnam] and they are at all C[harges] upon it, as Baggs, Cooly and Boates &ca. which leave to your Consid[eration] and desire you to advise the price you will give for the double and the [price] for the treble refined to bee delivered in the tyme you name, four or five months, on board Shipp in Metchlepatam or this Roade, and if your price encourage, I will assure you 50 Tonns, or if your occasions require, 190, but you must bee very Speedy, the quantity requireing time, [and] the more now in the raines. If you please to send 1000 pa. you shall not faile of Packing trade to its full amount, with the Ballance of the Allom account in good time, I remaine, Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[57]

Pettepolee, the 27th June, 1672."

In the correspondence following Salisbury's re-appointment as "Cheife" at Peddapalle, the Council at Masulipatam adopted a different tone. Since Salisbury was no longer an independent person doing their business voluntarily, they affected to be filled with wonder that he should expect a commission on the saltpetre he was to procure, said they would "consider of" his demand for "diett money," utterly refused to take any extra "packing trade" off his hands, and, in their letter of the 19th Oct. 1672, reproved him for complaining of their tardy replies to his letters. Unfortunately, there is no letter of Salisbury's extant between the 27th June and the 11th December 1672, so that we only have the one point of view during those months.

At the end of October, Salisbury proposed to provide the bags for saltpetre of a different size than formerly and was very aggrieved that his suggestion was not immediately complied with. On the 4th November he received a sharp rebuke for his unreasonableness. But, in spite of their lordly attitude towards the "Cheife" at Peddapalle, the Masulipatam Council were only too ready to thrust the whole of the "peter business" on his shoulders, as appears by their letters of the 4th and 20th and 30th November 1672. The following correspondence from Masulipatam continues the story up to that date. Salisbury's replies during this period do not exist.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Wee have received yours of the 15th Currant To which as soone as receive advises from the Fort (which we expect within a day or two) shall perticulerly Reply and advise you the needfull, till which time you must endeavour to perswade the Peeter men to stay with you. The remainder of the packing trade pray hasten, being our Masters occasions [require] it, which is all at present from, Sir, Your Loveing Friends, RICHARD MOHUN &ca.[58]

Metchlepatam, July the 18th, 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, We have received yours of the 20th Currant and now, haveing received answere from the Fort, shall advise you the needfull. For Petre twice boyled delivered at the Fort Cleare of all hazard and Charges except baggs, they pay 7 Pagos. per Candy, but not questioning but that you can procure that sort much cheaper, we have sent you by the bearers here—of 500 new pagos. with which wee desire you to begin that investment, as also to procure for packing 10000 ps. Gunny, whereof 2000 must be thick and Substantiall, 30 Candy ropes and 6 Candy twine both some what finer then the last, and of Petre the quantity desired is 100 Candy-which must be ready against the returne of the Europe shipps from the Bay. In the provision of both and especially the latter, we must entreat your more then ordinary Care to prevent badd debts and that in all Charges you use all frugallitie which wilbe much for your Credit, not elce but that we are, Your Reall friends, RICHARD MOHUN &ca.[59]

Metchlepatam, July the 26th, 1672."

[57] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[58] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[59] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Our last to you was of the 26th Currant wherein wee advised you the needfull, to which refer you, and then sent you by your and one of the Companys Peons 500 new Pagos., which wee hope you will have received [ere] this gett [to] your hands, since which we have received yours of the 25th ditto,[60] to which have only to answere to what you say touching of allowing you 7 Pagos per Candy for double refined Peter which wee admire you should new mention for you know that our masters allow noe advantage to be made of their Imployment (in that nature) into which you are now re-admitted, soe you must act as their Servant. When wee proposed an agreement with you to deliver it Cleare of Charges &ca. you were suspended, soe at you[r] one Liberty. The Peterman that tels you wee offered him 6 pagos. per Candy where its made saies falce and designes by it, as wee suppose, to deceive, which is all, Your assured Freinds, RICHARD MOHUN[61] &ca.

Metchlepatam, July the 27th, 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Wee have received yours of the 3d Currant,[62] and perceive that you have already given out Part of the 500 Pagos sent you for Packing trade, which is well, but to accept of the 1000 Pagos. worth you say you have Contracted for Cannot by any meanes doe, it being what wilbe prejudiciall to our Honble. Imployers to keep 500 Pagos. dead the whole yeare about. The 500 Pagos. you desire for the Peeter goes herewith, and must desire you to be as quick in the provision of it as possible you can, that soe it may be in a Readinesse against the returne of the ships from the Bay, and, for the goodnesse, you must take speciall care. For this year you may only send us your accounts as formerly you have done, and for the diett &ca. wee shall Consider of it and in the next advise you the needfull. Your loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN, &ca.[63]

Metchlepatam, August the 7th 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Wee have received two of yours of the 10th and 12th instant,[64] the first acknowledging the receipt of Pagos. 500 wee sent you for the provision of Peeter and for Packing trade. Neither the Fort nor this place will require more then what already enordered you. We doubt not your promised Care both in the goodness and prisses of what you are to provide with its timely readinesse for the Bengale shipping. The broad Cloth you advised for, *vizt.* 10 yards of fine red and 10 yards ditto Collour ordinary now send you, which wee shall charge you withall, and Remaine, Your very loveing friends, RICHARD MOHUN, &ca.[65]

Metchlepatam, August the 15th 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, This day wee have received the Fort Generall of date the 10th Currant, wherein the Agent and Councill enorder us to provide more then what wee have allready given you order for Seaven hundred Candies of the best twice boyled Peeter, if to be had good, Cheape and seasonable for the returne of their whomward bound shipping, which we desire you with all speed to advise both the Agent and us with the price it will come out at, and to send a muster of that you are a provideing to the Fort heither, and if you are sattisfied you can timely provide so great a quantity and to the Honble. Companys advantage, advise us and we shall send you money accordingly. More wee have not to add, but to desire you will be speedy in your advisses as directed. We kindely Salute you, and Remaine, Sir, Your loveing friend, RICHARD MOHUN.

Mr Mainwaring and Mr Chamberlaine being at Madapollam.[66]

Metchlepatam, September the 19th, 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Your Generall to us of the 21th Instant[67] Came to hand the 23d following, wherein you advise the good forwardnesse the 100 Candy of Peeter formerly Enordered is in, and that both for goodnesse and price you doubt not but it will answere expectation, which we are very glad to here, and wish that you could provide the 700 Candys since enordered upon the same good termes, for without it the Honble. Companys Shipping wilbe in great danger of returning some hundred tonns dead Freight, which wee desire you to Consider and doe what you can in the

60 This letter does not exist. 61 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5. 62 This letter does not exist.
63 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5. 64 These letters do not exist.
65 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5. 66 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5. 67 This letter does not exist.

Provision of it and be speedy both in your advisses to them and us what quantity of Cotton you are able to provide, for both it and Peeter must be in a readinesse against the returne of the Bay shipping, and for what monies you shall need for provision of both shall, as you advise, be sent you which is the needfull at Present from Sir, Your very loveing friend, Richard Mohun.

Mr Mainwaring and Mr Chamberlaine being at Madapollam.[68]

Metchlepatam, September the 26th 1672."

P. S. to the "Generall from Metchlepatam to the Fort."

"Mr Salusburys lettere will informe you Concerning his provision of Cotton; your directions to us about it wee shall observe.[69]

7th October 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee shall give answere to yours of the 2d and 5th Instant[70] takeing notice of the Provision of the 100 Candy of Peeter formerly Enordered you and of its price of 4 Pagos. per Candy, which wee Esteeme as well bought, and should be heartily glad that you could, against the returne of the Bay shipping, provide the 700 Candy more so earnestly pressed for by the Agent and Councell, since otherwise our Honble. Employers shipping wilbe in great danger of returneing with much dead Freight, which we desire you by all endeavours to prevent, since that quantity, if obtaineable, would very much helpe out. Cotton is a Commodity not at all desired, but in Case of necessity to fill up, so that if the quantity of Peeter mentioned to be had upon any reasonable termes and good, wee then suppose there wilbe noe occasion for the other, or at least a very small quantity. Wee observe that you have lately received Intelligence out of the Peeter Countrey of 200 Candies there in a readinesse more then you have bought, which wee wish you to agree for at the Cheapest and best termes you can, and be not wanting in your Care of overlooking it well that it be not mixt with salt or other trash, but that it be Cleane and twice boyled and if possible not in any measure adulterated. Its Probable you may, in a short time, have further advisses of more which, if you doe, and that it can be timely ready and so Contracted for as to our Masters advantage, let not slip the oppertunity. Pagos. twelve hundred wee now send you, supposeing it a sufficent supply for the Presant, but as your occasions require, advise us, and you shall accordingly be furnished. Your muster of Peeter sent us wee have this day sent for the Fort and advise them concerning Cotten, to which wee expect their answere. More wee have not at present to acquaint you then to wish you all good successe in your undertakeings and to assure you that wee are, Sir, Your loveing and respective Friends, Richard Mohun.

Mr Mainwaring and Mr Chamberlaine at Madapollam.

The Peeter you receive being in a readiness and boats ladings, send it us, that all may be timely here against the shipps.[71]

Metchlepatam, October the 8th, 1872."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, This day wee received two of yours, both of the 12th Currant[72] the one by won of your Peons, the other by our Masters, which carried you the twelve hundred Pagos., which wee are glad to here are arrived with you in safety. The two Musters of Nallacundepallee [? Nallakandapālem] Peeter wee have likewise received, but such trash as in our lives wee have not seene, Judging it to be rather durst and Salt mingled together then Peeter. You mention one of them to be twice boyled, but which it is wee cannot discover, both being so alike and so bad as that wee are of opinion that to meddle with it would be but a Cheat to our Honble. Imployers, of which wee must and shall allwaies have a great Care, besides the prime Cost of 5 Pagos. per Candy with Oxe hire at $1\frac{1}{4}$ bringing to this place Equalls the price of the best Peeter in the Country, in soe much that wee doe not thinke fitt to Meddle with it, but leave the Provision for the Quantity of Peeter required from us unto your managment or as much of it as possible you can to be in a readinesse against the Returne of the Bay Shipping, and what you doe

68 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.
69 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.
70 These letters do not exist.
71 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.
72 These letters do not exist.

provide, wee desire your great Care in seeing that it be Cleane and good and free from any Mixture of salt or trash. You advise that the two hundred Candy mentioned in your last Letters and which you advised the twelve hundred Pagos. for, was in a readinesse, and that you were sending said money into the Country to pay for it, which wee are glad to here and that you have since advices of the like quantity but more remote, but had noe muster of it. It should be good by the Price you mention, being 6½ or 7 Pagos. per Candy of 520 *li.* which is lese in weight then you have already bought and much more in price, which wee desire you to Consider by your Endeavouring to augment the one and lessening the other, and to be as speedy in the Provision of it as possible you can. The whole quantity desired by the Agent and Councell is Candies 800, of which you advise you have 300 in a readinesse. What more you can procure, pray doe it, for wee shall leave it wholly unto you, and now send you, as desired, more Pagos. twelve hundred that money may not be wanting. In one of yours to us, you blame us for not sooner answering your letters and sending you moneys. Pray compare the dates of yours and ours together and then see whether you have cause to Complaine, but if the weather be such as to hinder the arrivall of our Peons and money with you or your letters with us, wee cannot help that. Both your and our Peons have been 7 days returning. Farther have not at present to inlarge save to Committ you and your Affaires to the Protection of the Allmighty, and Remaine, Sir, Your loveing Friends, Richard Mohun, &ca.[73]

Metchlepatam, October the 19th, 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury,* After dispatch of ours to you yesterday, came to hand yours of the 21th,[74] wherein you continue to encourage us not to doubt your timely complyance in provision of the Peeter, which wee are very glad to understand, as also that the rumour of the Kings People being in the Peeter Country has proved falce. However, as our last[74] advised you, we immediately upon receipt of yours of the 15th,[74] dispeeded to Gulcondah for the Kings Phirmaund, which, as soone as come to hand, shall forward to you. The knives and lookeing glasses you desire we herewith send. Wee have Considered of what you propose as to the Contents of the baggs of Peeter, but we judge it most convenient not to alter an old Custome when their accrewes noe benifitt by an innovation, therefore wee would have each as formerly to containe 1 C. [cwt.] and to be put in double Gunnies of the best procureable, which is the needfull at present from Your assured friends, Richard Mohun.

Mr Mainwaring and Mr Chamberlaine at Madapollam.[75]

October the 24th 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury,* Sir, yours of the 26th and 28th October[76] came to our hands yesterday in the Evening, and wee observe that you do not meane to accept the Peetre as twas, but to have it refined and made fitter for the Companys use and that the owner will doe this, and leave it to choice to accept or leave. The proposition being reasonable, wee advise you to give him incouragement to goe in hand with it, for that you know there is orders for 700 Candy, and you mention but of fine that you are in election to have, besides the prementioned Parcell. You doe very well to provide baggs before hand that there may be noe loss of time. As soon as the Phirmaund [*farmān*] arrives it shalbe sent you, though wee are glad to heare you hope you shall have little occasion to make use of it, which is so much the better. The Agent and Councell are very desirous to be certainely informed that you can doe that they may the better Governe themselves. Wee never heard the Commanders complaine of these baggs. If you have, and thinck it Convenient to put more peeter in a bagg then accustomary in these Parts, wee leave it to you. Wee desire to advise what quantity of Cotton Yarne you can provide at 11 Pagos. the Candy for wee detaine our advices to the Fort to receive yours. Resting Your very loveing friends, Matthew Mainwaring; George Chamberlaine.

Mr Mohun at Madapollam.[77]

Metchlepatam, November the 1st 1672."

[73] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[74] These letters do not exist.

[75] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

[76] These letters do not exist.

[77] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 5.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee are with yours of the 31th past,[78] wherein you seeme dissatisfied that wee should require the Peeter bags to be made of the old demeutions, which you cannot in reason blame us for, before you gave us a reason wherefore wee should alter them, since you will perceive wee have left it to you. Wee cannot call to minde that you were taxed by us for any wrong done the Company, 'Twere therefore better you waved your unseasonable expressions as to the vindicating your Selfe as if accused for the future. The 1st Instant wee received a Letter from the Agent and Councell wherein they say the cotton yarne may be brought cheaper from Turkey then to buy it here at 11 Pagos. the Candy. Mr. Mohun being absent have detained your case untill his returne, who, tis possible, may furnish you, being destitute our selves. Wee remaine Sir, Your very loveing Friends, MATTHEW MAINWAREING; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.

No date [? *4th November* 1672], *Mesulapatam*."[79]

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee have received yours of the 12th Instant.[80] It came to hand yesterday in the Evening, when wee Immediately wrote to the Governor, but instead of granting our desires, he returned the Letter sent him without opening. Such is the daily affronts of [the] Capan [capon, eunuch] Governor in Stopping our necessaries and provisions, that wee dare not by any meanes oppose, being the time that he may much prejudice the Company on any the least disgust. Besides the Companies orders are possitve to keepe a faire correspondency with the Moores, soe that you must endeavor to mannadg your business to the best advantage you can. Here is noe Wine procureable or soe Small a quantity of Spice as you mention. Wee Remaine, &ca., MATT. MAINWARING; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.

Mr Mohun at Madapollam.[81]

November the 4th, 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Both yours of the 4th November[82] came to hand yesterday, for which wee have waited some daies. You will perceive by our formers that the Governour will not vouchsafe us a reply to any Letter sent him, being greedy of a Piscash [*peshkush*] and, his time now short, are in hopes to avoid giving him any, otherwise wee doubt shalbe forced to comply with him for the better carrying on the Companies Affaires. Wee are unacquainted with the Peetre man for the 200 Candy course Peeter, which you leave to us to Contract for. Wee desire you to doe it if you can without hindring your provision of the other 500 Candy, but in case you cannot, then to direct us how wee shall come to the knowledge of the Prementioned Party. Though the place where it is, is farther distant from Pettipolee then from hence, conceive it may be done at the same charge and soe the same thing to the Honble. Company and more proper to bring all into one Accompt. The Agent and Councell, in a Letter lately received from them, disapprove of Cotton at the price you mention as being to deare. Wee therefore desire you only to send us 5 Candy for Packing immediately and as many Dungarees as you can, of which wee shall want 3000 Patch. Wee send you now on that account 200 pagos. Pray deliver the Madrass Peons the musters of Peeter. They call with you to receive them, being the Agents Order. Wee remaine &ca., MATT. MAINWARING; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.

Mr Mohun at Madapollam.[83]

November the 7th, 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee have received yours of the 13th Current,[84] whereby wee take notice what you write about the petre, and wish it may prove according to your advice. The musters wee take notice you will also send to the Fort. As to the Peetre you write of on this side the river, wee hope shall have noe occasion to meddle with it, relying upon you for the full quantity desired, and that it be ready in due time, for the provision whereof, if you want any more money, advize, and it shalbe sent you, which being what offers, wee remaine, Sir, Your assured friends, RICHARD MOHUN &ca.[85]

November the 20th 1672."

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78 This letter does not exist.

79 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

80 This letter does not exist.

81 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

82 These letters do not exist.

83 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

84 This letter does not exist.

85 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee are glad to observe that you are furnished with Oxen and that you are in hopes to have the Peeter in Pettipolee by the 15th next month. Pray hasten all as much as possible you can, and you need not doubt but the Agent, as well as our selves, will represent your service home, where you neede not question the Honble. Companys good resentment of it to your advantage. The Phirmaund is not yet arrived. As soon as we receive it, it shalbe dispeeded to you. In the Interime we hope you will [have] noe obstruction in the businesse. If you cannot procure Cotton aswell as Dungarees for the 200 Pagos. sent you, pray send the whole amount in Dungarees, for that we daily want them to embale the Companys goods. Wee Remaine, Sir, Your very loveing freinds, RICHARD MOHUN; MATT. MAINWARING; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.[86]

Metchlepatam the 30th November 1672."

On the 11th December, 1672, Salisbury's letters recommence. If we may judge from his own account, the petre investment was indeed an arduous task and it is not strange that he was loth to undertake it. His conduct of the affair elicited the praise of Messrs. Mainwaring and Chamberlaine, who, in their letter of 21st December, reminded him of the "creditt" which would "redowne" to himself "alone." Salisbury's protestations of incorruptibility in his letter of the 26th December seem rather uncalled for and ring somewhat false.

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, I was in hopes, when I writt the former,[87] to have the Peter at Pettipolee by the 15th this month, but in my last advised have caused great part to be boiled againe since my being in these parts, that it will bee the latter end of this month before all the Peeter will arrive to Pettipolee. Had not the great Rain put a Stopp to this business for a month should have sett forth sooner, and not have doubted to provide 800 Candy, however have made such improvement of this short time that by the blessing of Almighty God hope you will see such effects of my labours that will compleate the 500 Candy. I formerly advised that I had contracted for the first hundred Candy at 5 pago. per Candy and 200 at 5 pago. per Candy, but, since my arrivall, finding the Peeter men I made Contract with to have brought up the Peeter at 3 pago. and 3¼ and 4 per Candy, I shall use my Endeavors to make an abatement of half pago. per Candy in the 200 Candy when the business is at a period. Should I now compell them to it, they would make Complaints and bribe the Governor and ruin all soe that I must desist till the business be compleated. I hear not of any Phirmaund and the Peter Braminy denieth to send downe the old one, the Peeter at soe many places that noe small difficulty to content the Governours &ca. and to bring the Peeter &ca. to one place to send a quantity togeather, your services all disposed on, and I am in want here, there being soe many to please that I am forced to give cloth and glasses, and all will not content some ill Conditioned people. And, in the Way to Pettipolee, in some places my letters, the Peeter in others, are forced to pay Juncan, and for the Oxen what it will be I shall, when all concluded, give you Account. Ile assure you in some places I stay not soe long as to eate, time being soe short, I have not time to dine but stay from one night to the next. You cannot judge of the trouble of this business. God grant me good success in it that my service may be to the Honble. Company and your good likeings. Dungarees shall hasten per the next Cuffalgh [*kāfila*, caravan]; Cotton dear, therefore buy none at Pettipolee and in the way with what have now ready qt. 600 Oxen [*sic*] the rest. Is now arrived News that the Governour of Cundeneere [Cundanore] hath sent his De-Roy [*durāi*, prohibition in the king's name] upon the Peeter, Soe that now if your Governours letter will bee of none effect, the Company will bee Sufferers and that ruined. I have in many Letters desired you to procure a Phirmaund Soe that I hope you will not blame mee. I remaine Your assured, AMBOSE SALUSBURY.

[*Goodeshawder*], *the* 11*th December* 1672."[88]

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, I advised you last night the Kings people have put the De Roy and chop [*chhāp*, a stamp] on the Companys Peeter that is in Gunneys ready to goe hence, and upon all the Peeter not weighed. The Peeter at Pettipolee and on the way, and this in Gunneys

86 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 5.

87 Salisbury appears to allude to a letter which does not exist.

88 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

ready to goe is to the amount of nearest 300 Candy. I fear the Peeter in the way will bee detained which is upwards 80 Candy. I should compleate all in 10 daies had not this accident happened and have to the full amount of your mony five hundred Candy, having made the greatest hast possible and used all meanes to accomodate the Honble. Companys occasions. I have writt the Governour of Cundaneere, who hath sent 10 gun men to this place and some horsmen to another, who have put the Chop on the Companys Peeter that if hee obstruct my business the Kings business will receive the greater dammage when his occasions require the Service of the English Gunners in Golcondah, and that it is an unjust act not done in any Kings Country to make Seizure of goods provided by the Company, and for every Cask hee shall take from mee thus unjustly, the Company will receive a thousand from the King, the Shipping being disapointed of the Comodity, therefore bid him read his Phirmaund with good observation and hee will find hee is onely to buy Peeter where Merchants and others have it to Sell, but not to rob the Company or violently to Seize on their goods. I will send you his answer when received, which expect in two daies. I long Since advised you to procure a Phirmaund and acquainted you that I heard the Kings people comeing to obstruct the Peeter, therefore cannot justly Impute Per mee in fault. I purpose to take of [f] the chop the Kings people have put on the Gunneys and the Peeter, and will venture a brush with them. Pray give your Speedy answer unto [this]. You cannot but heare the news of Oram Zeabs [Aurangzeb's] Army being nere Golcondah and have taken two Castells from the king and are 6 leagues from Golcondah. Pray, on sight hereof, Send fifty Bundarees[89] and good Peons and I shall not much question to bring away the Peeter. I remaine, Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Goodepowdee [Gundlapalli] the 12th December, 1672."[90]

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca.*, This instant have notice that two of the Peeter men have bin with the Governour of Cundeneere and have bribed the Governour &ca. to send Peons to obstruct my business under pretence of the Kings Phirmaund. They are the most notorious Rougues under the Sun. They now pretend theire price formerly was 5 pagos. old per Candy. I have theire bill for one hundred Candy, being the first which you desired. Herewith send you theire Receipt for fowre hundred Pagos. The rest I promised them, if good Peeter, ½ pago. more per Candy, which being fowre and ½ pago. per Candy which they were content with, but give them 10 Pago. per Candy they will not bee content. I have had Peeter detained and obstructed from being waiged this 10 dayes by the meanes of these villaines, which if they had not done, the full 300 Candy had bin at Pettepollee. I must end as I can with them. I bought 21 Candy at 8 pagos. 2 fa. which they had not any right unto, but now they will pretend it to belong to them. Pray send at sight 30 or 40 good Bundarees or 50 and I hope to secure them Rogues. I have sent for one hundred and twelfe Candy of that Peeter I advised you soe farr hence and have agreed at 5 Pago. to receive it 10 Miles from hence but its not arrived. God send me good success. I shall not undertake this trouble and danger for all the Honble. Companys Estate. Pray send two dozen large knives and six penknives and detaine not the Peons. However I have bought you 150 Pagos. of Dungarees at 7 patch and 50 pagos. at 5 patch per Pago. which might have bin at Pettipollee had not them Rogues obstructed. They shall accompany the first Peeter. I remaine, Your assured Friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[91]

Goodepolldoe, [*Gundlapalli*] *the 14th December*, 1672."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, I have in three [letters] advised you of the obstruction the Peeter men have made, and of my writing to Cundeneer Governour, from whom have received Answer and order for to free the Peeter although order from Golcondah for Peeter. I sent him 3 guzz.[92] of cloth and the Mazendar [? *mahṣūldār*, revenue supervisor]. Two Peeter men and one of my Peons are run away that I fear some loss, although I have given them all the Incouragement possible but all will not prevaile with them to be honest in their dealing. You may forbeare giving your selfes the trouble of sending Bundarees or Peons, for I hope speedily to end, and if occasion require, an Emminent Governour whome have had acquaintance with at my first being in these parts has promised as many Peons as desire to assist. Pray hasten my Peon,

89 No doubt for Banjāra, the carrying caste.

90 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

91 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

92 *Gaz*, a measure varying from 27 to 36 in. The Indian yard.

being in want, and send a dozen large knives and Six penknives. I am sending part of the Dungarees with Peeter from hence. The rest with my selfe will accompany the last Peeter speedily. I shall now only stay for Peeter I formerly advised [at] soe great distance having sent many [?] and contracted to receive it not farr from this place. Time is now short, hope for a happy conclude. My Endeavors have not bin wanting which I hope will bee acceptable. I remaine, Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[93]

Goodepelldoe, the 15*th December* 1672."

" *Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Both yours of the 28th past and 12 instant[94] are come to hand, the former two days past, the latter to day. Wee are glad to read in them you have and shall be able to Provide the whole quantity of Peeter already received money for, But will not be ready soe scone as otherwayes it might have Beene had not the Kings people obstructed you. Wee wish it lay in our power to helpe, Mr Mohun having wrote to obtaine a Phirmaund, which it seems yet is not procured. Such things you know by your experience are not easily obtained from the Moors empty handed, and now to send you 50 Rashboots [*rājpūts*] would prove to little purpose, in regard there is hardly any Petty Governour But is able to Raise 3 times the quantity and will doe it on this occasion in Behalfe of their King, Besides the Companys positive order Not to make any Breach or difference With the Moors if otherwise to be avoided, which wee would rather advice you to compose it by a small Piscash [*peshkash*, present]; though wee cannot pay Juncan, a Custome soe considerable, that after once paid they will expect that wee should soe continue for the further [? future]. Thereby will accrew a great disadvantage and detryment to our Honourable imployers. Wee commend you and their affairs to Gods Protection, Remaining, Your Loving Friends, MATT. MAINWARING; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.

P. S.—Wee have sent to you a dozen silver hafted knives which Wee hope will Please the people you are to Present. Just now come to hands yours of the 11th Instant. This Governor endeavours the Companys prejudice as much as [in] him lies in this place, from who wee cannot expect noe assistance. Wee heare he is upon the Journey to Golcondah, otherwise wee must be forced to Piscash him, Being noe other remedy for it.[95]

Metchlepatam the 16*th December* 1672."

"*Mr Richard Mohun, &ca.* Sirs, since our last wee have received advices from Mr Salusbury that the Kings people put their chop upon the Salt peeter and doubts this hinderance will occasion that the Phirmaund was not procured, which hee sayed would have prevented all this. Wee yesterday wrote to the Governour the Report of whose flight and Masters death proved only a fiction, he remaining some foure leagues hence, to desire him to write to the Petty Governours not to obstruct the Companys Businesse under Mr Salusburys managery smoothing him up with faire words to keepe in hopes, Not promised him any thing. Wee hope will take effect. The Merchants cloth comes now in from the washers and hath done for these two or three days . . . . . . [Signed] M. MAINWARING; G. CHAMBERLAINE.[96]

Metchlepatam the 17*th December* 1672."

" *Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, This instant came to hand yours of the 24th. Wee are very sensible of the trouble you undergoe in having to doe with such pittifull Merchants these Salt Peeter Men commonly prove. However, wee hope and question not But your experience will furnish you with such means as may prevent their evill intentions as this appears to be when they deny their owne hand, which we return you herewith againe, to be a testimony against them. Wee partake in trouble with you, for this Governor obstructs this what hee canne in the Companys Business, here. His assistance wee cannot expect for your helpe, to whom else we are to seeke addresses to forward this years Business, the time Being soe Neere at hand for the approach of the Companies ships, which wee now dayly expect. This Governor hath forwarned our hired Servants longer to us. More wee cannot purchase upon any tearms to ayd you. Wee intreate you to make what hast you canne with the dungarees, having most occasion of them of any thing. Wee Remaine, Sir, Your Loving Freinds, MATT. MAINWARING; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.[97]

Metchlepatam, the 19*th December* 1672."

[93] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9. [94] These letters do not exist. [95] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.
[96] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6. [97] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Yours of the 15 instant came to hand yesterday in the Evening. You did very well in presenting the Govr. of Cundanire [Cundanore] after his reception and performance of his kindnesse may oblige him to the continuance of the same for your future occasions, which wee hope may not find that obstruction another yeare. As wee observe, notwithstanding it hath this, you conquered at last and brought to perfection, the creditt of which will redowne to your selfe alone. Your endeavours being applied. wee question not but you will prevent losse likely to be sustained by those Peeter Men that are Runne away. Wee have already sent you a dozen silver hafted knives, which you had not received at your writing of this. Wee hope they will supply the want of the two dozen large and penknives which are not on Enquiry upon any tearms procurable in Towne. [Signed] M. MAINWARING &ca.[98]

Metchlepatam (?21) *Decr.* 1672."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, Your of the 21th last night came to hand. The Peeter men that are run away made stop of the Peeter againe about 3 leagues hence and beat the poor Ox people and carried them to the Castle of Cundanere and put stop on my Peeter, which hath caused my writing to the Governour againe that admired a Person of his quality and place should countenance and encourage such men in their abuses, and desired him to consider the injustice and how much it would bee to his dishoner to regard the false reports of those men whome all the country know to bee false cheating Knaves. The Muzendar did take the Cloth sent the Governour and the Governour sent mee word that I formerly gave the Governour 6 Guzz of Scarlett and 3 maunds of Sandell wood (which was by Mr Johnsons advice, being the first Journey upon this occasion), and that hee, being in the same place, and not at all inferiour to the other Governour, expected the same, that I have promised him, if hee give mee a peon or two to pass the Peeter, that when finished shall return them Peons with the Cloth desired, but that have not Sandall nor is any procureable that I know of. Had not the Peeter men obstructed the 300 Candy, or as much as it now holdeth out, had bin att Pettipolee by the 15th and I expected by the 20th to have bin at home. The Peeter men promised mee a pago. per Candy to accept such stuff as the Braminye provided, but have not hitherto, nor shall I ever desire to gaine a penny by this or any other unjust meanes. I advised you the 89 denied Candy as reported to bee, which sett 3 peons to cause its boyling night and day will not now bee fifty Candy. I bought 21 Candy at 3 pago. 2 fa. per Candy, but they saying that they gave earnest for it and being short of their debts must give them I fear five pagos. at the conclude for the 200 Candy as formerly advised. God grant it come forth at the price as I hope it will. My Ox people are run away and I am forced to hire others, time being soe farr spent. The 21 Candy and about 20 more is bad Peeter, but haveing Oxen ready and the Peeter men in debt must accept that or loose the money. The rest of the Peeter is excellent good. The Peeter writt you a great distance from hence have sent money for near 150 Candy, two Parcells arrived, have given Order for what remaines, but the way being Woods and Hills I was not willing to send the money at once but 3 times. I must desire you to send 6 Guzz. or yards of Scarlett against my return home for the Cundaneere Governour. Here [are] soe many Governours, Nauges [*nāyak*, chief], Braminys &ca. to please you cannot judge of the trouble. I purpose to send Cundaneere Governour and Muz[endar] 3 of your knives and the Cheife Nauge one. The rest will to day and to morrow bee disposed on, for I purpose to returne to make ready the Peeter arrived and leave my Servants to accompany what remaining, I remaine, Your assured Friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[99]

December 26*th* 1672."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Esteemed Friend, Since our last are arrived here all the Honorable Companys six ships. Haveing composed the difference with the Moors wee hope wee shall end our Businesse here in three or foure days. Wee intreate you to make all immaginable hast in the dispatch of the Peter hither that soe they may not be detained for want of that Remaining. Your assured Friends, MATT. MAINWARING; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.[100]

Metchlepatam the 31 *December* 1672."

(*To be continued.*)

[98] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.
[99] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.
[100] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

MOHIYE KI HAR, OR BAR.[1]

BY H. A. ROSE.

The Chronicle of Râjâ Mohî Parkâsh, Ruler of Nâhan (Sirmûr) State.

THIS poem is in Keonṭhalî, the dialect of Keonṭhal, but many forms appear to be used in the poem, which are not given in the Grammars of Keonṭhalî by the Revd. T. Grahame Bailey, C.M.S., now under publication by the Royal Asiatic Society.

Text.

Sât kaṅwar Râjâ Nâhîṇe re,[2] sâtoṅ[2] mângo[2] râj,
Mângaṛho[3] re negîe[3] mat laî kamâî[3] :—
"Ure âo, kaṅwaro, râj leṇâ·leî."[5]
Sât Râje re kaṅwar Mângaṛho-khe[6] ḍewe,[6]
Pânj kaṅwar negîe beṛî de pâe.[7]
Do kaṅwar Râje re bhâgîro âe.[8]
Bhârî Chand ḍewâ Kâlsî, Akal Bîr ḍewâ Palâshî.
Mângaṛho âe negîe; pher mat kamâî:—
"Jigrûâ chaudhriâ, âwe Kâlsî jâî;[11]
Bhârî Chande[12] kaṅwaro[12] leâwe bulâe:
Bolo 'rânḍî chhuṭî parjâ, suhâg jâṇâ chaṛâwe."[13]
Jigrû chaudhrî rohâ Kâlsî jâe;[14]
Bhârî Chande kaṅware râkhâ neshṇâ lâe:—[15]
"Jigrûâ chaudhriâ, rohâ kanî jogâ âwe?"[16]

Translation.

Seven sons had the Râjâ of Nâhan, and each of them coveted the throne,
But the *negî* of Mâṅgaṛh[4] cunningly schemed (to invite the princes, saying:—)
"Come hither, O princes, and assume the crown."
So all the seven princes came to Mângaṛh,
Where five of them were cast into prison by the *negî*.
(But) two of them escaped.
Bhâiî Chand went to Kâlsî[9] and Akal Bir to Palâsî.[10]
The *negî* came to Mângaṛh and again schemed (and said): —
"O Jigrû *chaudhrî*, thou must go to Kâlsî
And fetch Bhârî Chand *kaṅwar* hither;
Tell him that the people grieve like a widow without her lord and that he should make himself master of the State."
So Jigru *chaudhrî* went to Kâlsî,
And Bhârî Chand began to enquire (saying):—
"O Jigru *chaudhri*, why hast thou come here?"

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[1] The *râg* of this song is Brindâbani *sârang*.

[2] *Nâhîne re*, pl. of 'Nâhan.' This form in *-îne* appears to be rare. *Sât*, seven, is here declined, but *-oṅ* for the plural is not found elsewhere. *Mângo*, the *-o* in the present emphatic tense appears to be confined to Eastern Keonṭhalî.

[3] *Mângaṛh-o*, the regular formative of nouns ending in a consonant. *Negi-e*, the regular agent-form of nouns in *-i*. *Mat laî kamâî*; "*mat*," from Sanskrit *mati* = wisdom; "*laî*," from the root *leṇû* = to take, past tense feminine gender; "*kamâî*," from *kamâwṇû* = to gain: *kamâî laî* = gained. Idiomatically the whole phrase means wisely resolved or made a wise plan.

[4] Mângaṛh is in Nâhan territory.

[5] *Râj leṇâ leî* = 'you may take the throne' (imperative).

[6] *-khe*, acc. and dative (regular). *Ḍewe* (past tense pl.) from *ḍêûnû*, to go (not used in compounds).

[7] *Beṛî de pâe*, *dâ* (declined) is the locative = 'put in fetters'— (*de* = in, pl. of *dâ* = in).

[8] *Bhâgî ro âe*, *bhâgî ro*, compound verb, meaning having escaped; from *bhâgṇû* = 'to run or escape'; *âe* from *âuaṇu* = to come (past tense plural.)

[9] Kâlsi lies between Dehrâ Dûn and Nâhan.

[10] Palâshî: also near Kâlsi.

[11] *Âwe Kâlsî jâî* = 'having gone to Kâlsî, you may come back.'

[12] *Bhârî Chande kanwaro*, *-e*, *-o*, declined forms in the oblique case.

[13] *Suhâg jâṇâ chaṛâwe*: 'he should become our ruler or king.'

[14] *Rohâ Kâlsî jâe*: 'arrived in Kâlsi.'

[15] *Râkhâ neshṇâ lâe*: 'began to inquire.'

[16] *Rohâ kanî jogâ âwe?* Cf. line 31: 'why have you come?'

"Mangaṛho re negîe râkhâ[17] Nahîṇi-khe bulâwe.
Râṇḍî chhûṭî rahî parjâ, suhâg âṇâ chaṛâwe."

Bhârî Chand kaṅwar rohâ Nahîṇî âwe;
Guṭhâ chîṛî Gaṅgû râ deî[18] kaṅwaro-khe gâdî,

Sejlî[19] khabar hoî Sîdhie re Koṭe[19],

Sîdhiâ Koṭore[21] Ṭhâkure mat leî kamâî.
Pârle Palâṇîê loâ ghaṛî ro khâî: [22]

Kimû kâṭâ bâṛo râ, chaure râ pâjâ.

"Jâî âûṅ Nahîṇî khe,[24] pûchhî âwaṇâ Râjâ." [24]
Sîdhie Koṭo re Ṭhâkûra rî hoî Nahîṇî khe[25] tayârî.
Sone rî bijaurî laî[26] peṭke dî[26] bânî: [26]

Hâthe[27] laî ḍingûlî[27] hor kâno pânde[27] lewâ.[27]
Sîdhiâ Koṭo râ Ṭhâkur Nahîṇî khe ḍewâ.

Nahîṇî re chaugâno dî[28] sabhâ Râje rî baiṭhî:
Sîdhiâ Koṭo re ṭhâkûre Râjâ loâ juhârî.[29]

Sone rî bijaurî bheṭo rî nuârî.[30]
Bhârî Chande kaṅware[31] Sidhâ neshṇâ lâyâ:

"Sîdhe Koṭo re Ṭhâkurâ, kanî jogâ âyâ?"

"Thou hast been bidden to Nâhan by the *negî* of Mângaṛh (he answered),
For the people grieve like a widow without her lord, and thou should'st go thither and make thyself master (of the State)."
Then Bhâri Chand *kaṅwar* went to Nâhan,
And after incising Gangû's thumb, (his forehead was marked with the blood as his *râj-tilak*, and) he was placed upon the throne.

When the news of his (accession) reached Sidhâ, (the Ṭhakur) of Koṭ,[20]
Sidhâ, the Thâkur of Koṭ, made a plot.
(He pretended that) the Palâṇî tribes[23] beyond the river had harassed him,
And had cut down the mulberry tree in the enclosure, as well as the *pâjâ* tree (the *padma-kâshṭa*) in his court-yard.
(And said he): "I must make a trip to Nâhan and petition the Râjâ."
So Sidhâ, Ṭhâkur of Koṭ, made ready to go to Nâhan.
Into his waist-band he put a citron fruit made of gold,
And in his hand he took a stick, and over his shoulder (he threw) a shawl.
Thus Sidhâ, the Ṭhâkur of Koṭ, reached Nâhan.
The Râjâ's court was being held in the court-yard at Nahan.
Sidhâ, the Ṭhâkur of Koṭ, did obeisance to the Râjâ,
And presented his gold citron.
Bhârî Chand *kanwar* questioned Sidhâ (saying): —
"Sidhâ, Ṭhâkur of Koṭ, why hast thou come hither?"

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[17] *Râkhâ*: kept.

[18] *Deî*: gave (feminine gender, its nom. *gâdî* being fem)

[19] *Sejlî*: that (in fem. gen., the word *khabar* being fem.), in Pahâṛî: *Koṭe* in Kot.

[20] Koṭ, the capital of Ratesh territory, whereof Sidhâ was Ṭhâkur.

[21] *Koṭo-re*, regular gen. of Koṭ. Cf. Mângaṛho in line 2.

[22] *Lit.*, *Pârle*, beyond the river. Palâṇî, the name of a Kanet sept: *loâ*, I am; *ghaṛî*, having manufactured; *ro khâî*, eaten; *i. e.*, I am greatly harassed by the Palâṇis beyond the river.

[23] Palâṇi: the name of a clan of Kanets.

[24] *Jâî âuṅ Nahîṇi khe*: I am going to Nâhan. *Pûchhî âwaṇâ Râjâ*: I have to ask the Râjâ.

[25] *Nahîṇî khe*: to Nâhan.

[26] *Laî*: took. *Peṭke dî*, locative = 'on his waist-band.' *Bânî*: folded.

[27] *Hâthe*: in the hand. *Ḍingûlî*: a stick. *Kâno pânde*: upon his shoulders. *Lewâ*: a shawl.

[28] *Chaugâno dî*: on the polo-ground (fem. to agree with *sabhâ*).

[29] *Loâ juhârî*: offered his humble respects.

[30] *Bheṭo rî nuârî*: gave, as a present.

[31] *Kaṅware*: agent case.

Sîdhiâ Koṭo râ Ṭhâkur, lâgâ âshûe roṅdâ:[32]
"Aukhî nishâṇî[33] koî nahîṅ, Râjeâ, hoṅdâ."
"Bol, Sîdhiâ ṭhâkûrâ, kiyâ aukhî tâṅkhe?"[34]
"Balsaṇo re Palâṇie[35] loâ ghaṛî ro khâe;[35]
Kimû kâṭâ bâṛo râ, chaure râ pâjâ:
Âwigowâ âûṅ[36] arjî khe;[36] shîkh lâî de Râjâ."[36]
Kholî shiro dî pâgṛî pichhâṛî ro lâî,
Bhârî Chand kaṅware loâ ṭhâkur samjhâi;[37]
"Kî, Sidhiâ Ṭhâkurâ, ḍarṇâ nahîṅ tûweṅ:[38]
Terî majad, Sîdhiâ, âpî pûrṇî mûweṅ.[39]
Sâthî lejâ majad, hor dârû lejâ golî."
Sidhiâ Koṭo râ Ṭhâkur tabe araj karî;
"Châlo Râjâ Sâhibâ, âmeṅ pahâṛo khe jâî:[40]
Châṅdî soenâ lyâûṅ meṅ, khalṛî dâ kashâî."
Bhârî Chand kâṅwaro rî tabe hoî tayârî.
Nawâ Râjâ hoâ Nahîṇî, hor kar âwaṇî narâjî:[41]
Râṇie Gûlerîe râkhî arjâ lâî:
"Sûṇo, Râjâ Sâhibâ, Râṇî râ jâṇâ:
Lâge huṅde sûtre, khoṇâ nahîṅ Juṅgo râ Râṇâ."
"Râṇîe Gûlerîe, terî helî kanîe khâî?
Châṅdî soenâ lyâwaṇâ pahâṛo râ, khalṛî dâ kashâî."
Râje tiṇye Nahîṇî re, loe kâgat likhâe.

Sidhâ, the Ṭhâkur of Koṭ, began to weep (and said):
"No one helps me, O Râjâ, when I am in trouble." (Said the Râjâ:) —
"Speak, Sidhâ *ṭhâkur*, what is thy trouble?"
(And he answered): —
"The Palâṇî clan of Balsan have greatly harassed me;
They have cut down the mulberry tree in my enclosure, and the *pâjâ* in my court-yard.
I have come with this petition: be pleased to do me justice, Râjâ."
The Râjâ unwound his turban for a moment, and then put it on again,
While Bhârî Chand *kaṅwar* consoled the *ṭhâkur* (saying): —
"Sidhâ Ṭhâkur, do not be afraid:
I myself will give thee all my aid, Sidhâ.
Take men with thee. Take too powder and ball."
Then Sidhâ Ṭhâkur of Koṭ besought him (saying):—
"Râjâ Sâhib, let us go to the hills.
We will bring back silver and gold, packed in skins."
Then Bhârî Chand *kaṅwar* made ready.
A new Râjâ having been installed at Nâhan, some one else had to be harassed![42]
But the Golerî[43] Rânî besought them (saying): —
"Râjâ Sâhib, hearken to thy queen's advice:
We are friendly with the Râṇâ of Keonthal[44] and should not attack him." (But the Râjâ said): —
"O Rânî of Goler, where are thy wits?
We will bring from the hills silver and gold, packed in skins."
So the Râjâ of Nâhan bade that a letter be written.

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[32] *Lâgâ âshûe roṅdâ*: began to shed tears. [33] *Aukhi nishâṇî*: in time of trouble.
[34] *Tâṅkhe*: to thee (*tujhko*) = *tâṅ*.
[35] *Balsano re Palâṇie*: the Palânis of Balsan. *Loâ ghaṛî ro khâe*: give me much trouble.
[36] *Âwigowâ âuṅ*: I have come. *arjî khe* = *arzi ko*: for a request. *Shîkh lâî de Râjâ*: O king, instruct them, *i.e.*, be pleased to punish them.
[37] *Loâ ṭhâkur samjhâî*: began to console the Ṭhâkur. [38] *Ḍarṇâ nahîṅ tuweṅ*: you should not fear.
[39] *Âpî purṇî muweṅ*: I myself will fulfil.
[40] *Âmeṅ pahâṛo khe jâi*: let us go to the hills.
[41] *Hor kar âwṇî narâjî*: we will again proceed against.
[42] So they invaded Keonṭhal State without any cause or provocation, apparently.
[43] Goler: a State in the Kâṅgṛâ District. Mohî Parkâsh was son-in-law to the Râjâ of Goler.
[44] *Lit.*, Juṅgâ, which is the name of the capital of Keonṭhal, as well as the name of the Deota, who lives at Pujyârlî village near Juṅgâ.

Likhîro kâgat loe Gûlero khe pûjâe.
Râjâ shâdâ[45] Gûleriâ, kî âmen paharo khe jâî.
Sârî parî Sirmûr Râje rî duhâî ;
Jâyâ betâ Sirmûriâ, râkhâ mâmle khe bulâî:
Râjâ ponchhâ Gûleriâ Nahinî re satâne.
Jâyâ betâ Sirmûriâ, sab mâmle khe âyâ;
Chher ponchhî Râje rî Nahînî re chaugâne.
Thârâ khârî bharî dârû ri, tero golî re pîpe.
Nahînî re chaugâno dâ tamako bâjâ.
Charigoâ[46] Keonthalo khe narpatî Râjâ.
Âge barde[47] Râje re neje re nishân:
Tîno dâ pâchhe barde kanchanî de jhapân :
Pâchhe bardî Râje rî ghore rî shawârî :
Ghore dâ pâchhe châlî hâthî rî ambârî.
Nahînî re chaugâno dî bâjîlî[48] karnâlo.
Charhî fauj Râje rî, hoî dhaulî dhâro.
Derâ âyâ Râje râ Gûjro re gânwen.
" Bâmo[51] châkro kâpre, pahnon[52] sanjoâ.
Âje hukam Râje râ, Mohîpûr-o khe hoâ."
Derâ âyâ Râje râ Mohîpûro rî sherî,
Mohîpûro rî sherî dî mat laî kamâî :—
Nawâ Râjâ hoâ Nahînî, nânw lenâ dharâî.
Parhe âne pandit, râkhâ dhurpat pâe.

He wrote a letter to the Râjâ of Guler and sent it to him.
He asked the Râjâ of Guler to march with them into the hills.
Throughout all Sirmûr went the Râjâ's order
That the young men of Sirmûr should come (to Nâhan) and pay their dues.
The Râjâ of Goler also came and reached the palace at Nâhan.
All the youth of Sirmûr came, bringing in the revenue,
And the Râjâ's levies reached the polo-ground at Nâhan.
Eighteen *khârîs* of powder were packed and thirteen barrels of ball.
On the polo-ground at Nâhan the kettle-drum resounded.
Thus marched the warlike Râjâ against Keonthal:
Foremost went the spearmen, with flags on their spears :
After them came the harlots' litters :
After them the Râjâ's horsemen :
And after them the elephants with their howdas.
On the polo-ground at Nâhan resounded the *karnâl*.[49]
As the army climbed the hills, every ridge grew white (with the uniforms).
The Râjâ's camp reached Gûjar[50] village (and his order came) : —
" Servants, don your clothes as well as your armour.
To-day the Râjâ's order is to march to Mohîpur." [53]
The Râjâ's camp reached Mohîpur field,
And there at the field of Mohîpur they resolved
That as a new Râjâ had been crowned at Nâhan, his name should be solemnly chosen.
So learned *pandits* came and made their calculations.

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[45] *Shâdâ*, past tense : 'called or invited.' From *shâdnu* : to call.
[46] *Charî-goâ*, past tense : 'invaded.'
[47] *Barde*, past tense of *bardnâ* : to proceed (in the plural).
[48] *Bâjîlî*, present of *bâjawnâ*, to sound ; in the feminine : 'are sounded.'
[49] A hill musical instrument made of brass.
[50] The village of Gûjar is in Sirmûr territory.
[51] *Bâmo*, imperative of *bâmnu* : to wear or put on.
[52] *Pahnô*, imperative of *pahnnâ* : to wear or put on.
[53] Mohîpur, also in Sirmûr. Not only did the new Râjâ assume the suffix 'Parkâsh,' which distinguishes the Râjâs of Sirmûr, but he also took a new name selected in a auspicious manner. For the suffix Parkâsh, see *ante*, Vol. xxxiv., p. 271.

Sât din hue bâṅch de, koî nâṅw râshî dâ na âyâ.
Mahîpûrore gwâlṭûe râkhî arjo lâî :—
"Je nâṅw dharâî deûṅ Râje râ, to hâmo kyâ deî ?[54]
Kheṛâ deî nikrâ, hor bâgâ deî bagoṭû:
Bâhîṅ de lâî deî kâṅgaṇû, kânoṅ de pâî deî daroṭû.
"Laṇâ Mohîpûrore Râje râ nâṅw râkhâ Mohî Parkâsh."
Kheṛâ dittâ nikrâ, bâgâ dittâ bagoṭû :
Bâṅhîṅ de lâî ditte, kâṅgṇû, kâno de daroṭû.

"Pahino châkro kâpṛe, hor pahîno saṅjoâ.
Âj hukam Râje râ, Bîchṛo khe hoâ."
Ḍerâ âyâ Râje râ Bîchṛo re bâge:
Tâmbû paṛe Râje re Bîchṛo re bajâre.
Gejâ ḍâṅḍâ[56]-bâṇiâ sât sau hazâro,
Jiṇîe lâî karṇe Deshû-dhâro rî bahâro ;

"Bâṅdho[57] châkro bugche, pahîno saṅjoâ :
Âj hukam Râje râ, Kargâṇû râ hoâ."
Ḍerâ âyâ Râje râ Kargâṇû rî serî;
Kargâṇû rî serî de chheṛî Râje rî ghoṛî ;
Ghoṛe chheṛe Râje re, ûṛo mâṭi rî tuṁîṅ :
Râje âye bheṭ de, Ayelû re kûṅîṅ.
Râjâ baiṭhî ruâ[59] tâmbû dâ, tabe hukmoṅ karo :[59]
"Kore âṇoṅ[60] kâgto, hor kalam dawâto.

Seven days they spent in divination, but found no auspicious name for him.
Then the cowherds of Mohîpur begged (that they might select a name saying) :—
"If we solemnly chose a name for the Râjâ, what shall we get ?"
(They were told) they would get a village in free-grant and also a robe of honour,
And their arms would be loaded with silver bracelets and their ears with gold earrings.
(So they answered) : "The name of the Râjâ of Mohîpûr must be Mohî Parkâsh,"
And in return they got their village free of revenue and their robes of honour,
And their arms were loaded with silver bracelets and their ears with gold earrings.

(Then came the order) :—
"Servants, don your clothes as well as your armour.
The Râjâ's order to-day is to march to Bîchaṛ."[55]
The Râjâ's camp reached the garden at Bîchaṛ,
And in the market-place of Bîchar his tent was pitched.
Gejâ, the *bâṇiâ*, was fined one thousand seven hundred rupees :
He held the free market of the Deshû-dhâr (the ridge above Phêgû).

"Servants, pack your baggage, and don your armour,
For to-day the Râjâ's order is to march to Kargâṇû."[58]
So the Râjâ's camp reached the Kargâṇû plain,
And on the plain of Kargâṇû the Râjâ's horses were exercised,
And by exercising the Râjâ's horses the dust was made to fly,
And the people of (*parganâ*) Ayelû came to offer greeting to the Râjâ.
There the Râjâ seated himself in his tent and bade them
Bring a sheet of paper, a pen and ink.

[54] *To hâmo kyâ deî ?* : then what will be given to us ?
[55] Bîchaṛ : also in Sirmûr.
[56] *Ḍaṅḍâ* : was fined.
[57] *Bâṅdho*, imperative of *bâṅdhṇû* : to bind or fold up.
[58] Kargâṇû : a large village in Sirmûr on the bank of the Giri river.
[59] *Baiṭhî ruâ* : is sitting. *Ṭabe hukmo karo* : then gives orders.
[60] *Âṇoṅ*, imperative of *âṇ-nu* : to bring.

Râṇe tes Baghâṭro khe, lîkhî-deṇî[61] do bâto.	(And he bade that) they should write of two matters to the Rânâ of Baghâṭ.[62]
Shîrî nâwâṅ likho kâgto, hor râm-râm salâmo.	On the paper was written the address, and after that his greeting to the Rânâ,
Dûjî likho[63] likhṇîe, harî pyûṅlî gharesho.	With green and yellow lines drawn on it (and he wrote): —
Pûro majat mere desho rî, nâ to phûkûmâṅ desho.	"Come to my kingdom's aid, lest I lay waste your lands.
Sâthî leâwaṇî majto, âpî âwaṇâ tûweṅ.	Bring with you reinforcements, and come yourself also."
Bâno shiro de kâgto, jâwaṇâ âwaṇâ jâo."	(And he bade his messengers) "tie this letter in your turbans and go and come back quickly."
Bâne pâgo de kâgato, kar-laî salâmoṅ.	They tied the paper in their turbans, and did him obeisance,
"Châkro râ nokro râ, ye Râjâ jî kâmoṅ."	(Saying): "it is the duty of thy servants and attendants to do the Râjâ's bidding."
Râje re rigṛû rahe, jâwaṇe jâî.	So the Râjâ's messengers went their way.
Râṇe Baghâṭro rî rahî sabhâ beṭhî.	The court of the Rânâ of Baghâṭ was in session.
Mohîye re rigṛûe Râṇâ loâ juhârî,[64]	The messengers of Mohî Parkâsh saluted the Rânâ,
Râṇe tinîe Baghâṭro re râkhe neshṇe lâî[65]:—	And the Rânâ of Baghâṭ asked what had brought them thither.
"Nahîṇî re rigṛû, rohe kanî joge âwe? [66]	(Saying): "O messengers from Nâhan, for what purpose have you come?
Sach bolo,[67] rigṛûo, kâ hukam mâkhe?"	Tell me truly, messengers, what order is there for me?"
"Mûkhe nahîṅ, Sâhibâ, hameṅ jâṇde, holâ kâgato nâoṅ."	They replied: "By word of mouth, my Lord, we know nothing, 'tis all in the paper."
Khole pâgo dâ kâgat, râkhe hâjro dharî.[68]	And they took out the letter from (one of) their turbans, and laid it before him.
Râṇe tiṇîyeṅ Bhaghâṭre râkhe bâṅchṇe[69] lâî.	Then the Rânâ of Baghâṭ read the letter.
Shîrî nâweṅ bâṅche kâgato re, râm-râm salâmo.	First he read the address on the letter, and then the greeting.
Dûje bâṅche bâṅchṇîe, harî pyûṅlî gharesho:—	Then he read the lines, the green and yellow lines: —
"Pûrṇî majato deshû rî, nâ to fûkûmeṅ desho.	"Furnish aid to my kingdom, lest I lay waste your lands.
Sâthî leâwaṇî majato, âpî tûweṅ âwaṇâ."	Bring with you reinforcements, and come yourself also."
Sâre paṛo mulko dâ, chheṛo râ chheṛâwâ.	In all the land (of Baghâṭ) it was known that there was to be a levy.
Jâyâ beṭâ Bhagâṭro râ, sab chheṛo khe mâṅgâe.	All the youth of Baghâṭ were summoned to the levy.

[61] *Lîkhî-deṇî* : should be written (in the fem.).

[62] Baghâṭ : the State in which Solan lies.

[63] *Lîkho*, imperative of *lîkhṇu* : to write.

[64] *Loâ juhârî*, past tense of *juhâr-lenâ* : to offer salutation.

[65] *Râkhe neshṇe lâî* : they were asked.

[66] *Rohe kanî joge âwe* : what have you come for?

[67] *Sach bolo* : speak truly (imperative of *bolṇâ* : to speak).

[68] *Râkhe hâjro dhari* : presented (past of *rakhnâ* : to keep).

[69] *Râkhe bâṅchṇe lâî* : began to read. *Bâṅchnâ* : to read. Cf. Balochi *wâṅgagh* ; Northern Balochi, *wâchhagh*.

Sâthî leâyâ majato, sâthî âyâ âpe.	(The Rânâ) brought his reinforcements, and he came himself also.
Rânâ ponchâ Baghâṭro râ Kargâṇû rî serî.	The Rânâ of Baghâṭ reached the plain of Kargâṇû.
Kargâṇû dî serî de phûl phûlo tîlo.	In the plain of Kargâṇû the sesamum flowers were in bloom.
Mohîye rî Baghâṭro rî ho Kargâṇu-e melo.	Mohî (Parkâsh) and (the Rânâ of) Baghâṭ met in Kargâṇû.
Râje re tâmbû dî bâjo[70] chândi rî ghânḍî.	In the Râjâ's tent rang a silver bell.
Kâû mûle Kargâṇûe desh Râṇe râ bânḍî.[71]	Below Kâû[73] (a village) in Kargâṇû, they divided the Rânâ (of Keonṭhal's) kingdom.
Simlâ dittâ[72] Baghâṭro khe, Kahlûrie khe Sabâṭhû.	Simla was assigned to Baghâṭ and Subâthû to Kahlûr.
Koṭî dittî Basherîe khe, Râjâ râkhâ ghâtû.	Koṭî[74] was given to Bashahr, whose Râjâ had remained at home.
Râje Gulerîe khe dittâ Nâgaṇe râ kilâ;	The fort of Nâgan[75] was awarded to the Râjâ of Goler,
Ṭhâkur Kumhârsaiṇo khe dittî Baghâr hor Bharaulî:	To the Ṭhâkur of Kumhârsain was allotted Baghâr[76] and Bharaulî.[76]
Sîdhie Ṭhâkuro khe dittî Jâî hor Karaulî.	To Sidhâ, Ṭhâkur of Koṭ, fell Jâî and Karaulî.[77]
"Eshî jâṇâ, Sîdhiâ, soîn Jâî rî,	(And to him said the Râjâ): "Right thro' Jaî, Sidhiâ, you will pass
Deshû-dhâro khe jânde, kharacho khe holî"	On your way to Deshû dhâr:[78] it will pay your travelling charges!"
Âî pâlgî Mohîye rî Shargâoṅ rî bâṭhî:	The palanquin of Mohî Parkâsh came by the path of Shargâon.[79]
Chelî rî taîn luṭṇî[80] Ḍubl rî hâṭûî.	For breakfast they plundered the bazar of Ḍublû.
Na'ûṇa re Kânûgowe mat laî kamâî,	The Qânûngo of Nâûn[81] steadily resolved
Chalânḍe dâ porkî chheṛ laîo chheṛâî.	Beyond the ridge of Chalânḍa[81] to raise his levies.
Nâûṇa re Kânûgowe likhîo talâko:—	The Qânûngo of Nâûn wrote ironically (to the Râjâ of Nâhan): —
"Jâmâ holâ râṇîe, to chhûṅwe Simle re ḍhâko."	"If you were born of a *rânî*, you will attack the Simla slopes."
Balârâ phûkî ghâlâ,[82] Bachiṛe râ khaṛâ lâgâ dhûâṅ;	Balârâ[83] was burnt to ashes, thro' Bachiṛâ's[84] house blew the smoke.
Jâṇûṅ âṅ nî, Bachiṛâ jîundâ ki mûwâṅ.	It was not known whether Bachiṛâ was alive or dead.
Âî pâlgî Râje rî Habâṇo re baṇe:	The Râjâ's palanquin reached Habâṇâ forest:

[70] *Bâjo* : is sounded. From *bâjṇâ* : to sound.
[71] *Bânḍi* : is divided. From *bânḍṇâ* : to divide.
[72] *Dittâ* : past tense of *deṇâ* : to give, masculine (feminine, *dittî*).
[73] Kâû: a place at Kargâṇû.
[74] Koṭi: the name of a village about three miles from Juṅgâ, said to be the old capital of Keonṭhal.
[75] Nâgan: situated near the Ghûnḍ State.
[76] Baghâr: in Keonṭhal. Bharauli is near Subâṭhû.
[77] Jâî and Karauli: two *parganâs* of Keonṭhal.
[78] Deshû: the ridge which lies above Phâgû.
[79] Shargâoṅ and Dublû: both in Keonṭhal territory.
[80] *Luṭṇî*, to be plundered: (fem. agreeing with *hâṭî*).
[81] Nâûn and Chalanḍâ: both in Keonṭhal.
[82] *Phukî ghâlâ* : was burnt, or has been burnt.
[83] Balârâ: in Keonṭhal.
[84] Bachirâ was a man's name.

Piṭhṭhî lâgî go Habâṇe re, mâwû ro jyo gaṇo;
Âyâ ḍerâ Râje râ Pajhote rî Shîlî:
Pajhote re Pajhotre mat lâî kamaî :—
"Râjâ âyâ Mohiyâ, chhandî kaṇîe râkhûṅ?"
Baro bîche ḍewâ Râje khe, piplî khe tamâkhû.
Âyâ Râje râ ḍerâ Balgo re bâge.
Hâsû Pâṇḍe rî Bâmṇîe mat laî kamâi.
Loṭâ bharî le dûdho râ, Râje bheṭdî âî.
Dudh kâle Bâmaṇîe Kâmdhenû râ lyâî.
Phûlî karlâ phulṛû, phûle karle âlû.
"Hâmeṅ châle Deshû-dhâro, tû kholi âyî bâlû."
"He Râjeâ Mohiyâ, itnâ bol nâ bole."
Kâmdhenû râ ḍhiṇchâ, parjâ re nâ hole.
Chaûchaûke pyokâ mero, Râjeâ: kindâ roâ châlî?"
"Jâî âwaṇâ,[92] Bâmṇîe, Juṇgo rî Koṭî.
Jethe lâl-bâthû râ bhulkâ khâî,[94] hor jau rî roṭî,
Deshû-dhâro dî karṇî, basṇe rî thaloṭî.
Ḍerâ karṇâ Deshûe, hor judh lâṇâ Koṭî.
"Jê shûṇe, Râjeâ, Bâmanî râ jâṇâ,
Ajke Keoṅṭhalo khe, pair nahîṅ pâṇâ.
Dewlâ tete,[95] jâṇe je, âyâ terâ kâlo!

To the forest of Habânâ[85] came the army like a swarm of bees.
The Râjâ's camp reached Shîlî, (a village) in (*pargana*) Pajhot.[86]
The people of Pajhot made a shrewd resolve:
(They said to one another): "The Râjâ Mohî (Parkâsh) has come, what reception shall we give him?"
They presented provisions to the Râjâ, with red pepper and tobacco.
The Râjâ's camp reached the garden of Balg.[87]
The wife of Hâsû Pâṇḍâ, the Brâhmaṇ, made a shrewd resolve.
She brought a jugful of milk when she came to visit the Râjâ,
She, the Brahmanî, brought milk of the black cow Kâmdhenu.[88]
The flowers were blooming and the potatoes were in blossom.
"We are marching on Deshû-dhar and you come without your nose-ring,"[89] (said the Râjâ to the Brâhmanî).
(She replied:) "O Râjâ Mohî, say not so!
Kâmdhenu's milk and curds you will not find in any of your subjects' houses.
My parents live in Chauchaukâ[90] village — whither are you going?"
(The Rajâ answered:) — "O Brahmanî, I am on my way to Koṭi Jungâ.[93]
Where the red pot-herb is eaten with barley bread,
I shall build me a dwelling-house in the Deshû-dhar.
I shall halt on Deshû, and shall conquer Koṭî."
(She said:) "If you hearken, Râjâ, to a Brâhmanî's words,
You will not turn your steps towards the Keonṭhal of to-day.
If you will go there, know that your hour is come!

[85] Habâna: a ridge in Keonṭhal.
[86] Pajhot: a *pargana* in Keonṭhal.
[87] Balg: in Ratesh territory.
[88] Kâmdhenu: the mythical cow, which never bears a calf, yet always gives milk.
[89] To pay a visit without a nose-ring is a bad omen.
[90] Chau-chauka: a village in Nâhan territory.
[91] *Kindâ roâ châle?*: where are you going to?
[92] *Jâî awaṇâ*: I have to go to.
[93] Jungâ: the name of a deity, who lives in Pujyâli village, near the palace at Junga.
[94] *Khâî*: is eaten.
[95] *Dewlâ tete*: if you will go there

Bûrâ bairî tetiyâ, Guṭhâṇo râ Ḍûmo
Chhûrîe bâḍhale[97] ghoṛe re shûmo.
Deo bhiṛlâ[98] Juṇgâ, Râṇâ Nûp Saino râ tapo,
Deshû-dhâr rî Kâlkâ. Mûṅ-weṅ pagṛâ japo : [99]
Bûre bairî ; Râṇe re Haṇûmânie chele.
Deshûo rî dhâro dî mâr guptî dele.[100]
Jê shûṇe mere, Sâhibâ, Bâmaṇî râ jâṇâ,
Bâhîṅ lâl dûṅ sunâṅgaṇo, haṭî Nahîṇî jâṇâ.
Lâge hûṅde sûtre, nahîṅ khoṇâ Râṇâ."
"Hâsû Pâṇḍe rîe, Bâmṇîe, ṭhagṛî ho kî ṭâṭî ?
Khâṅḍe lyâwṇî jitîro Keoṅṭhalo rî mâṭî.
Ghoṛe pyâwṇâ, Bâmaṇîe, Raṭhmû râ pâlâ.
Gaṛh Karṇâ Târabe, jo undâ dîsho Kushâlâ
Dekhî âwaṇâ, Bâmaṇîe, Nûp Saino Râṇâ."
Jâṇî bolṇî Keoṅṭhalo, bâchchhâ rî Dillî !
"Brâg châro[4] jethî bâkrî, dûdh chholo[4] billî.
Je âwelâ jîttî ro,[5] shire pâgṛî pâmîṅ[5].
Je âwelâ hârîo, to gale ghâgrî pâmîṅ."
Ḍerâ âîguwâ[6] Râje râ Saiṅjo rî serî.
Saiṅjo rî serî dâ paṛâ Râje râ tâmbû.
Sârâ hâlî guwâ[8] Keoṅṭhal, âlô râ jyâ lâmbû.
Guṛî rowâ meghûlâ, jhumî roio koheṭo.

Your enemies are very fierce there, and Ḍûm,[96] the god of Goṭhâṇ,
Will hack off with knives your horses' hoofs.
The *deo*, the warrior Juṇgâ, Râṇâ Nûp Sain's star,
Kâlkâ *devi* of Deshû-dhâr (— all will be against you." She added :—) I tell you clearly,
Fierce are your enemies : for the Râṇâ's subjects are devotees of Hanûmân.
On the Deshû-dhâr they will slay you secretly.
If, my Lord, you listen to me, a Brahmanî,
I will adorn your wrists with a pair of gold bracelets — and to Nâhan you will return.
Being on cousinly terms with the Râṇâ, you must not attack him."
(The Râjâ replied) : " O Brahmanî, wife of Hâsû Paṇḍa, art thou sane or mad ?
By dint of sword shall I conquer the land of Keonṭhal.
I will make my horses drink, Brahmanî, the cool water of Raṭhmû.[1]
I will build a fort on Târab Hill,[2] so that I may look down on Kushâlâ.[3]
I will come, Brahmanî, when I have seen Râṇâ Nûp Sain."
As if, so to speak, Keonṭhal were like imperial Delhi !
"(In Keonṭhal) the panther grazes goats, and cats churn cream.
If you return victorious, I will bind a turban on your head.
But if you come back in defeat, I will tie my petticoat round your neck."
The Râjâ's camp reached the plain of Sainj.
On the plain of Saiṅj[7] was pitched the Râjâ's tent.
All the land of Keonṭhal shook like potato-stalks.
The roar of the guns was like thunder, and their smoke like mist.

96 Ḍûm : the name of a deity who lives at Goṭhâṇ.
97 *Bâḍhle* : will cut. From *bâḍhṇâ*: to cut.
98 *Bhiṛlâ* : will fight. From *bhiṛnâ* : to fight,
99 *Muṅ-weṅ pagṛâ japo* : I speak plainly.
100 *Mâr guptî dele* : will slay you secretly.
1 Raṭhmû : a forest above Koṭî village.
2 Târbâ : the hill opposite Simlâ, in Keonṭhal, usually called Târâ Devî.
3 Kushâlâ : now in Patiala territory. It can be seen from Târbâ hill, but formerly belonged to the Keonṭhal State.
4 *Châro* : grazes. *Chholo* : churns.
5 *Je âwelâ jîttî ro* : if you will come with victory. *Pâmîṅ* : will put.
6 *Âwiguwâ* : has arrived.
7 Saiṅj : formerly the capital of Ṭheog. It is now a village on the road to Kotkhâi.
8 *Hâlî guwâ* : has shaken. From *hâli-jâṇâ* : to shake-off.

Saiñjo re garhe parâ Râje râ meṭo.	And the Râjâ had fire put to the fort of Saiñj.
Andro dâ bâhro dâ dhûñwâñ roâ lâgî.	From within and from without, the smoke rushed forth.
Pâṇi râ jyâ jharnâ, roî chhuṭî chhuṭî.[10]	Like a stream of water, their[9] tears rolled down.
Dhyâṛe jâṇî chauthe, gaṛh gowâ chûtî :[11]	On the fourth day the fort capitulated.
Sainjo râ Hâmiyâ mantrî[14] Kamâlâ :—	Said Hâmiyâ,[12] (Ṭhâkur) of Saiñj, to Kamâlâ his minister[13] :—
"Gherî ghâlâ[15] bairie, porâ bhâgî ro jâmâ."	"The enemy has surrounded us, and we must make good our escape."
Sainjo rî lâṛî bâṭe hâṇḍ de sûî[16]	The wife of (the Ṭhâkur of) Saiñj gave birth to her child on the way.
Ghûṭo khe de-ghâlâ[17] jau râ jarîṭâ.	She was given barley mash to eat.
"Tayîñ dewo,[18] châkro, bege lâgâ miṭhâ."	"Give me more of it, my servants, for it is most sweet", (said she).
Sîdhie Koṭo re Ṭhâkre, lâî râkhîo bolî :—	Sidhiâ, Ṭhâkur of Koṭ, said sarcastically :—
"Tû bedûwe thâ, Hâmiyâ, Saiñjo râ Râṇâ ;	"Thou wast called, Hâmiyâ, Rânâ of Saiñj ;
Bharie dharâtie, pâkṛî ro âṇâ.	Yet at midnight thou hast been caught and brought hither.
Dekhe bhâle nî, Hâmiyâ, baṛe Râje re châshe :	Thou didst not know the power of the great Râjâ, Hâmiâ.
Phûkhî ghâlî terî Saiñjo, chhiñchhṛî re jye nâshe.	Thy Saiñj has been burnt, like *chhinchhṛî* straw.
Terî Saiñjo re pâther ṭele khe nâ ṭâpe."[19]	The stones of thy Saiñj did not suffice to make our stoves."
Hâdî lâlâ Sidhiâ Ṭhâkur, âpaṇe jye ḍhabe :—	Sidhia Ṭhâkûr will speak in his own sarcastic way :—
"Phûkî ghâli terî Saiñj, abe ubhe chiṇlâ[20] kabe ?"	"Thy Saiñj has been burnt, when wilt thou be able to re-build it ?"
"Dekhî bhâlî nî tûweñ Nup Saino re châshe.	(Hâmiâ replied) : — "Thou hast not yet seen the might of (Rânâ) Nûp Sain.
Chiṇî pâmâ[21] Saiñjo, tere Koṭo re nâshe.	I shall be able to re-build Saiñj, when thy Koṭ is in ruins.
Râṇâ âwaṇe de[22] Deshûe, Koṭ jâlâ ḍhâlî.	Let but the Rânâ come to Deshû, and thy Koṭ will be burnt.
Khaṇâî lâmâ[23] jhoṭo dî, lâmâ Girî khe râlî.	It will be demolished from its foundations and cast into the Girî river."

(To be continued.)

9 *I. e.*, the garrison of the fort.

10 *Chhuṭi, chhuṭi*; doubled for emphasis.

11 *Gaṛh gowâ chûtî*, the fort was taken. From *chûṭî-jâṇâ* : to be taken.

12 Hâmiyâ : the then Ṭhâkur of Ṭheog.

13 Kamâlâ : Hâmiyâ's minister.

14 *Mantri*, a Pahari term for *wazîr* or chief minister.

15 *Gherî-ghâlâ* : am surrounded. From *gherî-ghâlṇâ* : to be surrounded.

16 *Sui* : gave birth to a child.

17 *De-ghâlâ*: was given. From *de-ghâlṇâ* : to give away.

18 *Dewo* : give ; imperative of *deṇû* : to give.

19 *Nâ-ṭâpe* : did not suffice. From *ṭâpṇâ* : to suffice.

20 *Chiṇlâ* : will erect. From *chiṇ-nâ* : to erect or to build.

21 *Chîṇî pâmâ* : will be able to build. (First person singular.)

22 *Râṇâ âwaṇe de* : let the Râṇâ come. From *âwaṇe deṇu* : to let (him) come.

23 *Khaṇâî lâmâ* : I will cause to dig.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

No. III.

AMBROSE SALISBURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

(*Concluded from p. 298.*)

IN January 1673 there was much correspondence about the obstructions met with in sending off the saltpetre. The iniquities of the "Peeter men" and the connivance of the governor were the chief subjects of complaint. The want of appreciation of his efforts still rankled with Salisbury and resulted in his outbursts of the 14th and 15th January. On the 20th he apologised for his hasty words and resumed his usual humble attitude. The Masulipatam Council graciously accepted the apology and added a gentle admonition.

Extract from "*Metchlepatam General to the Fort.* Mr. Salusbury hath found many obstructions in this Imploy for the provision of Peeter. Hee gives us hopes to expect five hundred Candys. When it will arrive is uncertaine, haveing received none from him since the coppy of this now sent, though wee have writt severall to him and advised of the shipps arriveall and the prejudice that may insure (*sic*) to the Honble. Company by their detention. 2 *January*, 1672-3."[1]

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Freinds,* I now send you two boates of Peeter with what Dungarees arrived, which my Servant had sent you many daies since, had not your difference with your Governour prevented, which am glad to hear composed. I received 3 boates of my owne for this Occasion, and the Governour hath in my absence sent one of them to Metchlepatam. In my Judgment it would bee more convenient and less chargeable to laid the Peeter in this Bay. To send it to you will bee teadious and much more charge. The Peeter had bin with you long since had not the Peeter men obstructed, but now the Ox people being returned, it will bee I suppose 10 dayes before all will arrive, about which time, if a Ship arrive here, all hast possible shall bee made in it. If you pleas to detayne the Ship for your occasions, shall advise when the Peeter is arrived and ready. I remaine Your assured friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[2]

Pettepolee, January 8th, 1672-3."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell,* My last acquainted you 600 baggs of Peeter with 779 Patch of Dungarees sent on two boates, have enordered to board the first English Shipp, therefore, you may please to order the Shipp that is to receive them. I am now sending 580 baggs of Peeter, which is all at present arrived, hope the remainder with your Dungarees will speedily be here having sent seaverall to hasten. Had not the Peeter men Obstructed, you would have had timely Complyance. My Endeavors I hoped would have found better Success. Soe soon as other Peeter ariveth, shall immediately advise you and hasten it all that I am able. I remain, Your Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[3]

Pettipolee, January the 10*th* 1672-3."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury,* Yours of the 10th. Current have received and are very sorry to heare you meete with such obstructions in your Businesse, however canne seeke noe Remedy. The Shipps Being all dispatched and under saile this morning, therefore desire you will please to hire what Boats may Be sufficient, and send away the Peter you have in readinesse to the Fort with all Expedition possible. Your two boats we heare are arrived to New [? Diu] Point, where wee have ordered the shipps to take in the Peter. M. MAINWARING ; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.[4]

Metchelepatam, 14th January 1672-3."

[1] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 6.

[2] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[3] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[4] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 6.

Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell, Esteemed freinds, I have sent you on fowre boates 1050 bags of Peeter and dayly expect Peeter to make up three hundred Candy, which is all will arrive for this occasion. I writt you for fifty pago. for Charges but since a Peon brought mee 24 pagos. which I sent for Peeter. I find you are angry. If not, you would give some friendly answer to the many Letters writt you. In my Judgment it appeared something unfreindly that after I have past soe much danger and Trouble and endeavored my utmost in the Peeter; to meet with such acceptance will discourage mee for the future from being the least concerned in Salt Peeter. Had you sent the I desired of you I am very confident I had prevented obstructions the Peeter men have made, but you writt the fifty Peons not able to resist the smallest Towne, but it was your misapprehension, for I well know many of those townes will, upon a Just occasion, oppose 1000 of the best men you can procure, but very few [of] them will Engage in a quarrell for the Peeter men, who are known Rogues all the country over. They have spent 100 pagos. in Peons and broiles and now fall out and quarell with themselfes about each present proportion. If you speedily procure Mahmud Mynns [Muhammad Amīn] Letter to the Governour of Cundeveare to deliver up the Peeter men who have thus abused the Company may freely imploy whom they please, and the Bawnacorrell Nawges [*bānagar*[5] Naik's] shall not oppose or obstruct. When the Letter arriveth if you please to send mee 40 of your Bundarees [*banjāras*, carriers], I will make a Journey for the Peeter remaining in severall places. If you shall not speedily procure the above Letter and send mee the help of your Servants, I doe herby declare what dammage the Honoble. Company shall sustaine will bee required at your hands and not from Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[6]

Pettipole, January 14*th,* 1672-3."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell,* Esteemed Freinds, This morning I received the Inclosed receipt for 600 baggs of Peeter and the Boatmen inform'd mee the Ships were under Saile, 450 baggs advised you sent on two boates. I thought it would have bin noe way prejudiciall to the Honble. Company for a Ship to have taken the Peeter on bord in the Rode, but you have not thought fitting to give any kinde of answer to any of the Letters have writt you since my returne. I advised you the Peeter remaining at seaverall places, and sent you a Letter of the Chief Peeter man, who said the King should detaine [it] for the Kings use. It will bee a great dishonour and loss to the Honble. Company to have the Peeter and Cloth remaine where it now is, which leave to your Consideration. However you are displeased with mee, I assure you my Endeavors have not bin wanting, and had not the Peeter men obstructed, I should have complied with time, but since my trouble and paine to noe effect I presume I shall bee esteemed an unprofitable Servant, therefore shall speedily discharge the Honble. Company of the expenses I am now att for servants, and soe soon as I have received the accounts shall send them you. The Honble. Company have lost considerable Summs by this Peeter business, and if the same persons employed, the loss will be greater, for they take protection and will never comply with Contract, therefore desire to be noe more concerned in itt. The Peeter Brammoney hath bin the occasion of these obstructions. I am now sending your Gunneys to the Fort. I remaine, Your Assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[7]

Pettipolee, January 15th, 1672-3."

[*Enclosed in the letter of the* 15*th January,* 1672-3].

"Herein send you the Peeter mens Engagement given at my comeing away to pass the Peeter, but soe soon as I was come away they againe put Chop on the Peeter and abused my Servants. The Cheif of [the] Peeter men received 500 pagos. old of Mr Johnson or 1000 pagos. old, and

[5] The *bānagars* are people who have the right to make fireworks for temples and nobles, and would want "peeter."

[6] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[7] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

immediately takes the Protection, which caused Mr Johnson to make a journey, but returned without satisfaction. Your Pawpa [*bābu*, clerk, as learnt from Tamil lips] will informe you. My Servants are all comeing away and leave the Peeter to the Peeter men, soe that you will doe well to write speedily to Golcondah and procure Mahmud Mynns letter if you cannot procure a Phirmaund, if both, it will bee much to the Companys honor. The Company were much better send Effects to the Bay to provide Peeter sufficient for their occasion. I have very certaine advice your Brammoneys Kinsmen, the Peeter Brammoneys hath advised the Peeter men to ruin my business that I may bee out of the Companys favor, and that you may give him the Employment, but if ever I light on him I am resolved to make an Example of him. Whether I ever meddle with the Peeter employment or not I vallue not a rush, nor had I now but that I hoped to doe the Company good Service, which I had, if the Brammoney had not prevented, but if I can light on him, hee shall repent and pay dearly for this action. The Brammoney sent to mee twoe Letters to send him money, being in want, but I excused sending till my business was compleated." [8]

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, Esteemed Freinds, Yours of the 14th this night received. I have at large advised you of the unjust actions of the Peeter men, and it will bee needless to trouble you more with them. The Brammoney Mr Jearsey imployed hath advised the Peeter [men] to act what they have done, hopeing thereby I shall bee out of the Companys favor and againe [in] the Agent and your displeasure, by which meanes hee is in Expectation of the imployment. I shall, in few dayes, send you attestation from seaverall Emminent Persons that the Bramminy and Peeter men have consulted to ruine my business. The Peeter men want not Incouragement, they being of themselves ready to accept any opportunity for their unjust designes and want not the Brammoneys assistance. Mr Fleetwood can informe you of them. Indeed it hath bin some trouble to mee, for I esteeme it to reflect on my honor to promise more then I am able by their disapointment to comply with. According to your orders, shall send what Peeter remaining for the Fort with all Expedition. I remaine, Your assured Reall Friend, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[9]

Pettipolle, January 16th, 1672-3."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbary*, The many letters which you mention to have sent us which you never received answer to as you say, which was two very short ones, which soe speedilie did not require any, But wee have long since sent you an acknowledgment of the receipt of them and the 600 baggs of Peter. The other wee hope you have dispeeded to Madderas according to our advice. Your declaration in makeing us liable to respond for what damage shall accrew to the Honble. Company will not prejudice us or Bare you harmlesse upon the examination of the Businesse, which unkind charges are better moved. For the future wee desire none, unlesse better grounded. Your owne letters are sufficient to testifie you had noe occasion for those Rashboots you nowe seem to want, neither will you advise us what Boats you want to carry the Peeter to Madderas; however wee have two and are now getting what Rashboots procureable 93 . . . . M. MAINWARING; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.[10]

Metchlepatam, 16 *January*, 1672-3."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Wee have this instant received yours of present. Wee are sorry to read of the obstructions you meate with in the Peeter Businesse. Wee have advised Mr Mohun & sent him coppyes of your letters that hee may fully understand the Businesse & wee doubt not But that hee hath endeavoured the procury of a Phirmand from Mahmud Amin [Muhammad Amīn], which But lately that you wrote for. However wee continue it will tend little to purpose, Being an

8 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

9 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

10 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

old custome to serve the King first occasioned Mr Jearsey to procure that Phirmand. Wee would gladly understand what encouragement you would or expect to receive from us. Wee would, if wee knew how, give you all Immaginable for our Imployers Interest, having herewith sent you 30 Rashboots [*rājpūts, i. e.*, soldiers or guards], But wee desire you to use that mediation with you that noe complaints are made to the prejudice of the Honble. Company. Wee have paid them one months pay Pr. each at 4 Rupees Pr. month . . . . M. MAINWARING; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.[11]

Metchlepatam, 18th January 1672-3."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Wee wish wee could any wayes remedy those dayly affronts and cheats put upon you By those knavish salt Peeter Men, occasioned partly, as you seeme to suggest by a Mutiny the Bramine he designed therby to engrosse the whole Imployment to himselfe. Wee cannot remember that hee was ever yet Imployed in that Businesse, But upon the Recommendations of Mr Fleetwood. However, to divert him from those his unwarrantable proceedings, wee have now wrote him to advertize him by way of charge that wee are fully informed he hath endeavoured & is the person that hath ruined the Companys Affairs Under your Managery, from whom wee expect satisfaction unlesse hee presently desists from his practices & becomes instrumentall to Bring those people to a faire complyance. Wee did yesterday omitt to advise you that the Companies positive orders were for their whole Fleete to keepe Company, and therefore not to be seperated, otherwise a shippe might have Beene spared to have taken in the Salt Peeter. Last night arrived the two boats who could not proceede for Madderas without anchors. Wee have gave them leave to returne to you to supply themselves, & soe to proceede. This day wee had given money in hand for two Boats more to come to you. Not mentioning any want of them in yours of the 16th., received this day, wee have received the money Backe & discharged them. Your Rashboots were dispeeded last night, M. MAINWARING ; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.

Metchlepatam, 19th Jan. 1672-3.[12]

P. S.—Herewith wee send you a hundred and fifty pagodas for your occasions."

"*Mr Richard Mohun and Councell*, Esteemed Freinds, I answered your two letters of the 18th about three howers since, and now is returned some of the People employed in the Peeter business and have narrowly escaped with some money. The Peeter men take all they can light on and keep a good number people and have some of Mahmud Anmis [Muhammad Amīn's] servants with them. I assure you the danger and trouble I have past in this business exceedeth my expression, and had I not bene more then ordinary carefull the Honble. Company would not have a Candy of Peeter for theire money, but you are something displeased with mee after all my Care and trouble which hope you will bee soe freindly to consider with Charitable thoughts. If the Honble. Company deale in this Comodity in these parts and imploy the same Persons they will have greater losses. I advised you in the other above named to send mee Rasbootes for it must [be that] Mauhd. Anmis letter must free the Peeter (*sic*). With kind respects, I remaine Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepollee, January the 20th, 1672-3.

Mr. Mohun enordered mee to send what Cloth procureable to the Fort, but upon Mr Fleetwoods and Mr Hattons information of a great danger of the Dutch which I did not apprehend therefore [delayed] sending the Goods. Pray immediately advise in itt. I hear you are now sending boates of Goods. *Id.* A. S."[13]

[11] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

[12] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

[13] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, Esteemed Freinds, I have received yours of the 18th. The Peeter being such a great vexation and remaining in this nature, caused mee to write you in that manner. I cannot expresse the trouble I have had. This day have received perfect advice that Mawmud Mynn hath sent a rucca to the Governour of Cundeveare to stopp all Peeter for the King. and therefore desire you to forbeare sending any Rasbootes. I did suppose when I writt for them that the Governour of Cundeveare had made this trouble by the Peeter mens occasion. Now it cannot bee done by violence, onely by letters from Mawmud Mynn, which please to procure. I expect every day Peeter to make up 300 Candy which I enordered not to come nigh Cundeveare. I have sent 156 baggs, which, with 1050 baggs sent to you, is all arrived. Here's some Dungarees arrived, which pray advise immediately if you will have sent to Madarass or to you. There is six overlading of Dungarees deteined with Peeter. I was much troubled at the time writt you, which pray excuse and esteem me for Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[14]

Pettepollee, January 20th, 1672-3."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, Esteemed Freinds, Yesterday writt you in answer to yours of the 18th. My last desired your advice and Order concerning sending the Cloth I have in a Readiness to the Fort for Accompt of the Honble. Company, If it should miscarry by the Dutch seizure or otherwise, I am not able to Judge the Danger, living without news. I should think Mr Mohuns Order is sufficient 1000 times the vallew, but know not whether his other business might cause hurte in writing that Order. I must really assure you that the Peeter Journey hath done mee soe much prejudice that a greater vallew then all the Peeters amount will not restore mee to the former Condition I was in before. And indeed I did purpose not to have engaged myself in Peeter more. Those Peeter men have abused Mr Winter, Mr Johnson and many other as Paupa [the *bābu*] can informe you, and they will not doe other. Give them 50 Pago. per Candy they shall abuse you the more. I have in this Journey endured more then my body was able, hopeing to doe the Company such service as might bee acceptable, but I dare not undertake a new Journey, therefore pray send mee Rasboots. I remaine, Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[15]

Pettepolle, January 21th, 1672-3."

"*Mr Richard Mohun & Council*, Esteemed Freinds, I have received yours of the 18th and this Instant is arrived yours of the 19th with the Rasbootes, but, as advised you, I had last night about ten persons returned, who acquainted mee the Kings De Roy is putt upon the Peeter by some of Mahmud Anmis Servants, and the Ox people deny to take up the Peeter soe long as the Chop and Kings de Roy continues upon itt, therefore returne your people. I am from good hands informed that Anmis hath lately sent and received letters from the Peeter men, and hath a hand in this action with them and last night was informed that he's now at Cundevear. I shall in few daies send you that satisfactory sufficient to make appear Amints under-hand dealings. Your letter shall now send him, and am of the minde it will cause him to remove the Obstructions. I most faithfully assure you I hoped to doe the Honble. Company good service in the Peeter and was in a faire way for itt. Had I not met with such Obstructions the Peeter and Cloth Had bin with you in good time. Had I knowne of such opposition, should not have ingaged in the Peeter for more than its amount. The full quantity of Peeter arrived is 256 Md. I expected about 50 Candy which gave orders to come another way, but I fear the Peeter men have sent to stopp that alsoe. I hear not of itt. If the Honble. Company give time and price they may have the Peeter delivered here notwithstanding Mawmhud Anmis Ruccaes and all the Peeter men can doe. The two Boates are not fitting to goe to Maderasse being not in repaire, therefore must send other when they arrive.

[14] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

[15] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

Please to forbear more mony having received some from the Peeter Country, and desire noe more untill have given you the amount of the former, but thanke you for your readiness, and with kinde respects, Remaine, Your assured Reall Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[16]

Pettepollee, January 21th 1672-3."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury,* Your two severalls of the 20th. Instant are arrived by which wee find that nothing will free the Peeter But Mahamud Ammes order which wee are very dubious he will not easily grant. Tis noe otherwise now then formerly, therefore the less to be admired at. They will undoubtedly respond that the King must be served first. Wee have alwaies hitherto advised you wee are very sensible of the trouble you underwent in the Businesse, but that it should soe vex you to occasion you to charge us with the obstruction or neglect wherever it lay, it seemed something strang to us. However wee willingly passe by all and desire Nothing soe much as a Friendly and amicable correspondency, which proves Always the best in the occurrance of the Honble. Companies Affairs. Wee canne advise you nothing to the cloth, having never [heard] any thing about it in General. Neither doe you give us any notice for whose account it was provided or the sortments or amount. But believe it may come to late for the shipping if not already sent away.
. . M. MAINWARING ; GEO. CHAMBERLAINE.

Metchlepatam 23rd Jan. 1672-3.

P. S.—The Boats would not goe hence without a months pay."[17]

From January until July 1673 there is a gap in the records. Then we find Salisbury, in spite of all his protestations, still engaged in the Petre investment. His strength had now become seriously impaired and he was troubled with a "paine in his left side." However, in August he was better and had "hopes" of his "health againe." When sending in his accounts, he dwelt on the services he had rendered the Company in the "peeter business" and declared that any other, in his place, would have left "both Peeter and mony doubtfull."

"*Mr Richard Mohun and Councell,* Esteemed Freinds, Last night had news of Peeter, which may expect to morrow if your Governour Obstruct not; soe soon as arrived and weighed, the account shall send you. In all this time you have not advised the price of the broadcloth received from you, nor the quantity of Dungarees you Received long since. Here's 725 Baggs of Peeter, besides 80 Baggs, Remaines of the Factory at Careare [Karedu] 450, delivered on board 600 Bales. What this will bee I daily expect, know not, but hope the account will not much differ from the price formerly made, the first per Candy excepted, for the Charges soe great, that togeather wish itt come at the price expressed. Here's alsoe packing Trade and Dungarees which desire to hasten, but with the Capon [eunuch] gon, and Remaine, Your assured Reall Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

I purpose now to send for the Peeter which is arrived near this place, some Persons here having inform'd the Capon of mee, that hee's well pleased, and I presume will not Obstruct mee in any Business. AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[18]

Pettepollee, July 9th, 1673."

"*Mr Richard Mohun & Councell,* Esteemed Freinds, My last advised you that I shall not bee able to send you the Goods here in a readiness, soe long as the Capon Governour continueth. Yesterday Morning hee sent a French letter which hee would have mee open and send him its

[16] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[17] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 6.

[18] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

contents in Gentue [*i. e.*, Telugu], but I returned the letter as received, and that should I open itt, cannot read one word in 20, which would bee noe satisfaction to them. He desired mee to come to him, which excused, having a paine in my side. Hee desired to know if the letter [were] directed to Metchlepatam, which sent him word it was. News was brought him of 5 English shipps nere this point. Hee sent to know their business here and that hee supposed they waited for to take the Dutch ships. I sent him word I knew not of any Ships here onely of those at Metchlepatam. Hee saith hee heareth wee have nine Ships or Tenn near Porto Novo, and that Side Mearpaffer [Sayyid Mīr Jāfir] hath advised him the English there have reported the French will have 20 Ships speedily at Metchlepatam. Hee alsoe demanded if wee have news of a peace to bee shortly with the Dutch. I sent him in reply that have not heard of any Ships arrived at Porto Novo nor what the French expect, but that wee hope a peace is made with the Dutch and more to this effect, by which I finde his Master is freind to the Dutch and that hee is offended with us upon the Dutch accompt, and if any Obstructions, that is the Cause. In some monthes since gave you my Judgment how convenient Mountepallee [Motupalle] is for the disposure and provision of Goods[19] and for the Ships to Lade and receive Goods, but your answer was (if mistake not) that Agent and Counsell would delibertely Consider of itt, therefore did not think to write you more of itt, but Considering how affaires now at present stand, and in a Ready way to be much worse, its my Judgement the Agent and Councell cannot doe a better acte more profitable to the Company then presently to Order One Hundred pagos. to build a warehouse, and question not a little time will give encouragement for the making other accommodations, and Rest, Your assured Reall Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepollee, July 11*th*, 1673.

Postcript. Pray give your Order for sending the Peeter and Packing to you, and it shall speedly bee effected. I am doubtfull these may bee Dutch Ships. The Capon hath sent for the Old Governour, who is expected to Morrow. About 5 miles hence is arrived the last Peeter, which lett continue till the Capon gon, when hope shall have noe Obstructions. *Id.* A. S."[20]

"*Mr Mohun Etca. Councell*, Esteemed Freinds, I expected by this to have had the Peeter on borde ship depending on Boates here, which haveing caused to be arived are found insufficient, therefore have now sent to Dew [Diu] for two large Boates, One Boate have advised sent for Packing Trade to supply your Occasion. Here's 13000 Gunneys which with the Rope and Twine at Careare is the vallue of the 500 Pagos. you enordered for the Fort. Pray advise if you will have the Gunneys sent to you or Remaine to bee sent from hence to the Fort. The Peeter advised you arrived neare this place, expect to Morrow if faire Weather, when shall speedily weigh and send you the Account. I remaine, Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[21]

Pettepolee, July the 18*th*, 1673."

"*Mr Richard Mohun, Cheife Etca. Counsell*, Esteemed Freinds, Last night Advised you that in pursuance of your Order have used all meanes for to hasten Boates for the Remaining Peeter and Packing Trade, but when expected to Lade the Goods, the Boates were found insufficient, there [fore] as advised you, have Sent to Dew, which if not procureable there, shall acquaint you that Boates may bee sent from you. The last Peeter, and all to bee expected, is now weighing. The Governour doth noe way Obstruct. The Accounts shall bee sent you the beginning of next week. I hoped to doe it this, but the Peeter arriving this day, which is now spent, and therefore cannot now bee don. You did formerly Order not to make Bookes, but to send the Accompts as hitherto have don, which Order have Observed. My last to you desired your Advice and Order for the Gunneys provided for the Fort which are in the Companys Factory, and that I have sent a Boate with

19 See *ante*, p. 288.

20 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

21 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.

Packing Trade for your Occasions, which may daily expect. Observe the time you are to expect the Ships to returne for the Goods you shall provide, which, in my apprehension, will bee difficult to goe to the Fort and returne soe speedily to you. By Gods Blessing you shall have those goods in good time, they onely waite for Boates, which if this place did afford, you should have had the goods with you now. I present my hearty Service and remaine, Your assured reall Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[22]

Pettepollee, July 19th, 1673."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell,* Esteemed Freinds, This Evening have answered yours of the 16th and Just now have news at Dew, Boates not at present procurable, therefore you may please to send Boates for Eight hundred and fifty Baggs, the Peeter not all weighed but supposed the whole will bee soe much or more. Here's alsoe thirteen thousand Gunneys, which if you will not have sent from hence to Madrass, you may please to send for. I have three Boates, but One is at Careare, and one goeing now to you with packing Trade, the other on Shoar, and her's but one Small Boate which will nott carry above 150 baggs, and being Old, I am not willing to hazard the Company Goods on her. This, with my hearty Service, is all at present from your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepollee, July 19th, 1673.

The Dungarees at 7 patch per pago. as I bought them, thought might Serve your Course Goods as well as better. *Id.* A. S." [23]

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell,* Esteemed Freinds, My last acquainted you Boates are not here procureable and that the Peeter here will qt. nerest 850 baggs, all being not yett weighed, cannot exactly know itt. In my Judgement the Boates you send were better delivered the Goods on Boarde as the Ships pass this place, Or if you think its most Convenient they were better to continue untill the Ships returne from the Fort then to be Landed in Metchlepatam and againe Shipped to Send on borde. Which you shall judge best for the Honble. Companys proffitt, please to advise, and your Order shall bee obeyed by Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[24]

Pettepollee, July 21st 1673."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury,* Wee have now Before us yours of the 19th. & 21th. which advise us your want of Boates to Bring the Peeter & packing trade for this place, in reference to which wee have this day hired 4, who to Morrow will be ready to saile towards you. The tonnage of those goods with you wee have computed & find that lesse will not serve the turne. Upon their arrivall, wee desire you to lade & dispatch them to us as soon As conveniently you canne since time is precious & will not at present admitt of delays. What you mention in yours concerning the detaining of the said Boats untill returne of the shipps from Madrasse & so to put the Peeter &ca. on Board them without landing here, wee cannot approve, since it will not only create a trouble But be also uncertaine. Wee therefore againe desire you that you will send them directly unto us, which upon the approach of the Fleete shall be laden Before our Bale goods, which is the needfull at present. . . . . . R. MOHUN &ca.

Metchlepatam, 23 *July,* 1673."[25]

"*Mr Richard Mohun, Cheife Etca. Councell,* Esteemed Freinds, I have received yours of the 21th and 23th instant with the paper expressing 55 Bales sent by you to Careare. I was informed from a Peon of yours when Mr Mohun made this his way to Madrass, that the Cloth of yours at Careare was 55 parcells made up in Dungarees but not imbaled, which pray advise, that I may speedily

[22] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[23] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[24] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[25] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 6.

send a Person to make the Boates ready. The two Boates sent from hence remaine there, but you advise not that Potrize Puttaes [Poturāza Patnava is][26] there, if not one must be hired, if all sent at once, or one must make two turnes, which will cause the Ships stay the Longer, to which please to advise. The four Boates you express are not yett arrived. When they are, they shall bee immediately Laden and returnd you. The accompt shall bee sent you when the Goods are all on borde. I have some time bin troubled with a paine on my left Side nere my Stomach, that I cannot list to write without much trouble. and you enordering my Accompts as formerly without Bookes, desire you not now to expect them from Your affectionate freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[27]

Pettepollee, July 25th 1673."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell,* Esteemed freinds, I expect your answer to my last and Order concerning Goods at Careare [Karedu]. The Catwall [*kotwāl*, magistrate] of this place confidently reported the Dutch had 25 ships arrived at Metchlepatam and that the English and Dutch ships were Engaged and many Guns fired, which supposed truth, and therefore writt you was sorry for the loss the Company might Sustaine their Stock being againe sent on borde, but your Silence confirmes the Catwalls news a Story, for that I hope the ships will not meet with any opposition from the Dutch. Inclosed send you the Accounts which had bin with you some daies sooner had I not stayed for the Boate of Packing Trade, being not able to make them up without itt. I hope they will give you the same Satisfaction as if they were in Bookes, the Investment being soe inconsiderable. Had I not met with such Obstructions, the Peeter had come at a cheaper Rate then now it doth, and I presume had any other Person mett with such troubles, both Peeter and Money would have bin left doubtfull to recover, as it hath hitherto, assure you have taken great care and trouble in itt more then I know how to Express, hope my Endeavors will find your good acceptance, and if you please to examine former Accounts, you will not find any Peeter the Company ever received from this place to come soe cheap as this now provided. If the Agent and Councell would take my advise in provision of Peeter, the Company shall surely find itt theire great profitt. The whole qts. [contains] 1872 Baggs and Old Remaines 30 Baggs which had by this time bin all lost, had I not removed itt. You may remember Advised you One Boate up with Armagon which Sir William[28] Ordered to returne hither. With hearty wishes for your health, Remaine, Your affectionate freind to serve you, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.

Pettepolle, July 28th 1673.

Three of your Boates this morning arrived. Puttaes boate not yett come. The Capon Governour is returning by way of Gundepollee. Until hees gone Cooleys not procureable. Have delivered Matt to cover the Boates and to morrow purpose to lade them. I have appointed two Boates to receave 300 baggs of Peeter each, and upon the Peeter the better to preserve itt, each Boate 3000 Gunneys, and Puttaes [Patnava's] boate must receave 252 Baggs Peeter and 4000 Gunneys, which maketh 852 Baggs Peeter and 13000 Gunneys, as advised. The Boatmen say that Lading is more then they are able to receive, therefore send to you. *Id:* A. SALUSBURY." [29]

"*Mr Ambrose Salisbury,* Yours of the 25th come to hand the 28th following, advising us of the receipt of ours of the 21 & 23 Instant. The Goods of our Masters mentioned to be at Carrear [Karedu][30] are Bales 55 Marked and Numbered as already acquainted you, concerning which wee desire your care that you will have Boats and People there in a readynesse to attend the returne of our Fleete, that the land Bales may with what possible speed be put on Board them, so as not longer to hinder their comeing towardes us than there is an absolute Nesessity for, which wee Mind you May be done at once. Therefore, let Not Boats sufficient be wanting to effect it, which

[26] The Patnavars are one of the sea-fishing castes of the Madras Presidency.

[27] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[28] *i.e.,* Sir William Langhorne, the Agent at Fort St. George.

[29] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 9.

[30] See *ante,* Vol. XXXII, p. 367, Vol. XXX, p. 349.

wee referre to your care, since time will Not admitt of delays. Those 4 Boats wee sent you from hence [for] Peeter &ca. wee hope eare this are arrived with you, and that you will, as advised, Returne them againe with what Possible speed, your accounts the same. Wee are very-sorry for your present indisposition. Wishing you health, doe conclude . . . R. MOHUN &ca.[31]

Metchlepatam, 29 *July*, 1673."

"*Mr Richard Mohun Etca. Councell*, Esteemed Freinds, Yours of the 29th last night came to hands, and in performance of your Order shall send to Carrear soe soon as Boatmen are procured, for they must goe from hence to put the Goods you express on board the Ships that they may not bee delayed, but I am not certaine to doe it at once. I have laden on two of your Boates 400 Baggs of Peeter and the third 54 baggs, which to day had compleated, had not Rayne prevented. To morrow night the fowre Boates should have Laden and returned you, but they will not receive more then Peeter, and I think not secure to force more upon them then they are willing to receave, for should any ill happen, they will impute the cause to mee. The Gunneys will remaine for Boates from you. One large one will serve. Had those bin large they would have receaved all and saved the trouble of other. I praise Almighty God I find some hopes of my health againe. I Remaine, Your assured Freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[32]

Pettepollee, *August* 1*st*, 1673."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, From yours of the first Instant, which late the last Night came to hand, wee are advised of your receipt of ours of the 29th. past, wherin wee observe your intentions for the sending persons to Carrea where, with Boats, shall attend the returne of our Fleete to lade those goods there in a readynesse for them, which wee hope will take effect, only againe mind your quicke dispatch that there be noe delay therein. Wee take Notice that you had laden two of those Boats sent from hence with Peeter & that the other two had Beene the same, had not raine prevented you, which wee hope eare this is over & that you have dispeeded all towards us. God send them safe. For the Gunnees wee shall send you other Boats, since these Not able to take them in, which is what wee have to acquaint you with. . . . R. MOHUN &ca.[33]

Metchlepatam, 5 *August*, 1673."

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Wee have two of yours of the 2nd. and 5th. Instant, which came to hand the 9th., and with following wherin you advise that you had laden the 4th. Boats with Peeter & dungarees, & that you had needed 2 Boats more for the Gunnies, which yet Remaineth with you, which wee this day send you, desireing your quicke dispatch in their lading & returne to us, since that now hourly expect the arrivall of our Fleete with us. The 4 prementioned Boats are now arrived with what mentioned which shall be continued on Board them for the quicker dispatch of our Shipps, which wee hope will not after arrivall here require more than two days stay, since what wee have to lade upon them Being in the like readynesse. Wee wish your Boatmen &ca. sent to Carrea may be timely for the lading those goods upon our Shipps in their returne hither. More at Present wee have not to communicate only wish you health. . . R. MOHUN, &ca.[34]

Metchlepatam, 11*th August*, 1673."

For two years, from August 1673 until July 1675, the records are silent with regard to Ambrose Salisbury. If he remained at Peddapalle, he could hardly have been occupied in the Company's business, since, in a "Generall" from Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, dated 20th November 1674, is the remark, "The Factories of Verasheroon and Pettipolle are both laid down and of no further charge; Metchlepatam is the place for business."[35]

In July 1675, Salisbury was once again implicated in the misdemeanours of his superiors.

[31] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.
[32] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 9.
[33] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 3.
[34] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.
[35] O. C. No. 4044.

Extract from "Mr. Matthew Mainwarings Charge in the Honble. Companys Behalfe against Mr Richard Mohun. 8ly. That Mr Salsbury provided a Parcell of Goods to the amount of 1058-12 which he thrust upon the Company without consent of any of the Councell for want of mony to comply In more Propper Returns." [36]

In the following month an extract from the *Diary of Major Puckle* shows Salisbury in his old quarters.

" Mr Salsbury at Pettypoly Ordered to come to Metchlepatam to receive instructions about red Sallampores [chintz] and Morees [*mûri*, blue cloth] to be sent to Bantam and to bring musters and prizes of the same. *Metchlepatam*, 10 *August*, 1675." [37]

" *Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, There being an Investment to be made in the Honble. Company In Some commodities which we understand are to be had in your parts, wee therefore desire and enorder you to come to us forthwith to receive directions about the same, not else to Trouble we remaine &ca. M. MAINWARING &ca.

Wee desire you to enquire what quantities of Lead [red] Sallampores [and] red Morees are to be had in your parts and to bring us musters of each.[38]

Metchlepatam, 10 *August*, 1675."

In accordance with these directions, Salisbury promptly repaired to Masulipatam.

" *Mr Mathew Mainwaring and Councell*, Worthy Friends, In obedience to your desire and order shall hasten my Repaire to you. The want of boyes will detaine mee, they being taken upp by the Govr. &ca. I shall bring with me a Muster of red Sallampores and Morees Although but little of either at present procureable, which with my humble Servis conclude, Your most humble servant, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[39]

Petepole, 16 *August*, 1675."

The result of Salisbury's interview with the Councell at Masulipatam is briefly chronicled in Major Puckle's Diary, " Mr. Salsbury came to the factory, saith the Dutch have taken up and bespoke all the red Cloaths, But he could furnish with such sorts as the Merchants have already undertaken.[40] *Metchlepatam*, 25 *August*, 1675."

Salisbury was bitterly disappointed with his reception at Masulipatam. On his return to Peddapalle, he voiced his grievances in the following letter:—

" *To Mr Matthew Mainewaring &ca. Councell*, Worthy freinds, By the Blessing of Almighty God, ime this instant safely retorned, being Satturday noon. I apprehended by your Generall there was an Investment to bee made by the Honorable Company in the Comodityes of these parts as you expressed, but you are pleased now to say You have contracted with your Merchants for the Sorts those parts afford. Had you been pleased to reserve for me a small matter you should by Gods blessing have found punctuall complyance at the prizes you receive from your Merchants, which presume could bee the same to [the] Company and noe lesse to you to Receave goods from me as you doe from other persons. But that you should expect more from me in the Investment than from the Country Merchants that have constant Imprests is to be admired. When you have answer from the Agent and Councell to the Letter you have writ I desire you to consider mee, desireing but Five thousand pagothaes.

[36] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

[37] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 12, p. 23.

[38] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

[39] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 10.

[40] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 12, p. 29.

You may also please to take into consideration my Sallary,—12 yeares, two yeares allowance, Servants dyet, &ca. and nearest 70 pa. repayres of the Factory, all which Referre to your Charity and my two Journyes to Metchlepatam, being sent for, pagothaes 23 : 8fa., there being noe person in the Honorable Companyes servis but hath allowance only my selfe. By the bearer pray Remit what you please, being in want of money for my expence, Not else at present, remaine, Your humble Servant, AMBROSE SALISBURY.[41]

Petepole, the 28th August, 1675."

The Council at Masulipatam sent a curt reply to Salisbury's list of complaints. If he could provide suitable goods, they would pay for them. Meanwhile, he was ordered to draw up an account of the effects of the Company then remaining in his hands. The question of salary and allowance was ignored.

"*Mr Ambrose Salusbury*, Sir, Wee are Debtors to yours of the 28th ulto. and assure you to the best of judgements wee have in all things consulted the Honble. Company's advantage, which did out of our money to [? obey] our Instructions for goods they would contract with us for, which wee tooke [? look] upon to be much the Securors [? securest] way. You now talke of and [? an] Investment. You cann make up in Sallampores to the amount of pas. 10000, But when you were heare you told us you could procure none of that sort, and wee believe you are now mistaken. If in time you send in any of Lengths, Bredths and goodness you Speake of, there amount shall be punctually paid you, which is all wee have at present, But to deliver [? desire] you Pr. first opportunity to remitt us an account of remaines of that Factory, as debts, house moveables, &c. . . . M. MAINWARING &ca.[42]

Metchlepatam, 7th Sept. 1675."

To this letter Salisbury retorted that he was better qualified to undertake the Company's investments than many who had been preferred before him, and that if 1,000 pagodas were delivered to him, he would engage to make a profitable use of them.

"*Mr Matthew Mainewaring &ca. Councell*; Worthy freinds, You were pleased to order my comeing to Receive directions for an Investment for the Honorable Company, But at my arrivall acquainted mee that you had given orders to your merchants for said goods, and that you have yet Remaineing great part of the Honorable Companyes stock. Since you are not certaine of the Investment that may bee made about Neglawanch[43] as also towards Gingerlee,[44] and that if the stock you have sent to them parts should not bee fully disposed of, It will prejudice the Honorable Company, and much the more if its not to bee done by the Fort, time being short to compleat that work for the timely Retorne of the Honorable Companyes Shipping. Therefore, I conceive, since you have part off the Estate by you and are certaine of the Investment of that sent abroad, You will doe well to Consult your Honorable Companyes advantage. For, should part of that money bee brought againe and haveing yet part of the Stock by you, If the Fort not able to supply the defect, I wish you to Judge how great a damage the Honorable Company will sustaine by your neglect of time for its Investment.

That the Honorable Company may know how much they have suffered by preferring persons that have not had knowledge of their Service before mee, I hereby engage myselfe to make them a timely Investment of Tenne thousand pagothas in Sallampores of full dementions, which being sorted and vallued at the price your Merchants Receive, I will allow Five Per Cent. which being Five hundred Pa. is worth your Observance and I presume, if denyed, will be Required at your

[41] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 10.

[42] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 6.

[43] Nagalwancha in Golconda, where the Dutch had a factory.

[44] The coast line between the Godavari estuary and the Jagannāth Pagoda.

hands by the Honorable Company, which I Refer to your Consideration, and that you send effect[s] with speed to preferre the Honorable Companys intrest and preserve them from damage, Promiseing by Gods permission puntuall complyance. And had you given me effects when you delivered your Merchants, I should have provided the Amount of Twenty Thousand Pagothaes upon the same termes, which is all at present from Your humble Servant, Ambrose Salisbury.[45]

Petepole 2d. September 1675."

With the despatch of this imperious letter, Salisbury's temper cooled, and, as usual, after his occasional outbursts of self-assertion, he became compunctious and quickly changed his tone. His next two letters are humbly apologetic.

"*Mr Matthew Mainwaring &ca. Commissioners,* Honored freinds, I acknowledge my error in pressing you for an Investment since you contracted with your Merchants and crave your pardon, knowing the Agent and Councell referre all the affaires off these parts to your disposure, therefore wish I had not given them any trouble, and question not the Honorable Companyes advantage in delivery off your mony to your Merchants. But should your occasion require the amount off the sum expressed, pagothaes 10000, in fine goodes, should not doubt its procurery, But of the other sorts not any. The Account you desire off the Factoryes debts &ca. shall bring with mee, which hope more satisfactory then to send it, With my servis, subscribe, Your reall freind and servant, Ambrose Salisbury.[46]

Petepole, 12*th September*, 1675."

"*Mr Matthew Mainwaring &ca. Commissioners.* Honored freinds, I last night paid Palankeen boyes with purpose to set out this morning but am unfit for travell in the reines, haveing taken cold thirefore herein send you the Account off debts and remaines belonging to this Factory as you enorder. The debts great part belonged to your Factory and part returned from the King and about 200 pagothaes in Mr Daniells time, which only belong to this Factory. If you shall please to send 1300 pagothaes, I will send you 80 Corge off Sallampores at 15 and 17 pagothae per Corge [score] the price I give, which doubt not to your good likeing which being the needfull, I Remaine, Your reall freind and Servant, Ambrose Salisbury.[47]

Petepole, the 13 *September*, 1675."

The Council at Masulipatam paid no heed to Salisbury's demands for money for an investment and they were equally impervious to his threats. Of his apology they took no notice. On the 14th September, Salisbury again asserted his claims to equal advantages with the rest of the Company's servants.

"*Mr Matthew Mainewaring &ca. Councell,* Honored freinds, I omitted to acquaint you the Honorable Compaynes house was Robd and four pewter panns and the rest of Copper and Brasse household stuffe carried away. When I heard of it, which was many months after, acquainted the Governor, and the persons being found, was beat and kept in Irons some time, but not confessing, was Released, since one dead and the other run away. You are pleased to Present ill my proposeall concerning cloth Investment which should not have made had I any allowance from you, therefore You have noe reason to bee displeased Since you all have from the Honorable Company sufficient allowance, I will oblige myselfe, may I have the allowance that you have, that my servis shall bee faithfull and as proffitable to the Honorable Company as any person in their servis, May I have Investments. It shall appear I have given a small matter in part for the Cloth expressed in my last, which iff you accept not, pray advise. If you will promise my Sallery and allowance due to mee and allow mee according to my time and right and send mee mony for 8000 peices of

[45] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 10.

[46] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 10.

[47] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 10.

Sallampores at 5 pa. and 12½ pa. per Corge, I will engage they shall bee so well bought that they shall equall your Merchants cloth of 18 and 20 pa. per Corge, if not exceed it, which I hope will bee approved by you. Had you given mee any thing to subsist upon when with you, I should have advised you thus much before, But to send for mee and put mee to expence and retorne mee in dishonor hath very much troubled mee since. Desireing your speedy answer, I rest, Your assured reall freind, AMBROSE SALUSBURY.[48]

Petepole, September 14th, 1675."

Ill and disappointed, it is no wonder that Salisbury keenly felt his position. He had been in India for seventeen years and had spent nearly the whole of his time at a little insignificant factory. Now, after this long period of service, he found himself in a far inferior position to those who had come out from England many years later. Matthew Mainwaring, who had succeeded Mohun as Chief at Masulipatam evidently bore no love to Salisbury and his influence most probably had weight with Major Puckle, the Company's Supervisor, who thus alluded to the unhappy factor :— "Here is also a letter from Mr Salusbury, a most pitifull Impertinent peece of morrallitie that doth dayly follow us with letters that we understand not, and therefore lesse concerned to answer them.[49]

Metchlepatam, 20 *September,* 1675."

For the next three months there is no allusion to Salisbury. The cold that detained him at Peddapalle in September was the beginning of the end. He seems to have repaired to Madapollam the usual health resort, and to have been received by Richard Mohun, the disgraced Chief of Masulipatam. After an illness of twelve days, Salisbury ended his unsatisfactory career on the 21st January, 1676. His death was noted in *Major Puckle's Diary.*

"Mr Ambrose Sallusbury dyed Intestate, having laid sick at Mr Mohun's house about 12 days. Sent Peons to Petypolee to secure his Estate there and Mr Heathfeild and Mr Crawley appointed to go and Inventory and bring away what he hath left to Metchlepatam.[50] *Metchlepatam, January 3d,* 1675-6."

For a person who died intestate and with very little property, the amount of correspondence that ensued about Ambrose Salisbury's affairs seems ridiculous and disproportionate. As late as 1682 his accounts remained unsettled.

"*Mr John Heathfield and Mr Robert Crawley,* Wee enorder you both to go immediately to Pettipolee and there to secure what goods &ca. of the Honble. Company's or Mr. Salsbury's you shall find in the Honble. Company's factory or elsewhere, and to take a perticuler account of his papers, money and all other things of value, bringing with [you] what else conveniently you can to Metchlepatam, the remainder to seale up and leave peons to gaurd it. . . . M. MAINWARING &ca.[51]

Metchlepatam, 3 *January,* 1676."

On the 28th February, 1676, Richard Mohun, who was then at Fort St. George, wrote to the Council as follows : — "The death of Mr Ambrose Salisbury I suppose you have been long since acquainted with all, that he dyed in my house intestate and left his Books with me, which I rendred to the Commissioners in Metchlepatam, provided they would give me their Joint receipt for my discharge which was denied by some of them. I now do the like to your Worship and Councell upon the same termes, that they may no longer lye in my custodie, but that you, for the satisfaction of his freinds, may be acquainted with what he has left of an estate and accordingly take it into your Possession."[52]

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[48] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 10.
[49] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 12.
[50] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 12.
[51] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 6.
[52] *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* Vol. 28.

For six months nothing seems to have been done with regard to Salisbury's affairs. Then, on the 11th August, at a Consultation at Masulipatam, there is the following entry, "Joseph Arnold excepts against looking after Mr Ambrose Salusburyes estate and Mr John Crandons, being other were concerned therewith before he arrived at this Coast."[53]

On the following day, the 12th August 1676, at a Consultation held at Masulipatam, Streynsham Master, who was making a tour of inspection of the factories subordinate to Fort St. George, "having enquired why the Estate of Mr Ambrose Salisbury who some months since deceased, was not taken care of by the Councell here, he dying as is said Intestate, It was answered that they were unwilling to concern themselves further than to secure the Companyes Interest, by reason his Creditors upon his decease made Severall Demands, As a Moore Merchant produced a Bill under his hand for severall goods and Mr Chamberlaine a Bond for Rs. 885·15 cash, Principall dated March 28, 1667, to pay Interest at 2 p. c. per Mensem and in default of payment after 6 mos. at 3 p. c. per Mensem. . . . *P. S.* — Concerning Mr Ambrose Salusbury's Estate, and Mr John Crandons, Joseph Arnold always excepted against others having intermedled therein before his arrival at this Coast."[54]

On the 20th September, 1676, administration of Ambrose Salisbury's effects was granted to "Susanna Salisbury, mother and lawfully assigned guardian to Susanna and Anna Salisbury, minors, nieces and next of kin to Ambrose Salisbury, bachelor, who died in the East Indies."[55]

Salisbury's affairs in India, however, remained unsettled. On the 22nd February, 1677, the Council at Fort St. George wrote to Masulipatam, "We have Information that there are effects of Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased in the Custody of some persons of that Factory and Debts of his unpaid, concerning which the Honble. Company having given express orders for the sale thereof, payment of debts, and bringing in the overplus into their Cash for friends use; we have only to Confirme the same unto you as we doe hereby."[56]

On receipt of these orders, the Council at Masulipatam took the following steps: —

"*Att a Consultation.*—In persuance of an order from the Agent and Councell of the 20th February 1676-7 concerning the Estate of Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased, It is Ordered that Mr John Heathfeild doe bring in and deliver to the Commissioners whatsoever he had in his Custody appertaining to the said Mr Salusbury, and the same be received by Inventory in the presence and under the Attestation of all the Honourable Companyes Servants resident in this Factory, and that whatsoever else of the said Mr Salusburyes Estate shall be found in any other place, that the same be also under the like Caution and circumstances receav'd and Registred and the whole disposd by public Sale or Outcry, and the proceed brought into the Honourable Companys Cash for account of the true proprietors. Particularly That Mr George Chamberlaine be desired to give in an accompt of what money he has received and possessd himself of belonging to Mr Salusbury since his decease, that so the Accompt between them may be adjusted with the more facillity.

Joseph Arnold excepts against medling with Mr Ambrose Salusburyes Estate more then a witness of what may hence forward come to his knowledge, other persons being concernd therewith before my Arrivall on this Coast to the rest of this Consultation I subscribe, JOSEPH ARNOLD."[57]

Metchlepatam the 6th Aprill, 1677.

"In persuance of an order of Consultation dated the 6th instant, directing Mr John Heathfeild to bring in and deliver to the Commissioners whatsoever he had in his Custody of the Estate of Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased, And that whatsoever of Mr Ambrose Salusburyes Estate should be found in any other Place should in like manner be brought in and delivered tothe Commissioners, as more at large per the said Consultation doth appeare.

[53] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 1.
[54] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 1.
[55] *Administration Books* at Somerset House.
[56] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 18.
[57] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 1.

In Complyance whereunto, the said Mr John Heathfeild having this day brought in and delivered to Us whatsoever appertained unto the said Mr Ambrose Salusbury in his Custody, wee do now think convenient and Enorder, according to the Tenor of our aforementiond Consultation, That Henry Croon Colbourn and Samuel Wales, Writers and servants to the Honourable Company, doe Journey to Pettipollee and that they repaire to the Honourable Companyes Treasury in that place and do bring or send by hand from thence into this Factory whatsoever they finde of the said Mr Ambrose Salusburyes Estate in that place, And for their so doing this Our Order shall be their sufficient warrant.

And Wee doe Enorder that their necessary Expences for their Journey thither, during their stay there and returne to this place be defrayed and allowed them, MATT. MAINWARING; CHRISTOPHER HATTON ; GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE.[58]

Metchlepatam the 14*th Aprill* 1677."

"WHEREAS John Heathfeild Chirurgion and Robert Crawley Writers, by vertue of an order from the Commissioners of the 3d of January 1675-6,[59] directed to Journey to Pettipollee upon the Decease of Mr Ambrose Salusbury, as well for securing the honourable East India Companyes Estate in that Factory under the charge of said Mr Salusbury, as also the proper Estate of said Mr Salusbury according to the honourable East India Companys Orders in such Cases provided, In observance thereof did proceed and there taking an Inventory of what was there to be found, brought with them such Part thereof as then was conveniently portable, leaving the rest there under Seale, Since which the said Robert Crawley deceasing, and the Commissioners by important Affaires of the Honble. Company diverted from proceeding farther therein, but more especially upon notice that Mr George Chamberlaine had singly taken upon him to seize and take into his possession, without acquainting the Commissioners therewith, part of the aforesaid Mr Ambrose Salusburyes Estate in money from his Debtors and otherwise, upon a pretence of money due unto him on a Bill of said Mr Salusburyes to Mr Benjamin Brond deceased, for which reasons the Commissioners considerd it requisite to forbear farther to meddle therein untill by especiall Orders from the agent and Councell required for the Enquiring after and disposing of the said Mr Salusburyes Estate, This Day taking into their custody such part of the said Estate as the aforesaid John Heathfeild and Robert Crawley brought with them from Pettipollee as aforementioned, according to an Inventory thereof taken in the presence of the Honble. Companyes Servants thereunto subscribed.

We the said Commissioners doe hereby Quitt and discharge the said John Heathfeild and Robert Crawley for the aforementiond particulars received of the said John Heathfeild according to the Inventory aforesaid and do allow of affixing their Seale on what left behind, it being designed for the security thereof. In witness whereof wee the Commissioners abovementioned have hereunto sett our hands this fourteenth day of Aprill 1677 In Metchlepatam. Signd and delivered in the presence of Joseph Arnold, Peter Radcliffe. MATT. MAINWARING, CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

The contents of the abovesaid Inventory being this day disposed of by publique sale or Outcry amounted unto One hundred and ten pounds Eighteen Shillings and Sixpence sterling, brought into the Honourable English East India Companys account of Cash, attested by us, JOSEPH ARNOLD; SAM WALES; HENRY CROON COLBOURNE."

Metchl-patam, 14*th April* 1677.[60]

The Council at Fort St. George approved of the action of the Council at Masulipatam. In May 1677, they wrote, "It is very well that you will make Enquiry into the Estate of Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased, and proceed to payment of his debts, the rest to be made good to the Cash of the Honble. Company for the rest of his Relations at home."[61]

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58 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 1.

59 See *ante*, p. 322.

60 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 1.

61 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol 2.

Again, on the 5th July, 1677, the Council at Fort St. George wrote to Masulipatam, "It is very well that you have proceeded to get in Mr Salusbury's remaines bringing them into the Honble. Company's Cash. We have given Order to Seeke out for that same Dass lately his servant to be sent unto you."[62]

On the 4th August, 1677, the Council wrote in the same strain, "It is well that you proceed to gett in the Remaines of Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased, and paying of his Just Debts to the Countrey to carry the nett proceed into the Cash of the Honble. Company for the use of his Friends at home."[62]

Salisbury's "friends at home" were getting impatient at the long delay in forwarding what was due to them. At a "Court of Committees," held the 31st October, 1677, "Mr Alderman Bathurst and Mr Sambrooke are desired to state the account of Mr Ambrose Salisbury deceased and report the same."[63]

Further, in their "Generall Letter to Fort St George" of the 12th December, 1677, the Company wrote, "The Administratrix of Mr Salisbury sends orders to her Attorney about geting in his Estate, whome wee would have you assist what in you lies, and to doe the like concerning Samuel Smiths Estate, and to send us their accounts as they stand in our Bookes.[64]

Before these instructions reached India, Mr. Chamberlaine had made an application for the amount he considered due to him from Salisbury's effects.

"*To Mr Matthew Mainwaring, Mr Christopher Hatton, Mr Joseph Arnold, Mr. John Feild, Commissioners for the Honourable English East India Companyes Affaires in their Factory at Metchlepatam,* Sirs, It is now seaven months since the Agent and Councell acquiesced to the payment of Mr Ambrose Salusburyes debts in their Generall from the Fort. I am one of his Creditors [for] a very considerable Summ as will appeare by his Bond. The produce of what he left hath for some moneths remained in the hands of Mr Henry Groon Colbourne, as I am informed, much to the prejudice of the deceased's Creditors as you well know. I now desire you will please to order the payment of it to me that no prejudice may accrew to the Honble. Company in regard of my want of it. The detention may hinder me from voyaging to the Fort as Enordered. . . . . G. Chamberlaine.[65]

Metchlepatam, 2d January 1677-8."

In reply to Mr. Chamberlaine's demand, the Council at Masulipatam wrote, "Sir, We have received yours of this date demanding payment of what Mr Salusbury stands indebted to you, which you not having expressed, Wee desire you state the Accompt between you and deliver it in signed by you, that wee may consider thereof and thereby know what answer to returne you.[66]

Metchlepatam, 2 *Jan.* 1677-8."

The following day Mr. Chamberlaine stated his account as requested.

"Mr George Chamberlaine having this morninge sent in an account containing the state of his demands upon Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased, it is Ordered that the same be registred in the Consultation Booke.

Wee find the said Accompt consists of rupees 885½ by a Bond to Mr. Benjamin Brond, dated March the 8th 1667, with a Condition of Interest at 2 and 3 Per Cent [Per] month to Commence six months after the Date thereof.

Wee find also on the Cr. of said Account that he has received Pagos. 586 which, at 3½ rupees the pago., amounts [to] 2051 rupees which containes above twice the principall.

[62] *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* Vol. 18. [63] *Court Minutes,* Vol. 30. [64] *Letter Book,* Vol. 5, p. 503.
[65] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 1. [66] *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* Vol. 2.

The Totall of Interest to Sept. 18th 1677 he computes and charges Rupees 3676, which appearing a litigious matter such as will require a judiciall determination between the Executors or Administrators of said Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased and Mr. Chamberlaine and wee not being qualified or invested with any Authority to act in matters of such a Nature must referr Mr Chamberlaine to the Agent and Councell for advice or decision of the case, That Councell being the onely constituted Court of Judicature for our Nation in these parts of India.[67]

Consultation, Metchlepatam 3d *January*, 1677-8."

In England, Salisbury's affairs again occupied the attention of the Court in 1678.

"*At a Court of Committees holden 14 August 1678.* . . . Mr. Letten and Mr Sambrooke are desired to examine the account of Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased and to report the same."[68]

"*At a Court of Committees holden 27 November 1678.* . . . Mrs Susan Salisburie petitioning the Court that the account of her Brother, Ambrose Salisburie, late Factor at Mesulapatam may be stated and that a finall end may be made thereof, she being willing to acquiesce in such determination as the Court shall please to make therein, It is ordered that it be referred to Mr Sambrooke and Colonel Clerke to examine the account and to adjust the same between the Company and the Petitioner as they in their Judgement shall finde to be equall and to report the same unto the Court." [69]

In addition to the above resolution, the Court wrote as follows in their "Generall" to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George : —

Para. 71.—"Wee are desired by severall of the Relations of our deceased Factors to write unto you on their behalf for your looking after the recovery of what may be due unto them from any one in the Countrey, and also upon Accompt of their Inventory, and in particular by the Freinds of Mr Ambrose Salisbury and Mr John Crandon. Therefore, wee would have you to use your utmost endeavour therein, and to see what due unto them be duely paid into our Cash. And wee cannot but much blame Mr Mainwaring and the rest of our Factors at Metchlepatam for being omissive herein, for wee doe finde by their Order according to the Originall Note under their hands (Copy of which wee sent you herewith) That Mr John Carpenter did Anno 1675 pay unto Henry Croone Colborne the Summ of 111 Pags. which wee doe not finde brought into the Credit of the Said John Crandon in our generall Books, and wee doe also finde in the Consultation Book of Metchlepatam that £110 18*s*. 6 *l*. was paid into our Cash for Accompt of Mr Ambrose Salisbury which is also Omitted to be brought by them into our Metchlepatam Bookes, both which are much to the prejudice of their Relations here. Wee would therefore have you for the future to bring into our Cash and Generall Bookes whatever you receive belonging to deceased persons at the time when received, and if there be any Debts owing by them in the Countrey, which to you shall appear to be justly due to any one there (regard being had to any debt or claime in the first place that wee may have upon them) that then, out of what you shall have received for their Accompt, you doe discharge the same, and by your next Books send us their Accompts rightly stated, that soe wee may pay the Ballance unto their Relations here ; but after you have sent us their Accompts, you are not after that to pay any further Debts out of their Creditts to any one in the Countrey, and in particuler, wee are desired by the Relations of Mr Salisbury and Mr Crandon to order you to recover in what due unto them and bring it into our Cash, which wee require you to doe with all care and diligence. . . .[70]

London, 3rd January, 1678-9."

[67] *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 2.

[68] *Court Minutes*, Vol. 31, fol. 20.

[69] *Court Minutes*, Vol. 31, fol. 58.

[70] *Letter Book*, Vol. 6, p. 32.

Upon receipt of the above instructions, the Council at Fort St. George wrote to Christopher Hatton, who had succeeded Matthew Mainwaring as Chief at Masulipatam, telling him to "especially give us an accompt of Mr Ambrose Salusbury deceased."[71] This order was dated the 10th July 1679. On the 17th July, at a Consultation held at Masulipatam, we read, "The Councell have examined the Accounts of Mr Ambrose Salusbury and Mr John Crandon deceased as they stand in the Generall books, and doe finde them to be right entered, and the Summs brought to their Creditts to agree with the Summs paid into Cash by the steward, Their distinckt accounts traced all along from their Commencement are ordered to be transcribed and inclosed in the packett to the Fort for the Agent and Councells perusall."[72]

Before this statement reached England Ambrose Salisbury's accounts were once again brought before the Court.

"*At a Court of Committees holden 28th November, 1679* . . . It is ordered that it be referred to Mr Herne and Mr Sambrooke to examine the account of Mr Ambrose Salisbury and to report the same."[73] Also, in paragraph 5 of their "Generall" letter to Fort St. George, of the 31st December 1679, the Company wrote still more emphatically with regard to the estates of deceased persons in general and to that of Ambrose Salisbury in particular.

"We have frequent and continued Complaints by the Relations of severall of our Factors deceased in India, for want of a true accompt and due care taken in the recovering in of their Estates, and in particuler by the Relations of Mr Bagnold, Mr Salisbury, Mr Covell, Mr Lanston and Mr Crandon and wee cannot but much blame those our servants who were so neglectfull not to say dishonest therein . . . it was made appeare . . . That £110 18*s*. 6*d*. was received of the Estate of Mr Salisbury, nothing of which is as yet brought into our books. Wee cannot but highly disapprove of any such doeings, whereby the dead should be any waise wronged or their Relations in being detained so long time out of what is their due, and must impute it to the unjust practises of our Factors that have the management of receiveing in the Estate of persons deceased by making use of theis monies (under a pretence of not bringing of it into our books of Accompts untill the whole be received) unto their owne private advantage. We would therefore have you strictly to examine those particulers and give us a full accompt thereof why the said money or any part thereof have been so long detained in those hands who received the same and were not by him delivered unto his respective Chief that it might have been imediately brought into our Cash and books, that soe wee might have paid it unto their Relations and thereby have avoided a great deale of Clammor and ill surmise from them of our Factors dealings so unjustly by them, Mr Mainwaring affirming that he did not receive the aforesaid . . . £110 18*s*. 6*d*. of the Estate of Mr Salisbury out of the hands of Mr Henry Croone Colborne untill after the of February 1677 and are the last books that wee have had from Metchlepatam . . . and Mr Mainwaring doth also affirme that . . . said soms were brought into our Cash by him as soone as received by him from the said Mr Colborne and were made good by him to us in those books Letter which are yet wanting here and not sent home by you, which if not already sent, we inorder you to Ballance and send us by the first [conveyance], and wee doe require you, as a standing Rule, that whatsoever some is received by any of our Factors of the Estate of any persons deceased that it be imediately brought into our Cash and posted into that years books and that upon no pretence whatsoever the Steward or any other doe keepe it in their hands without giveing the said Person deceased Credit in our books for the same."[74]

The delays in getting in Salisbury's debts appeared interminable. In March 1680, another debtor made an application.

[71] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 18.

[72] *Factory Records, Masulipatam* Vol. 2.

[73] *Court Minutes*, Vol. 31, fol. 171.

[74] *Letter Book*, Vol. 6, p. 140.

"*Fort St. George, Thursday, the 4th March*, 1679-80. At a Consultation . . . Mr Nathaniel Cholmley having presented a paper to the Agent and Councell Dated this day, wherein he requests the payment of 800 Rupees out of the Estate of Mr Ambrose Salusbury Deceased brought into the Companys Cash as being owing to him upon Bond, It is thought fit to give him for answear that when all Mr Salusburys Debts are knowne, some of the Creditors not having yet made demands of theirs, It will be taken into consideration to satisfie them all as far as the Estate will goe."[75]

Streynsham Master, the then Agent at Fort St. George, referred to Masulipatam for information as to Mr. Cholmley's claim. Christopher Hatton replied on the 5th May, 1680, as follows:— "In your Generall of the 22 April, you are pleased to say that altho' I have not seen any accounts between Mr Salusbury deceased and other persons, yet that I may have some other collateral knowledge of debts or demands between them, whereof you are pleased to desire an account. I do remember that Mr Nathaniell Cholmley severall times signified unto me that Mr Ambrose Salusbury owed him money on Bond or bill and if my memory fail me not, that Mr Ambrose Salusbury in his lifetime did own himself indebted to said Mr Cholmley but made delays of payment upon some bad markett a parcell of Thea of his found in England, that Mr Cholmley has severall times since Mr Salusbury's death made demands for his debt of the Commissioners and myselfe I doe very well remember."[76]

Cholmley's claim was settled the same month.

"*Fort St. George, Thursday*, 27 *May*, 1680. At a Consultation . . . Upon reading Mr Nathaniel Cholmleys second request for the payment of a Bond of Mr Ambrose Salusburys to him for 800 Rupees due the 1st March 1666 [1667], after perusall of the Honourable Companys order in their letter of 3d January 1678 [1679] and Mr Christopher Hattons Letter of the 5th received the 17th instant, It is Resolved and ordered to pay the said Bond at the rate of 319 Rupees per 100 Pagos. as the Rupees of Mr Salisburys were sold the last yeare is Pagos. 250.25 which summe is ordered to be charged to Mr Salisburys Account in the Companys Bookes."[77]

Nothing more is recorded with regard to George Chamberlaine's claim against Salisbury's estate. The next reference to the deceased factor's accounts is in September 1680, when, on the 11th of the month, Messrs. Field, Colebourne and Wales wrote from Masulipatam to Streynsham, Master at Fort St. George, "Henry Croon Colebourne . . . hath sent copies of the account of Mr Ambrose Salusbury . . . soe far as passed thro' his hands whereby you will see that the money was paid into the Honble. Company's Cash, and as to Mr Salusbury, he had nothing left save a parcell of old letters, his books being left at Mr Mohun's house sealed up when he departed this life."[78]

The last allusion to Salisbury in the "Factory Records" is in the "*Fort St George Generall to the Company*" of the 20th December, 1680. In para. 75, the Council wrote, "Monies paid to Mr Salusburies Administrix was before paid into Companys Cash and therefore shall deliver up Mr Mainwarings bond."[79]

In February 1682, probably in consequence of the statement from Fort St. George, the Court of Committees, on the 22nd of the month, once more gave an order for two of their number "to state the accompt of Mr Salisbury and to report the same."[80] Then Salisbury finally disappears from the pages of the Company's records, having made far more stir after his decease than he ever did in his life.

[75] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 2.

[76] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 28.

[77] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 2.

[78] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 28.

[79] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 3a.

[80] *Court Minutes*, Vol. 33, fol. 194.

GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,

Superintendent of Gazetteer in Central India.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, p. 110.)

A FAMINE SONG.

The Chhapaniā or "Samvat 1956."

THE song given below was composed and sung in Western Mālwā in the great famine of *Samvat* 1956 or 1899-1900. This famine was the first that had attacked this favoured tract within the memory of living man, and it found the inhabitants quite unprepared to meet it. The song is composed in the rough rustic form of the **Garbā**, popularly known as **Mārwārī Gīt.** I am indebted to Mr. Vakil, Gazetteer Officer of the Ratlām State, for writing down the vernacular version.

Text.	**Translation.**
I.	I.
Ghare ghare bakrī, ne ghare ghare ūṇṭ.	In every (city) home a goat is found, and (in many even) a camel.[1]
Chhapaniyo phir gayo chārī khūṇṭ.	The Chhapaniā[2] has travelled into the remotest corners of the land.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā-re sāl, pher matī awī bholī duniyāṇ meṇ.	*Refrain:* — O cursed Chhapaniā, return no more to this innocent land.
II.	II.
Bājrā ro bāṭiyo, masūr kerī dār.	No *bājra* cakes, no pulse of *masūr* (can be found in the house).
Paraṇīyo chhoṛ gayo ghar kī nār.	So the husband has deserted the wife (he cannot support).
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.	*Refrain:* — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.
III.	III.
Kālī, kālī bādlī paṇiṛārī būṇd.	Black, black clouds (are overhead), but only a small drop falls.
Gāṛī, gāṛī lugāyāṇrī jhaṛ gaī dūṇd.	The (once) well-nourished women are now grown thin (and weak).[3]
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.[2]	*Refrain:* — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.
IV.	IV.
Bājrā kī roṭī, ne tel kī paro.	O! for (some) bread of *bājrā* and a spoonful of oil.[4]
Chhapaniā[5] ūpar bijlī paṛo.	May lightning blast the cursed Chhapaniā.[5]
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.	*Refrain:* — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

[1] *I. e.*, the country people were forced to sell their cattle to the townsfolk, who had grain to feed them with.

[2] *I. e.*, "56" for *Samvat* 1956 or 1899 A. D.

[3] *Lit.*, the pot-bellies (*dund*) of the women have diminished.

[4] *Bājrā* bread is only palatable when eaten with *ghī*, but not even oil, a poor substitute, can be had. *Paro* = *parī*, a ladle for oil.

[5] Note the uses of the word *chhapaniā*; (1) as the famine of 1956; (2) as one stricken by the famine; (3) as the year 1953.

V.

Chhapaniyā kī māae rāṇḍī dār.

Chhapaniyo kūde nawa nawa tār.

Tek :—Chhapaniyā, etc.

V.

The famine-stricken (child's) mother has found and cooked (a morsel) of *dāl*,

And (in his joy) he leaps nine cubits[6] (off the ground).

Refrain : — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

VI.

Lāuje-re godaṛī, palān jere ūṇṭ.

Chhapaniyo phir gayo chārī khūṇṭ.

Tek : — Chhapaniyā, etc.

VI.

Go fetch the quilted saddle and bring the camel's pack.[7]

The Chhapaniā has penetrated into every corner of the land (and we must fly).

Refrain : — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

VII.

Bājrā kī roṭī, ne bheṇs ko dahī :
Chhapaniyā ne kāṛo pāchlī galī.

Tek : — Chhapaniyā, etc.

VII.

Bring *bājrā* bread and curds of buffalo's milk :

So shall the Chhapaniā be driven out by the back-way.[8]

Refrain : — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

VIII.

Ṭūṭī-sī māṇchlī, ne tūtoso bāṇ :

Chhapaniyo sūto khūṇṭī tāṇ.

Tek : — Chhapaniyā, etc.

VIII.

A half-broken bedstead with broken tapes (is all he has):

Yet the famine-stricken one sleeps soundly stretched at full length.[9]

Refrain : — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

IX.

Ṭūṭī-sī gāṛī, ne būṛa-sā bel :

Banā moklāwe wegī gel.

Tek : —Chhapaniyā, etc.

IX.

A half-broken cart and broken-down bullock (bring the wedding party),

And the bridegroom is very quickly sent back home.[10]

Refrain : — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

X.

Bāyo bājro, ne wegya moṭh :
Bhūkhī sāsū khāgaī hoṇṭh.

Tek : — Chhapaniyā, etc.

X.

Bājrā was sown but *moth* has appeared :

The hungry mother-in-law is at her wits' end (for food).[11]

Refrain : — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

XI.

Chhapaniyā-re hāt me gulāb kī chhaṛī :

Chhapaniye kardiyo dhān dhaṛī.

Tek : — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XI.

(My lord) Chhapaniā holds a thorny rose branch in his hand,

And (with a wave of this sceptre) has raised (the price) of grain to five *sers* a rupee.[12]

Refrain : — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

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6 *Tār* = a *hāth*, or cubit.

7 *Palān*, a Persian word, a camel's pack.

8 This refers to the well-known custom of driving out any disease, such as cholera, etc., by placing some curd and a *bājrā* cake at the back of the house.

9 *Khūṇṭī tān* : *ton* = *tān* : stretched out.

10 The entertainment of guests is too costly in these days.

11 The idiom "biting one's lips," *i. e.*, *hoṇth khānā* or *chabānā*, means to be vexed or nonplussed.

12 Or, "The famine-stricken possesses only a withered rose tree.
O cursed Chhapaniā, etc."
Referring to the dying of all forms of plant life. *Dharī* = a measure of 5 *sers*.

XII.

Bāndhlīwī pāgṛī, saṉwārliyā pech,
Māmoji khāyagayā bhāṉjī ne bech.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XII.

The uncle has renewed his turban and decorated its folds,
But (to do so) and get food he sold his niece.[13]
Refrain: — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

XIII.

Ṭūṭ gaī tākṛī, bakhar gayā bāṭ:
Chāndī kā bāṉeyāṉ ke hogayā ṭhāṭh.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XIII.

The balance of the merchant broke and the weights were scattered,[14]
But he is rolling in wealthy splendour.
Refrain: — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

XIV.

Patlī rāṉdī rābṛī jime chamāke tārā.
Chhapaniyāṉ ādā margayā, bānsaṭiyā me sārā.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XIV.

The porridge is so thin, so thin, that the grains in it are (far apart) like stars in the sky.
Now in 1956 half (of us) are (already) dead, by 1962 we shall all be gone (if this want continues).[15]
Refrain: — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

XV.

Patlī rāṉdī rābṛī lāmbī kheṉchī ghūṉṭ.
Chhapaniyo phir gayo chāṛī khūṉṭ.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XV.

Thin as his porridge is, (the famine-stricken one) yet gulps it down at a draught, (as if it were *amrita*).
(Indeed) no corner has escaped the (dread) Chhapaniā.
Refrain: — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

XVI.

Patlī roṭī, pipal jesā pān,
Jamāī khāgayā sāsūjī kā kān.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XVI.

The bread is as thin as a *pipal* leaf,
And the son-in-law has deafened[16] his mother-in-law with his importunities.
Refrain: — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

XVII.

Log, lugāī gele jāye
Roṭiyāṉ-rā lekhā kartā jāe.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XVII.

As they walk along the road, men and women
(Carefully) count each loaf (they eat).
Refrain: — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

XVIII.

Sāsū poche, susro khāe:
Bahu sapūte gaṉtī jāe.
Tek: — Chhapaniyā, etc.

XVIII.

The mother-in-law bakes bread,[17] the father-in-law eats it:
(While) the "dutiful"[18] daughter-in-law counts (minutely each mouthful swallowed).
Refrain: — O cursed Chhapaniā, etc.

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[13] To lose or be without a turban is a sign of great disgrace. [14] Owing to his excessive trade in grain.

[15] An obscure verse of which no one seemed to understand the allusions.

[16] *Kān khānā*, an ordinary idiom meaning to make deaf by continued request; to worry. Cf. *kān phoṛnā*.

[17] *Poche* from *ponā*: to bake.

[18] An ironical use of the word *sapūtī* = a dutiful daughter (Sk. *su-putrī*.).

MISCELLANEA.

REMARKS ON A PHOTOGRAPH, NEAR ATING, TAKEN BY THE HON. ERIC UPTON, DURING A TOUR IN ZANGSKAR IN 1907.

Note by the Editor.

Mr. Upton and my son, Mr. R. D. Temple, both of the 60th Rifles, went on a shooting tour in Kashmīr territory, in 1907. In the course of the tour, many interesting photographs were taken by each of them, and among these photographs that one which is the subject of this article is of antiquarian interest. The following is the itinerary of the tour:—

Itinerary.

Srīnagar to Islāmābād.

Islāmābād *viâ* Sinthon Pass (14,200 ft.) into Kishtwār.

Kishtwār to Bagna and Chichi Nullah.

Bagna to Atholi in Padar.

Atholi to Chishoti.

Chishoti to Bujwās.

Bujwās *viâ* Umārī Pass (17,300 ft.) to Ating in Zangskar.

Ating *viâ* Padam and Thonde to the Zangla (17,500 ft.)

Zangla over the Hills to the N.-E. (18,000 ft. and over) to Namsi Nullah (Ladākh).

Namsi Nullah back to Zangla.

Zangla *viâ* Karthā (16,400 ft.) to Ating.

Ating to Bok.

Bok *viâ* the Pense Pass (14,000 ft.) to the Gonpa Monastery at Tesitongsi.

Tesitongsi to Girwār.

Girwār *viâ* Purkutse to Sūrū.

Sūrū to Dunāla (Bhotkol).

Dunāla *viâ* Bhotkol Pass (14,300 ft.) to Suknes.

Pailgām to Islāmābād.

Islāmābād to Srīnagar.

Remarks on the Photograph by Mr. Francke.

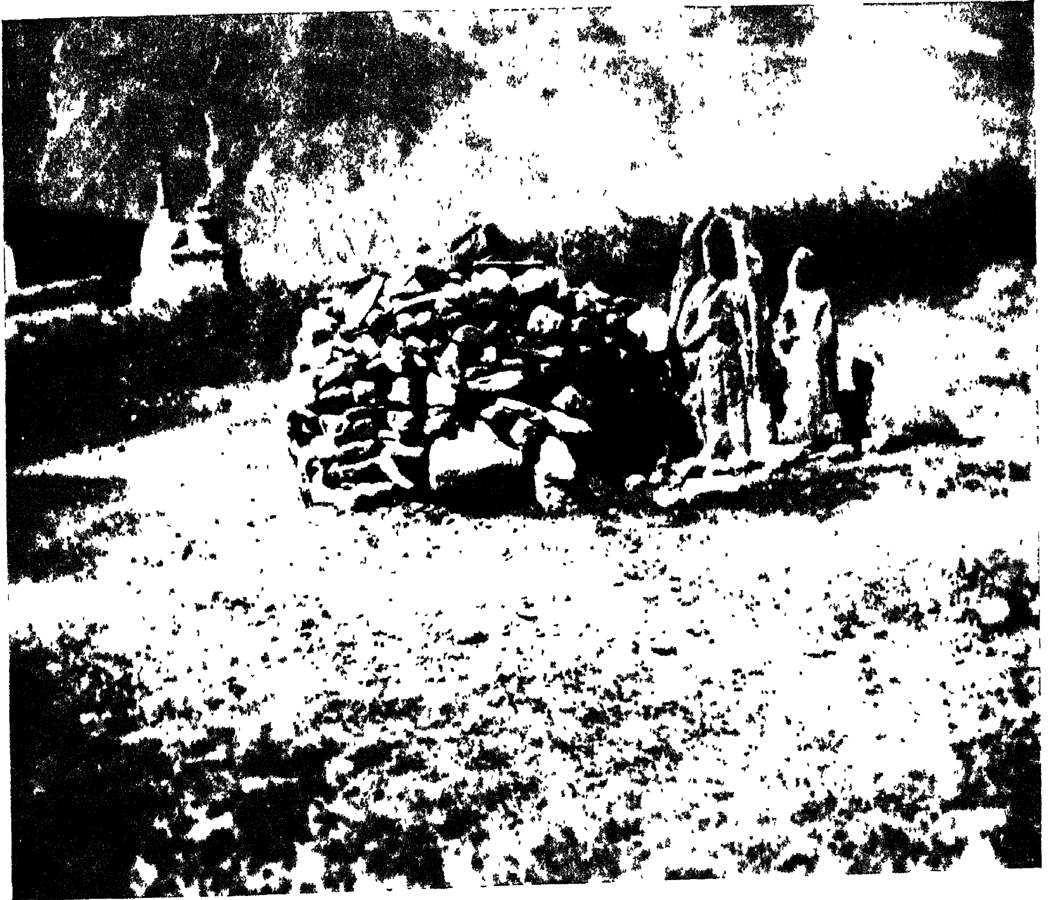
The stone sculptures shown on the plate attached, belong to that type of art which was treated by me, *ante*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 85 ff., where I tried to fix a rough date for such sculptures. I arrived at the conclusion that the year 1000 A. D. may be taken as an approximate date.

I also wrote two short articles in German on archæological objects in Zangskar, noticed on a journey to that country in 1905. (See *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LX., p. 645 ff., and Vol. LXI., p. 645 ff.) In these articles I tried to show that a few dates are known with regard to the history of Zangskar. Tradition tells us that Zangskar was first of all in the hands of an Indian (perhaps Buddhist) tribe, and the most ancient sculptures may go back to those times. Between 600 and 1000 A. D., the country was conquered by the first West Tibetan king Nyima-mgon, and Zangskar became the heritage of that king's third son, lDe-btsug-(btsun?)-mgon, although authorities are at variance with regard to the extension of the others' heritage. Thus whilst the *Ladvags-rgyal-rabs* and the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang* (edited by Sarat Chandra Das), apparently agree on Zangskar being lDe-btsug-mgon's portion, the *Ladvags-rgyal-rabs* makes Guge and sPurangs the portion of the second son, bKrashis-mgon, and the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang* makes sPurangs the second son's portion, and gives Guge to the third son, lDe-btsug-mgon. That Guge later on was actually the property of Lde-btsug-mgon's descendants, is asserted also by other authorities, which speak of the erection of the famous monastery at mTho-gling in Guge by one of his descendants. My opinion is that as nothing seems to be known of the second son bKrashis-mgon's descendants, we may assume that Guge, and perhaps sPurangs too, were ruled over by lDe-btsug-mgon's descendants, after bKrashis-mgon had died without issue. At any rate, it was the Zangskar kings who ruled at mTho-gling in Guge and became famous through their connection with Atîśa. During Atîśa's time, the smaller stone images of Zangskar may have been erected, although the historical records have no note about them.

The image shown to the right of the stone wall on Mr. Upton's photo, is that of a plain Buddha. The other image, to the right of the first, reminds me of the commemoration tablets to the dead, as we find them in the Upper Chandra-bhâga Valley. A similar custom may have prevailed in Zangskar in its Mon (Indian) days.

It is interesting that the most ancient *sati* stones in Kulu are of the same type as the commemoration tablets of the Chandra-bhâga Valley. "Gardens" of *sati* stones are found below Naggar Castle, and between Sultānpur and Katrain, in Kulu.

ANTIQUITIES IN WESTERN TIBET.



Sculptures at the Seni Gonpa in Zanskar between Ating Village and Padam (Spadum).

The *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang* contains a longer list of lDe-btsug-mgon's descendants, than that of Schlagintweit, given in his *Könige von Tibet.* Whilst Schlagintweit gives only eight generations of the **lDe Dynasty of Zangskar-Guge**, in the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang,* we find thirteen generations of the same dynasty, after which a **rMal Dynasty** sets in. This rMal dynasty hardly has anything to do with Zangskar proper, for, as I have shown in my article mentioned above, archæology appears to show that in Zangskar proper the lDe Dynasty lasted down to the seventeenth century when traces of the **Ladakhi rNam-rgyal Dynasty** suddenly appear. The rMal Dynasty may have existed in Guge or sPurangs.

A. H. FRANCKE.

THE GHÔḌÂ OF CHIMÛR.

CHIMÛR is a village in the **Warorâ Tahsîl** of the **Chândâ District** in the Central Provinces, thirty-five miles north-east of Warorâ, and forty-two miles north of Chândâ. It has a population of 4,000 souls and is one of the few big villages in the Chândâ District. It was the head-quarters of a *kamaishdâr* during the Bhonslâ rule, and also of a British *tahsîl* for two or three years on the formation of the Chândâ District. The village is situated on the bank of a sandy stream called Pâtâlgangâ, marked on the topographical maps as Chimûrnâlâ, on the right-bank of which there used to be a small mud fort, which is now gone, but the site is conspicuous by its being on much higher level than the rest of the village. On this site are now built the Government buildings, *viz.*, the school, the dispensary, the post office and the police station. Near the post office there is a small flat-roofed **Chaumukh temple**, that is open on all sides, the roof being supported on four massive pillars of sandstone fashioned in the Hêmâdpanthî style. Underneath are placed statues of a cobra, two Ganpatis, a Mahâdêva *linga*, a Pârvatî and two Nandîs, forming a Śiva Panchâyatana. On the bank of the village tank there is another old temple, which is a little larger than this. It is closed on three sides and has a pyramidal roof, but it curiously faces the west instead of the usual east. A *linga* is enshrined inside and outside there is a figure of Mahâdêva with Pârvatî on his lap, which seems to be as old as the temple.

But what invests Chimûr with importance is the modern **temple of Bâlâjî and the 'Ghôḍâ' Ceremony** connected with it. This temple was constructed about 150 years ago, apparently from old materials of other temples, obtained locally or from the neighbouring villages, such as Nerî, which has a good specimen of a mediæval temple. This has been partially imitated, especially in the matter of the overlapping roofs and ornamentation of capitals usually met with in the temples of the Hêmâdpanthî style. The statue of Bâlâjî was found by a Kunbî named Bhîkâ, while digging for the foundations of a cattle-shed. It is exquisitely carved on a black shining stone, with various figures of gods and goddesses on the spare back-ground. The height of the stone is about a yard, while the figure of Bâlâjî in relief is about two feet high. It really represents Vishṇu holding the conch, the mace, the discus, and the lotus, in his four hands. Two other smaller statues, said to be *rishis,* were also found along with it.

The Kunbî let it remain on the spot where it was found and commenced to worship it. He was a poor agricultural labourer, but after he began his worship it seemed to him that his condition partially improved. He finally entrusted the worship of the god to a poor Brâhman named **Devâjî**, who took service under a local rich Brâhman, whose estate he managed well. This attracted the attention of the Bhonslâ king of Nâgpur, who took him into his own service. Devâjî soon rose to a high rank, which he attributed to the favour of Bâlâjî, whom he now worshipped with greater ardour than before, and caused a temple to be built over the statue, endowing it with some rent-free land and cash, now turned into promissory notes, producing an annual income of Rs. 500.

In addition to all this, Devâjî instituted what is known as the **Ghôḍâ Ceremony**, which takes place annually on the **13th of the bright fortnight of Mâgh, when a wooden horse** is carried in procession on a wooden chariot drawn by men. This *ratha* has a circular top piece which revolves on a pivot, whereby the head of the horse can be made to point in any direction. The horse is painted white and has his front legs raised as if in the act of running away. Two wooden images of grooms hold the bridle, one on each side, while two others stand behind, one of which holds an *abdâgirî.* The other image was, apparently, intended to carry a whisk, but this is now carried by a descendant of Bhîkâ, who squeezes himself in before the now superfluous wooden-man. **The rider** is a wooden representation of **Bâlâjî** carrying a conch and a discus in two of his four hands, and holding a whip by the two ends in the other two. It is a privilege of the Kunbî family to wave a whisk over him on this occasion.

Before the horse starts from the temple, a hole is dug under the chariot and a saucer made of kneaded flour, containing oil and burning wicks, together with cooked rice and curds, are placed in it. This is called *balidân*, and is supposed to be a substitute for a human victim. The horse is supposed to trample over it, and thus to secure his safe journey to the town.[1]

No one knows why a horse was selected as Bâlâjî's conveyance. My own idea is that it may be due to Devâjî being a cavalry officer, in which case the horse would be a special object of esteem for him. His surname Chorghoḍe seems to support this view. This was the name for the reserve horse in the Bhonslâ army, the literal meaning being the thief or hidden horse.

The only other places where a similar horse ceremony is performed are Belâ and Umrêr in the Nâgpur District, and Girdar in Wardhâ, and they have been started in imitation of the Chimûr ceremony. But the assemblage is not as great as at Chimûr.

I witnessed the ceremony on the night of February 1908, when the spectators were close upon five thousand. The fair lasts for a fortnight, though the ceremonies are finished in four days, the last one being known as Gopâl-kâlâ, in which a pot of curds is broken, and the assembled people rush to get a little of it, as they believe that it secures prosperity in the coming year.

Among the privileges which Bhîkâ Kunbî's family enjoys, are the cleaning and sweeping of the temple and its compound, which must be done by a female of that family and not by a servant appointed by it. It has been impressed on their minds that service by proxy is not acceptable to the god, nor does he relish any offering other than that obtained from that family. Once it so happened that the priest found a grain of cooked rice in the curds supplied by this family. This was pollution; so he stopped taking the offering from them. In about a month he, however, discovered that the god was not satisfied with the offering he made; so he reverted to the old procedure, in spite of a possibility of the oblations being impure, as it was of no consequence when the god was so disposed. Of course, the supply from the Kunbî family was free of charge, but when that was discontinued the priest had to pay for the offerings he daily brought. The displeasure of the god was notified to all concerned, and it was ruled that if the Kunbî family should have no milch cows, they should purchase the offering and present it to the god, since the latter would not accept anything, except through them. On festival days no medium is, of course, required, and the god gladly accepts all offerings made to him, as they are much more valuable on such occasions than on ordinary days. In spite of all the menial services extracted from these Kunbîs, they are not allowed to enter the sanctum or to touch the idol, which their ancestor Bhîkâ daily washed and worshipped, except for one day in the year as a special grace. This day is Gokula Ashṭamî, the anniversary of the birthday of Krishṇa, which falls in the month of August. This privilege is, apparently, allowed to keep the family in good humour.

HIRA LAL.

THE ANTARALLAS OF MALABAR.

THOSE who are below the Brahmans and Kshattriyas and above the Sûdras in caste status are designated Antarallas (Intermediate Castes). They may be broadly divided into three sub-groups, *viz.*, the Nâmpidis, the Ambalavâsis, and Samanthas.

I.

Nâmpidis. — These are regicide Nambûdris, whose ancestor assassinated a Perumal or Viceroy of Kêrala, as desired by the Brahmans. They are, therefore, considered to have lost their social status as Brahmans, and are now classed along with the Antaralla castes. They wear the thread and repeat the *Gâyatrî*. The Nambûdris officiate as their priests at marriage ceremonies, *srâdhas*, and purification at the end of birth and death pollution, which lasts for ten days. The Nâmpidis follow the *marumakkathayam* (matriarchal) law of inheritance. Their girls are married after puberty. The *tâli* is tied by their own castemen. Nambûdris or their own castemen may unite themselves in *Sambantham* (irregular marriage) with the women of this caste. Their women are called Manôlpâds.

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[1] Compare the Banjârâ practice of human sacrifice which Mr. Cain has described as follows:—"In former years it was a custom amongst them, before starting out on a journey, to procure a little child and bury him in the ground up to his shoulders and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim, and in proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in the successful journey increased: *ante*, Vol. VIII., p. 219.

Regarding the origin of the name, the following legendary account is given by Mr. M. Sankara Menon in his *Report on the Census of Cochin in 1901* : —"One of the Perumals, or Viceroys, of Kêrala, having proved troublesome, the Brahmans resolved upon his removal. In the struggle that followed, the Perumal was killed by the Brahmans. When those who had slain him returned to the place where the Brahmans had met in solemn conclave, they were gladly welcomed and asked to sit in their midst, but feeling that they had committed a heinous crime and thus disqualified themselves to sit along with the Brahmans, they volunteered to sit apart on the threshold of the Council-room, by saying '*Nâm padimêl*' (we on the threshold), which fact is supposed to account for the origin of their name *Nâmpidi*, short for *Nâmpadimêl*.

2.

Ambalavâsis, or temple residents, are those who have by birth the privilege of doing service in temples. They are classified under twelve heads according to the *Jâthinirnaya*. Most of these castes have grown out of sexual relations between members of higher and lower classes, and are, therefore, known as **Anulômajâs and Prathilômajâs**. They may be divided into two broad heads, *viz.*, those who wear the thread, and those who do not wear the thread. To the first of these divisions belong the Atikal, Châkkiyâr, Nâmbiyâr, Nâmbissan or Pushpakan, Puppalli, Nattupattan or Pattarunni, Thiyattunni and Pittaranmâr; while the Châkkiyâr Nâmbiyâr, Pisharôti, Vâriyan, Puthuvâl, and Mârâr belong to the second division. The Kurukkal are also regarded as Ambalavâsis, but are confined to Travancore, and belong to the first division.

2a.

Atikals. — The people in this sub-division of the **Anulômajâ Ambalavâsis** are supposed to have been originally Brahmans and suffered social degradation by having officiated as priests in Bhadrakâli temples and worshipped the goddess with offerings of flesh and liquors and partaken of the same. It is also said that the exorcism and the worship of evil-spirits practised by them also contributed towards their degradation.

The word *atikal* or *adiyal* means, literally, slaves or servants. In the *Travancore State Manual*, Mr. Nagamiah records the following legendary account regarding their origin: — "The tradition regarding their origin is very interesting. It is said that Srî Sankarâchârya, to test the fidelity of certain Brahmans to the established ordinances of caste, went to a liquor-shop and drank some stimulants. Seeing this, the Brahmans that accompanied him made this an excuse for their drinking too. Srî Sankarâchârya thereafter went to a foundry and swallowed a cup of molten metal and handed another to the Brahmans, who had apparently made up their minds to do all that might be done by the Achârya. The poor Brahmans begged to be excused and apologised to him as *adiyals*, or humble servants, and accepted social degradation in expiation of the sinful presumption."

Atikals officiate in Bhadrakâli temples. They practise *upanâyana* and they repeat the *Gâyatrî*. Their own caste-men officiate as their priests. Their birth and death pollution lasts for eleven days. Their women are called **Atiyammas.** They follow the *marumakkattayam* (matriarchal) system of inheritance.

2b.

Châkkiyâr, Slâghiyâr (men of respectability) or **Slâghiavâk** (short for *slâghyavâkukâr*, meaning those gifted with excellence in words), are names for a sub-division of the **Anulômajâ Ambalavâsis.** These are said to be the descendants of Nambûdris that were formerly excommunicated for certain sexual offences. It is asserted that **Châkkiyârs were originally Paradêsis** and belonged to the Suta caste, which sprang from a Kshattriya father and a Brahman mother; that a family of this caste migrated to Kêrala in early times, and that the issue of an adulterous woman born during the period of her illicit intercourse with other castemen, but before detection, was adopted into the family, the members of which were thereafter regarded as a separate caste.

When a **Nambûdri woman** is found guilty of adultery by the caste assembly, the children born after the commencement of her criminal intimacy with other castemen are looked upon as children conceived and born in a polluted womb, and are declared to have forfeited their caste. Of the boys, if any, those whose *upanâyana* had already been performed, are affiliated to the class of **Châkkiyârs,** and those boys who have not been invested with the sacred thread, join the class of **Nâmbiyârs.** The girls, if any, join either class.

The Châkkiyârs study the *Purânas* and *Ithihâsâs*, and expound the same by delivering lectures known as *châkkiyâr-kuth.* These lectures

are delivered as desired by votaries in fulfilment of vows made and during festivals in most of the temples in Malabar. A portion of the temple is specially dedicated to the *châkkiyâr-kuth*, and is called the *kuthamba-lam*. "The Châkkiyârs then enjoy a freedom of speech which is hardly allowed to any other person or to themselves at any other time or place. They criticise men and measures without reserve, and custom allows them to enjoy complete immunity from retort or punishment." Their women are called **Illattammîs**. The Châkkiyârs practise *vidyarambha*, *chaulam*, and *upanâyana*. They repeat the *Gâyatrî* and wear the sacred thread Their birth and death pollution lasts for eleven days. They follow the *marumakkathayam* rule of inheritance. Their occupation is *châkkiyâr-kuth* (dancing and reciting stories from the *Râmâyana*, *Mahâbhârata* and the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*).

2 c.

Nâmbiyâr, Nâmbissan or **Pushpakan** are sub-divisions of the **Anulômajâ Ambalavâsis**. According to tradition, a Brahman suspecting his wife's fidelity during her pregnancy, 'outcasted' her. She was subsequently delivered of a female child, which was brought up by Paraśu-Râma. As the child was conceived and born during the period of her adulterous intercourse, the girl and her descendants became a separate caste.

There is another popular version regarding the origin of this caste. The **Pushpakans** are said to be the descendants of a Nambûdri woman, who, while in her courses, had connection with her husband and became pregnant. They and her children became a distinct class and were called Pushpakans. The **Puppallis** belong to this sub-division. The general term for the Nâmbissan, Pushpakan, Puppalli and Nâmbiyâr sub-divisions is **Unni**. Their occupation is to perform certain duties in temples. The women are professional singers at marriages in Nambûdri *illams* and Nâyar houses. The Pushpakans practise *chaulam*. They have no regular *upanâyana*, but most of them go through that ceremony between the ages of 8 and 16. They wear the thread and repeat the *Gâyatrî*. Their girls are married to their own castemen between the ages of 10 and 20. Their own castemen or Nambûdris unite themselves in *sambantham* with the women, who are called **Pushpinis** or **Brahmanis**. Their houses are known as *pushpakams* or *madams*. They observe birth and death pollution for eleven days, and follow both forms of inheritance. The duties of a Pushpakan are to sweep the inner premises of temples, clean utensils, gather flowers, and make garlands for daily worship.

2 d.

Thiyattunnis or **Thiyattu Nâmbiyârs**, a sub-division of the **Anulômajâ Ambalavâsis** are **degraded Brahmans** and are lowered in the social scale on account of their pursuits in life. It is said that Śiva was frightened at the dreadful sight of Bhadrakâlî fresh from her bloody victory over Darikâsura, and asked one of his attendants to appease her by propitiatory hymns. The Thiyattunnis are believed to be the descendants of this attendant of Śiva, and hence their traditional occupation of **thiyattu**, a **ceremony of leaping through the fire in Kâlî temples**, painting the image of that goddess and chanting songs and performing *pûja* They wear the thread and practice *upanayana*. Their girls are married both before and after puberty. Divorce is permitted. Their own castemen officiate as priests. Nambûdris perform all the purificatory ceremonies. They have birth and death pollution for ten days. Brahmans and their own castemen consort with their females. They are mostly patriarchal by inheritance.

2 e.

Nattupattans or **Pattarunnis**, a subdivision of the **Anulômajâ Ambalavâsis**, are a degraded class of **Atikals**. The tradition regarding their origin is that "formerly in the house of one of the **Ashtagrahathil Adhyaninars** (Brahmans of eight houses), there was an unmarried girl of eighteen, who fell in love with a foreigner, or **Paradêśi Brahman**, attached to her *illam*. This love was reciprocated, and they were married. When the woman subsequently became pregnant, the couple fled to the southern country for fear of being detected and punished. From this originated a separate caste called **Pattaruni**, meaning a Pattar-child." Their own castemen perform the priestly duties. Their purificatory ceremonies are performed by the Nambûdris. They wear the thread and repeat the *Gâyatrî*. Their duties are to perform worship in Kâlî temples, using flesh and liquor. They also sweep and make garlands for worship in temples. Their death and birth pollution lasts for thirteen days. They follow the *marumakkathayam* law of inheritance.

2 f.

Pitaranmâr, a division of the **Anulômajâ Ambâlavâsis**, are also a degraded class of **Atikals**, and their duties are similar to those of the Nattupattans, whom they resemble in manners and customs.

2 g.

Kurukkals (Gurukkals), who are **Ambalavâsis of Travancore**, are degraded Brahmans. They are immigrants from the Tamil country and are of Tamil origin. They used to be Śaivas and performed *pûja* in temples dedicated to Śiva. It is said that, in early times, no Vâriyans or other temple servants in Malabar, were available for service in the temples in South Travancore, and that a few families from the Tamil Districts consequently were imported from among the 48,000 Tirumadams of the Tamils, for service in temples there.

Their dress and ornaments are similar to those of the Nâyars. Their houses are called *vidus* and sometimes *madams*. Their own castemen officiate as their priests, and perform purificatory ceremonies. **They claim social precedence over the other classes of Ambalavâsis.** They practise tonsure and *upanâyana*, and repeat the *Gâyatrî*. The *tâlikettu* takes place between the ages of 8 and 12. They even practise *pulikudi*, as do the Nâyars. Their birth and death pollution lasts for twelve days. Inheritance is in the female line.

2 h.

Pisharôtis, a sub-division of the **Prathilômajâ Ambalavâsis**. It is said that "a Nambûdri desiring to become a Sanyâsi is required to serve one for three years as a disciple and then go through the ceremony of ordination on an appointed day. On that day, at the appointed hour, the candidate has to cast away his sacred thread and his tuft of hair has to be removed. But he should take care to retain three hairs on the crown of his head. He should then plunge into the tank stark-naked, and while under water should pluck out the three hairs, with his own hand, one at each plunge in the presence of his preceptor, who whispers into his ears some mysterious formula, which he repeats and then gets out of the water and runs off towards the north. A Pattar Brahman engaged for the occasion meets him and waylays him, and asks him to receive a cloth and accept a meal. He complies with the request and returns to the Sanyâsi's abode. Now the tradition is that once on a time a Nambûdri was a candidate for the order of Sanyâsis, but he plucked out only two of the three hairs that remained on the crown of his head and ran off thinking that all the three had been removed. The *gûru*, or preceptor, found out the mistake and exclaimed: '*Pisharôti*,' *i. e.*, the disciple ran away. The disciple was now neither a Brahman nor a Sanyâsi. He was accordingly excluded from the order, rejoined his wife and had children by her. He and his descendants are said to be the **Pisharôtis**." In memory of their ancestor, who, as an ascetic, had to be buried in salt in a sitting posture, they are buried in that posture and are not cremated. Pisharôtis are said to be Vaishnavas. Their duties are similar to those of the Pushpakans. Their women are called **Pisharosyârs** and their houses *pisharoms*. They observe birth and death pollution for twelve days. They follow the *marumakkathayam* law of inheritance.

2 i.

Vâriyans, a division of **Prathilômajâ Ambalavâsis**. Five different traditional derivations are given of this name. The most accepted is that they are the descendants of a Brahman married to a Śûdra wife. The term *vâriyan* is a corrupt form of *parasava*, *i. e.*, the son of a Brahman by a Śûdra woman in accordance with the *Yâjñiavalkya Smrithi*. Their occupation is similar to that of the Pushpakans and Pisharôtis. The duties which they perform are called *kaṛakam*, and their customs and manners are similar to those of the Nâyars. The Nambûdris can cook and take meals in the houses of Pushpakans, Pisharôtis, and Vâriyans.

The **system of inheritance** obtaining among the Vâriyans is complicated. They generally follow the *marumakkathayam* rule of inheritance, but in some places both forms of inheritance prevail. The inheritance depends upon the nature of the *sambantham* ceremony, which is of two kinds, *viz.*, the ordinary *sambantham*, and that ceremony accompanied by what is known as *kutivekkal* or *kutipôkal* (settling in one's family). In the case of *kutivekkal* the woman is taken to her husband's house, and she, thereafter, becomes a member of her husband's family, and her children inherit the property belonging to that *tarwad*. If the woman becomes a widow after she is taken to and settled in her husband's house, she may re-marry, and her children by the second husband also inherit the property of her first husband.

2 j.

Nâmbiyârs are a division of **Prathilômajâ Ambalavâsis** who do not wear the thread. These are, as already observed, the sons of

a Nambûdri woman born during the period of illicit intercourse with other castemen, whose *upanâyana* had not been performed. They assist the Châkkiyâr in his dances, and their duty is to beat the drum while the Châkkiyârs dance. The women are called **Nangiârs**, and play on cymbals during the dances.

2 k.

Puduvâl, a division of the **Prathilômajâ Ambalavâsis**. The name is supposed to have been derived from *pudu-âl* or *podu-âl*, meaning "new-man," "common-man," respectively. He is the watchman and steward in temples. He is called **Pora Puduvâl** (outside Puduvâl) in contradistinction to **Aka Puduvâl** (inside Puduvâl), or **Mûthathu**. The Pora Puduvâl has generally charge of the stores and provisions of the temple. He also collects flowers and makes garlands for daily worship. The women are called **Puthuvârasyârs**. They observe birth and death pollution for twelve days, and follow the *marumakkathayam* rule of inheritance.

2 l.

Mârârs, a division of the **Prathilômajâ Ambalavâsis**. These are Śûdras, but, by necessity, taken into the temple service. They are musicians and storekeepers. In some places they are known as **Kuruppus**. The Mârârs assert that they are Ambalavâsis, and superior to the Nâyars. It is also said that there are two classes of them. The one serving in temples, the other not. The former are said to have social precedence over the latter. In the matter of marriage, period of pollution, inheritance, &c, they follow the Nâyars. In some places, Ilâyathus officiate as priests for them, in other places, their own castemen perform the priestly duties. The *tâlikettu* is performed by Tirûmalpâds in some places, and by Enangars (castemen) in others. Their own castemen or Brahmans unite themselves in *sumbantham* with the women. The purificatory ceremonies are performed by the Chithians or Nâyar priests. The inheritance is in the female line.

3.

Śâmanthars claim to be of Kshattriya origin. They are said to be the descendants of the children of the Perumals, or the elective kings of Kêrala, and their Kshattriya followers by Nâyar women. The several castes that make up the present body of Śâmanthars are (1) **Erâḍi**, (2) **Nendungâḍi**, (3) **Vellôḍi**, (4) **Unnithiri**, (5) **Atiyôti**, and (6) **Nâmbiyâr**.

The primary meaning of the word *śâmantha* is given by Dr. Gundert as "the chief of a district." The Śâmanthars themselves assert that they are the descendants of the Kshattriyas who fled from the wrath of the renowned Paraśu Râma, and divesting themselves of the sacred thread, lived in jungles or wandered abroad without performing *sandhyavandanam* and other rites: whence their name of Śâmantha or those without *mantrams*. They had only *tantrams*.

The customs and manners of the Śâmanthars are similar to those of the Nâyars, but they are generally considered to hold a higher position in the social scale.

Some of them, who own no lands or have no tribal government of their own, but possess only certain privileges, are known as **Pandalas**, **Unnithiris**, **Uniyathiris** and **Karthavus**. Others, who do not possess even these, are known by the names of the *dêsams* in which they reside, as Erâḍi, Velôḍi, Nedungâḍi. All these call themselves Śâmanthars now, and these last three divisions are closely allied, the names being local and denoting settlement in Ernâḍ, Nedunganâḍ, and Walluvanâḍ. The Zamorin of Calicut and his family are said to belong to the class of Erâḍis, and the Raja of Walluvanâḍ is a Vellôḍi. The ceremonies attending on birth and death are similar to those of the Nâyars. Their marriage ceremonies are also divided into *talikettu* and *sambantham*. The *tali* is also tied by Tirumalpâḍs As for *sambantham* in the families of the Zamorin of Calicut and similar chiefs, the husbands are exclusively Nambûdris. The women are called **Koilpâds** or **Kovilammas**.

Among the Śâmanthars do not wear the sacred thread, all their ceremonies are performed without *mantrams*. Nambûdris officiate as priests among them. They observe birth and death pollution for eleven days. The inheritance is in the female line. The Śâmanthars and Ambalavâsis do not eat together.

3 a.

Atiyoti, a sub-division of the **Sâmanthars**. This is the caste to which the Raja of Kadathanâḍ in North Malabar belongs. In customs and manners they resemble the Erâḍis and Nedungâḍis.

3 b.

Unnithiri, a sub-division of the **Śâmanthars**. The Raja of Chirakkal is said to belong to this class. The customs and manners of the Unnithiris are similar to those of the Erâḍis. The women of this caste, other than those of the reigning families, are called **Pillayadiris**.

N. SUBBARAYA IYER.

BOOK-NOTICE.

Über Sondersprachen und Ihre Entstehung. Von Dr. Richard Lasch. (*Separatabdruck aus Band XXXVII (der dritten Folge Band VII) der Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.*) Wien, im Selbstverlage der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1907.

In the above-mentioned paper Dr. Lasch deals with an interesting linguistic phenomenon. It is well known that language often exhibits in a marked degree a tendency towards specialization with reference to some particular sphere of subjects or circumstances. One is familiar, to some extent, with the technical jargons of different trades, professions, forms of sport and the like; and such deviations from ordinary speech hardly strike us as strange. But in some stages of culture the differentiation is even more marked than it is amongst ourselves. Then, too, with us the use of a special terminology, when it is not imposed by the actual necessity of employing technical terms for which ordinary language possesses no precise equivalents, is generally either a mere matter of habit or an affectation of special knowledge. But in many cases, where a specialised jargon is used by races in other stages of culture than our own, other motives come into play.

Dr. Lasch has gone very thoroughly into the bibliography of his subject, and his article contains an astonishingly large number of references to the most various and diverse authorities. He has gathered his facts from almost every part of the inhabited world and has thrown them into a more or less systematic order, for which his readers may be grateful to him. Nevertheless, so multifarious are his sources that in the narrow space (of 36 pp., 4to) to which his paper is restricted, it has not been possible for him to go very much into detail. Whoever wishes to investigate the minutiæ of the subject must still refer to the original authorities on whom he relies for his information; but in such researches, the references he has collected will be of the greatest service.

Dr. Lasch classifies the peculiar jargons which form the subject of his article under the following main-heads and sub-divisions, *viz.*:—I.—**Women's talk.** II.—**Magic and spirit jargons,** including (*a*) jargons of fishermen and sailors, based on superstitious ideas; (*b*) the taboo jargon of camphor collectors; (*c*) that of eaglewood collectors; (*d*) harvest jargons; (*e*) jargons of gold and tin-miners; (*f*) war jargon; (*g*) jargons specially appropriated by priests and sorcerers; and (*h*) jargons peculiar to secret associations and the like. III.—**Jargons of social origin,** including (*a*) court language; (*b*) the jargon of thieves and other criminals; (*c*) jargons of traders and markets; (*d*) jargons of artizans, students, soldiers, and the like. IV.—**Sportive jargons,** made up by children or adults in a spirit of mere caprice, without any ulterior objects.

This is not a very perfect classification. In point of fact it takes for its class (II) the motive underlying the special jargon as its principle of division, but for its class (III) it takes the social-environment in which the jargon has developed and is used: thus shifting the point of view from the subjective to the objective side, as it were. This would logically lead to cross-divisions: practically it severs the "high chief" jargons or court languages of Indonesia and Polynesia, which both in their origin and in the motive actually underlying their use to this day, are essentially Taboo Languages (*i. e.*, based on a sentiment of religious awe), from the other **Taboo Languages** which Dr. Lasch has grouped under his class (II). However, no one is likely to remain in doubt as to their character, which is quite correctly described by him; and perhaps the classification, though not strictly scientific, may be justified on the ground of convenience.

The truth is that it is by no means easy to find a principle of classification for this subject. Dr. Lasch remarks on the singular uniformity of the methods employed in the construction of these artificial jargons, no matter in what part of the world we find them. He enumerates these methods under the following heads:— (1) Descriptive Periphrasis and Metaphor; (2) Loan-words from foreign languages; (3) Archaisms; and (4) Artificial Modification of the form of common or everyday words. This is almost identical with the analysis that I had arrived at from the consideration of some of the peculiar jargons of the Malay Peninsula and Eastern Archipelago (particularly the one that is used by the Jakuns of Johor while searching for camphor-trees in the jungle). As my account did not appear till the autumn of 1906 (in *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*), whereas Dr. Lasch's article is an amplified version of a paper read by him in the spring of 1905, of which, however, I had not heard till now, it seems that the results of our independent enquiries corroborate each other; a fact on which (while not presuming to congratulate Dr. Lasch) I am glad to felicitate myself.

A purely linguistic basis being, therefore, inadequate for purposes of classification, some other principle had to be sought for, with the results stated. Dr. Lasch also endeavours to explain the origin and underlying causes on which these special jargons are based. He sees in them the resultant of several distinct factors, social, economic, and religious, as well as the mere spirit of caprice and childlike play. On the whole, while not losing sight of the other motives, he appears to attach a considerable importance to the element of caprice. For my part, I think the religious (or what we should call superstitious) element is by far the most prevailing one, and

I incline to the view that it runs through nearly all the different forms of these peculiar modifications of speech, except in so far as it can be shown that they serve a purely utilitarian object or have grown up as a mere matter of habit. Dr. Lasch hardly gives sufficient place, in my opinion, to the sentiment of religious awe and fear.

I would also put in a caveat against the loose use (in which Dr. Lasch, with so many others, indulges) of the expression "Naturvölker." Error is inherent in such highly general terms. Apart from the fact, which I will not pedantically insist on, that no race or community is really in a state of nature (all having been humanised, more or less, by the influence of some amount of tradition), this term "Naturvölker" has often been much misused. It has been made to cover some scores of distinct stages of cultural development differing very profoundly from one another. As a matter of fact, it is not among the most really primitive of the so-called "Naturvölker" that the special jargons which form the subject of Dr. Lasch's paper tend, as a rule, to arise. On the contrary, it is amongst races that have already made a considerable advance in social and political organisation (the formation of a distinct class of chiefs and rulers), religious ideas (the establishment of professional sorcerers and priests, a definite cult of the souls of the departed and the spirits of natural objects), and even some differentiation into crafts and occupations (with technical jargons appropriated to them). So, too, Dr. Lasch's idea that, among the "Naturvölker" generally, there is a very strict separation of the sexes is a generalisation derived from particular stages of culture, and those not the most primitive. In fact, this separation is rather a characteristic of some of the relatively higher stages of development (especially, in Asia, those that have been affected by Hinduism or Islam). I can hardly imagine that he can be right in ascribing the custom (found amongst Zulus and elsewhere) of the avoidance by the wife of words resembling the names of her father-in-law, etc., to the idea that women are regarded by "Naturvölker" as being magicians "par excellence," Surely, it is simply an instance of the principle that the name is a part of, and gives a hold over, the person or thing named; such a hold as a woman (in that stage of social evolution) has no right to assume over the family of her husband, of which she is a subordinate, and not an original, member.

Dr. Lasch is not only inclined to assume that wilful caprice has been the leading factor in the creation of these special jargons, but seems even disposed to extend this principle to cover the differentiation of language generally. If that be so, then good-bye to anything like linguistic science: for there can be no science of a subject-matter which varies irrespectively of any ascertainable laws. This appears to me to be going too far. Language has its self-determining element, no doubt; but it is also largely a matter of habit. This is the case to a very great extent, even in these special highly artificial jargons; in ordinary speech it is so to an overwhelming extent. Analogy is the great unifying principle of language. I pass briefly over the *obiter dictum* that mixture of races and communities has had relatively little influence on the differentiation of languages: it is not much in point in a paper dealing with special jargons, and is certainly very far from the truth as applied to language in general. Even as regards special jargons, instances to the contrary can be adduced, *e. g.*, the "high language" of Bali is based on Javanese, simply because in the 14th century the Javanese conquered and civilized Bali.

There is one notable lacuna in the materials on which Dr. Lasch's article is based: India receives very little mention; I can find only some half-a-dozen references to it. Whether such material has not been collected in India, or whether, if collected, it has escaped Dr. Lasch's conscientious scrutiny, I have no means of ascertaining at present. But surely the Indian Empire should be a rich field for such enquiries; and if the material has not yet been collected, the sooner it is done, the better.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to add a few remarks on details of which I happen to have some personal knowledge. The Camphor Language of the Johor Jakuns is primarily used by Jakuns, not Malays, and therefore the old Jakun words that occur in it must be classed as archaisms, not as foreign loan-words. As a matter of fact (as Dr. Lasch justly observes), foreign and archaic words play but a very subordinate part, in practice, in most of these special jargons; and this fully applies to the Jakun Camphor Language. The Malay for "white beetle" is *kumbang* (not *kambang*) *puteh*, and, in the Malay war jargon this expression means "bullet," not "dagger." Dr. Lasch on several occasions attributes remarks of mine in *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* to my collaborator Mr. W. W. Skeat, who must not, however, be held responsible for the linguistic chapters of that work. In particular he imputes to him the idea that a tendency to make up special jargons is a peculiar characteristic of the Malayo-Polynesians. But if he had read a few pages further, he would have seen that I spoke of this tendency as being "perhaps inherent more or less in all races," a view which agrees entirely with his own, and in which I am confirmed by the perusal of his article. In fact, just for this very reason, the study of these jargons is a matter of world-wide interest and should appeal to all who are interested in the science of language. Dr. Lasch has contributed a valuable piece of work to this branch of research, and his paper should aid and stimulate other workers in this field.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE DATE OF BUDDHA.[1]

BY V. GOPALA AIYER, B.A., B.L.

IN the history of the world, there is no chapter of human thought and activity of greater effect on modern civilisation than that relating to the life and work of Gautama Buddha. He was born in an age when the world was in great need of earnest teachers to divert its attention from traditional grooves of thought and religious beliefs to new spheres of ideas and moral convictions. The philosophy of the *Upanishads* and the Sankhya doctrines of Kapila had already made the way clear for him; but the authority, example and influence of a born spiritual selfless leader of men was required to carry on the reformation against the conservative tenets of ritual-loving Brâhman orthodoxy. Indeed, but for his propaganda, the Vedanta school in India could not have attained the pre-eminence it subsequently acquired, and possibly the Western world might have been denied the privilege of the consoling gospels of the Sage of Galilee. The advent of Jesus in the West and of Śankara in the East was, in a large measure, rendered possible by the large-hearted sympathy and the sublime teachings of the highest and the most beneficent personality in the history of thought. He it was that zealously preached the benign counsel of Love and Service, a doctrine till then but imperfectly understood, but which, carried by a band of earnest missionaries to the extreme confines of the then known world, was destined, in the march of events, to have a far-reaching influence over the hide-bound dogmas of bygone civilisations. The torch of modern enlightenment was lit up from the lamp of Dharma, which, having been set alight nearly twenty-four centuries and-a-half ago, still illumines the lowly hearts of over 500 millions in Northern and Eastern Asia. More than all, the missionary aspect of religion, which till then might be said to have been tribal and exclusive, the earnest endeavour to carry to all, even to those outside the place of one's tribe, caste or persuasion, tidings of peace and goodwill among men was first inculcated to the world by Gautama, when he said, on sending out his disciples: "Let not two of you go the same way. Preach O Bhikkus, the doctrine which is glorious"; and the world has since been influenced by the proselytizing zeal of one creed or another, of Jesus, Muhammad, Râmânuja or Nânak. In short, the history of the world would have been a good deal different from what it is but for the event of Kapilavastu, alas, so soon forgotten in the land of its origin. How pregnant with world-wide effect and importance is the appearance of a single individual on the stage of history!

This period of Buddha's activities is interesting in more than one direction. At the time when the Tathâgata was setting in motion the wheel of the New Dispensation, Mahâvîra was laying in India the foundations of the Jaina Religion. Then it was that Confucius awoke China with his code of morals, and Greece began to develop philosophy as a distinct branch of study, and was destined, soon after, in the Age of Pericles, to attain in many departments of human activity a state of progress, still an object of envy and admiration to the world. Rome always intent on civic advancement and political liberty was then transforming itself into a Republic, and the Persians, having overthrown the empire of the Medes, set up a monarchy of their own, and having subjugated Babylon and Egypt, turned their eyes towards India and Greece.

"In each of these widely separated centres of civilisation," says Professor Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 239), "there is evidence, about the sixth century B. C., of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take the place of the old religion of custom and magic," which circumstance may be said to constitute "the best dividing line, if there was any, between the ancient history and modern, between the old order and the new."

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[1] A lecture delivered before the South Indian Association, Madras, on 1st March 1908, being the 3rd Chapter of the author's *Chronology of Ancient India*, 2nd Volume.

The date of Buddha's Nirvâna thus comes to be of more than passing importance. It forms a significant landmark, at all events, in the history of India. In that year was held the first Great Buddhist Council at Râjagriha, the then capital of the Magadhan Empire, under the distinguished presidency of Kaśyapa. It was the eighth year of the reign of Ajâtaśatru, king of Magadha, son of that Bimbisâra of the Saisunâga Dynasty, who stopped a great sacrifice he was then pompously celebrating at the gentle bidding of Gautama, when he spoke

"Of life, which all can take but none can give,
Life, which all creatures love and strive to keep."

The epoch of the Nirvâna gradually came to be the commencement of an era, adopted by Aśoka in some of his inscriptions and by the chronicles of the Southern Buddhists. It was prevalent in India even in the days of the great astronomer Vriddhagarga, who is known to have flourished in the second century B.C. The era became so universal during the period of Buddhist supremacy in India that the word *sâka* or *sâkakâla*, originally intended to denote the era of Sâkya's Nirvâna, came subsequently to signify any era. Thus it will be readily seen that it is desirable to fix this epoch for a proper understanding of the history and chronology of Ancient India.

Many fanciful dates have been ascribed for the epoch, which need not here be seriously discussed. The Northern Buddhists give dates ranging from 2422 to 546 B.C., and the *Âîn Akbarî* of Abu'l-Fazal fixes 1246 B.C. for the event. The Tamil *Manimegalai* gives the year 1616 of some unknown era, probably of the Kali, and the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam have uniformly been regulating their calendars on the basis that the Nirvâna occurred in B.C. 543. The Western scholars are likewise as much divided in their opinions, though their dates range only from 544 to 370 B.C. Professors Rhys Davids and Kern give 412 and 388 B.C., respectively, for the Para-Nirvâna, whereas Max Müller to the last maintained that 477 B.C. was the correct date. Dr. Fleet considers the event to have taken place in B.C. 482,[2] and Professor Oldenberg and M. Barth fix it in 480 B.C. Mr. V. A. Smith has given us three different dates, B.C. 508 in his *Asoka*, 487 in his *Early India*, and 480 to 470 B.C. in a recently published article.[3] It is my present purpose to consider whether, with all these discordant and divergent opinions before us, we cannot yet discover a date in thorough accord with the materials available to us; and should we be able to deduce such a date, my purpose is also to find out why the Southern Buddhists have, for a long period of time, uniformly accepted 544-3 B.C. for the epoch.

For the purpose of such an enquiry we have first to determine the epoch of the Maurya Era, which again can only be fixed by a discussion of the dates of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Dynasty, and of his grandson Aśoka-vardhana, who made a world religion of the creed of Buddha. This Aśoka is different from Kâlâśoka of the Ceylonese *Chronicles*, who has been identified with Mahâpadma Nanda of the *Purâṇas*, and in whose reign the Second Buddhistic Council is reputed to have been held at Vaisâlî, under the presidency of Ratha, after the lapse of a century from Buddha's Nirvâna. According to the Ceylonese *Chronicles*, Aśoka-vardhana Maurya, on the other hand, was converted to the Buddhist faith in the fourth year after his accession and formally crowned soon after in the same year. He is therein stated to have held the Third Buddhistic Council under Tishya in his eighteenth regnal year, 235 years after the death of Buddha.[4]

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[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, pp. 179 and 669.

[3] *Indian Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 561.

[4] For these and other particulars, see Turnour's *Mahawansa*, edited by Wijesinha; Oldenberg's *Dipawansa*, and V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, pp. 159-174.

In a Rock Edict of his thirteenth year (and Aśoka always counts his years fr m the time of his coronation), Aśoka says that he made war with Kalinga in his ninth year and that, as remorse came upon him in consequence of the immense destruction caused during the war, he resolved thenceforth to give up military conquests, and he then proceeds to say :—

"And this is the chiefest conquest in His Majesty's opinion, the conquest by the Law of Piety, this also is that effected by His Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred *yojanas* — even to where the Yavana King named Antiyoka dwells, and, beyond that Antiyoka, to where dwell the four Kings severally named Turamaye, Antikina, Maka, and Alikasandare, and in the south, the Kings of the Cholas and Pandyas and of Siṁhala."

The Yavana Kings have thus been correctly identified :—Antiyoka with Antiochus (Theos), who ascended the Syrian throne in 261 B. C. and died about 246 B. C.; and the farther Kings Turamaye, Antikina, Maka and Alikasandare, respectively, with Ptolemy (Philadelphus, King of Egypt from B. C. 285 to 247), Antigonas (Gonatas, King of Macedonia from B. C. 278 to 242), Magas (King of Cyrene who died in 258 B. C.), and Alexander (King of Epirus from B. C. 272 to 258). It is thus evident that the missionaries, sent by Aśoka to these kingdoms between the ninth and the thirteenth year of his reign, raached them between B. C. 261 and 258, the dates, respectively, of the accession of Antiochus Theos and of the death of Magas, King of Cyrene. As the missionaries might most probably have reached the Greek Kingdoms about a year after the conquest of Kalinga, we may safely infer that **the tenth regnal year of Aśoka corresponded with B. C. 260 or 259,** or, in other words, that his coronation was celebrated about the year 269 B. C. And as, according to the *Chronicles*, the coronation was in the fourth year after his accession to the throne and the reign lasted for over 37 years after the coronation, **we may regard Aśoka's reign to have extended from about B. C. 273 to 231.**

We have next to determine the date of Chandragupta. The Ceylonese *Chronicles* tell us that Chandragupta reigned for twenty-four years, and that his son Bindusâra reigned before Aśoka for a period of twenty-eight years. The *Vâyu Purâṇa* gives the same period for Chandragupta, but assigns a period of twenty-five years for Bindusâra, which may be incorrect, as the total of the periods of the individual reigns of this dynasty fall short of the total period given for the whole dynasty by about four years. Following the chronology of the Ceylonese *Chronicles*, the evidence of which, in this case at any rate, there is not much reason seriously to doubt, **we get 273 plus 52, or 325 B. C., for the beginning of the Maurya Era, dating from Chandragûpta's accession to the throne of Magadha.**

We have now to see if there is anything in **the Greek accounts** of this period of Indian History to militate against the correctness of the above date. In speaking of the report brought to Alexander that the Gangaritans and Præsians (*i.e.*, of the Prâchi or Magadha Kingdom) were prepared to meet with a huge army the attack of the Greeks, in consequence of which Alexander was made to retrace his steps, Plutarch, who lived about the beginning of the Christian Era, says (*Life of Alexander*, 72):—"For Androcottus, who not long after reigned in those parts . . with an army of 600,000 men, subdued all India . . Androcottus, then a youth, saw Alexander there and is said often afterwards to have been heard to say that he missed but little of making himself master of these countries; their king who then reigned, was so hated and despised for the viciousness of his life and the meanness of his extraction."

We may infer from this extract that Androcottus, or Chandragupta, was at the time sufficiently influential and mature to be able to meet Alexander in the Panjab, and that the time was then favourable for the overthrow of the Magadhan King, as Chandragupta himself found soon after, when he supplanted the Nanda Dynasty.

Quintus Curtius Rufus and Diodorus Seculus of about the first century of the Christian Era, corroborate Plutarch as regards the wickedness and low origin of Nanda, the then reigning King of Magadha, who is variously called Agrammes, or Xandrames, or Nandrus.

Justin, probably of the 5th century A. D., but whose materials are drawn from Pompeius of the first century, says:—"Seleucus Nicator after the partition of Alexander's Empire, took Babylon, passed over to India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus was the leader who achieved this freedom; but after his victory, he forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom. He was born in humble life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Nandrus and was ordered by that King to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight. . . It was this prodigy (of a lion licking him) that first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was *thereafter* preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant approached him . . and receiving him on its back fought vigourously in front of the army. Sandracottus, having thus won the throne, was reigning over India, when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness."[5]

It has been the fashion to infer from the above extracts that Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadha after Alexander's prefects were put to death, *i. e.*, at about 321 B. C. according to certain recent scholars, or 315 B. C. according to the late Professor Max Müller. But neither of these dates, it is submitted, can legitimately be referred from the extracts given above. It is clear from the statement of Justin that **Chandragupta prepared himself to attack Alexander's prefects in the Panjab** (who were put to death soon after Alexander's death in B. C. 323), **only after the overthrow of the Nanda Dynasty.** And this is only what ought to be expected under the circumstances. Banished from Magadha by thela st King of the Nandas, Chandragupta sought refuge in the Panjab, where he met Alexander and his army in 326 B. C. He profited by the lessons of Alexander's intrepid marches and military tactics, and knowing that the then King of Magadha was hated on account of his wickedness and mean origin, and taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in Northern India by reason of Alexander's conquest, he secured the assistance of certain tribes, invaded Magadha and succeeded in setting himself up on the throne. This may be considered to have taken place soon after Alexander left the Panjab, or in 325 B. C. Having firmly established himself in the sovereignty of the realm and made himself secure against internal enemies, he turned his attention to the Panjab at the right moment when news was received of Alexander's death, and overpowering his prefects, added it to the dominions of Magadha. Consequently, Chandragupta was already ruling a great empire when Seleucus was but laying the foundations of a greatness, which was consummated by the establishment of the Seleucidian Era of 312 B. C.

In this opinion, we are also supported to some extent by the details of the *Mudrâ Râkshasa* a remarkable drama of Viśâkhadatta of the 'early part of the eighth century,'[6] and of the commentator's introduction thereto. We are therein informed that the "evil-hearted" sons of the old Nanda King became envious of Chandragupta, who was then in command of the army. Chandragupta consequently left Pâtaliputra, the capital of Magadha, and under the advice of the Brâhman Châṇakya, sought the help of a Mlechcha General. By liberal promises this Mlechcha was induced to assist him in laying seige to Pâtaliputra. It was eventually taken; and the Nandas having been put to death, Chandragupta ascended the throne, no less by the craft of his wily minister than by the prowess of his arms.

[5] For this and the previous extracts, see *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, by J. W. McCrindle.

[6] Telang's Introd. to *Mudrâ Râkshasa*, p. xxvi.

Thus the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Magadha, which is the epoch of the Maurya Era, has to be placed in 325[7] B. C., whether as the result of an examination of the Greek and other authorities of the West, or on a consideration of the data available with reference to Aśoka. **The dates, 325 B. C. for the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta, and 269 B. C. for the coronation of Aśoka, are of immense importance for the fixing of the date of the Nirvâna of Gautama Buddha;** for, as according to the Ceylonese *Chronicles*, the accession of Chandragupta and the coronation of Aśoka took place, respectively, after the expiry of 162 and 218 years after **the Nirvâna**, this last event **may be considered to have taken place in 487 B. C.** These statements of the *Chronicles* are accepted as correct even by the late Professor Max Müller (*Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 299), and, in fact, they have been remarkably corroborated by certain Inscriptions of Aśoka, which have recently been discovered.

The Inscriptions of Aśoka, which have been found from Gujarât on the west coast to Orissa on the east, and from Afghânistân in the north to Mysore in the south, are remarkable as giving us an insight into the wide range of the dominions of the Mauryan Dynasty, whose first King Chandragupta is reported to have brought the whole world "under one umbrella." They are also of unique importance in the history of paleography for having furnished the genius of Prinsep with the clue to the decipherment of the earliest known Indian Alphabet, — the same service which the bilingual inscription of Malta, the Rosetta stone and the Rock of Behistan have rendered to the study of cuneiform inscriptions and Egyptian hieroglyphs. Of these Inscriptions, the so-called Minor Rock Edicts of Sahasrâm in Bengal, of Rûpnâth in the Central Provinces, of Bairât in Râjputâna, and of Siddapura, Jatunga Râmeśara and Brahmagiri in Mysore, are of immense help in the fixing of the chronology of Aśoka, and of Buddha's Nirvâna. All of them contain variant recensions of practically the same text; but those at Brahmagiri and Rûpnâth are the best preserved.

The Brahmagiri text is thus translated by Mr. Vincent Smith (*Asoka*, p. 140.): — "By order of the Prince and Magistrates at Suvarnagiri, the Magistrates at Isila, after greetings, are to be addressed as follows: — His Majesty commands: — For more than two years and-a-half I was a lay disciple without exerting myself strenuously. A period of six[8] years, or rather more than six years has elapsed since I joined the Order and have strenuously exerted myself; and during this time the men who were, all over India, regarded as true, have been, with their gods, shown to be untrue. For this is the fruit of exertion, which is not to be obtained for himself by the great man only; because even the small man can, if he choose, by exertion win for himself much heavenly bliss. For this purpose has been proclaimed this precept, namely, 'Let small and great exert themselves to this end.' My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson; and may such exertion long endure! And this purpose will grow — yea, it will grow vastly — at least half as great again will be its growth. And this precept was proclaimed by the Departed. 256 (years have elapsed since then?) . . . Written by Pada, the Scribe."

The Rûpnâth text has also been translated thus by the same learned author (*Asoka*, p. 138): — "Thus saith His Majesty: — For more than two years and-a-half I continued to be a hearer of the Law without exerting myself strenuously. A period, however, of more than six years has elapsed since I joined the Order and have strenuously exerted myself. The gods, who at that time, all over India, were regarded as true gods have now become untrue gods. For this is the fruit of exertion which is not to be obtained by the great man only; because even the small man can by exertion win for

[7] Mr. V. A. Smith writes to me under date 7th October 1908: "It is possible that you may be right in antedating Chandragupta to 325."

[8] *Savachharam*. Some scholars would take this word to mean one year. But in the face of the corresponding words *saḍvachale* (*sad* = 6) and *chhavachhare* (*chhe* = 6) used, respectively, in the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth versions, such interpretation seems incorrect. Mr. Smith adopts Dr. Bühler's rendering, and I agree with them.

himself much heavenly bliss. And for this purpose was given the precept, 'Let small and great exert themselves.' My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson; and may such exertion long endure! For this purpose of mine will grow its growth — yea, it will grow vastly, at least half as large again will be its growth. And this purpose has been written on the rocks, both here and in distant places; and wherever a stone pillar exists, it must be written on the stone pillar. And as often as a man seasons his cooked food with this condiment, he will be satisfied even to satiety. This precept has been given by the Departed. 256 years have elapsed from the departure of the Teacher (?)."

No serious objection can possibly be, nor has been, raised to the correctness of this translation, except in regard to a few particulars. The period given for the interval when Aśoka was a lay disciple and the numerical figures in the last paragraph have been differently interpreted by different authors. As regards the numerical figures, the Brahmagiri text reads thus :— "*Iyam cha sâvane sâ v (â) p (i) te Vyûthena 256 se.*" The Rûpnâth text runs thus :—"*Vyuṭhenâ sâvane kaṭe 256 — Sata vivâsâ ta.*" We find the following at Sahasrâm : "*Iyam (cha sâvane) vivuṭhena duve sapamnâlâti satâ vivuthâ ti 256.*" The various renderings of this puzzling passage have been collected by Dr. Fleet in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for January 1904. M. Senart considers that the words refer to the "256 settings out of missionaries," and Professor Oldenberg, to the number of men who taught on earth. But the most rational interpretation hitherto attempted is the one given by Dr. Bühler and adopted by Mr. Smith in the translation given above. "Dr Bühler who first brought the contents of the edict to public notice in 1877, maintained from first to last that the words and the numerical symbols are a date and that the passage means that the edict was promulgated when 256 complete years had elapsed, and in the course of the 257th after the death of Buddha." That the figures 256 represented a date is also the opinion of Cunningham, Max Müller, Kern, Pischel, Boyer and Rhys Davids, though the last named Professor considered the figures to represent the number of years elapsed since the great Renunciation of Buddha in the 29th year of his age. In endorsing the view that the figures represent a date and that they are reckoned from the Death of Buddha, Dr. Fleet pointedly mentions that there is no word used in the Brahmagiri text "to give how 256 is to be applied. This is instructive, for the idea of date can be inferred, but not of persons." He therefore translates the Sahasrâm text as follows, "And this same precept was composed by the Wanderer; (of) centuries two (hundred) and fifty-six (years) have elapsed since the Wanderer; or in figures 200 (and) 50 (and) 6." The Rûpnâth text is thus translated: "(This same) precept was composed by the Wanderer; (of) centuries 200 (and) 50 (and) 6 (years have elapsed) since (his) wanderings." And the Brahmagiri inscription is translated thus: "And this same precept was inculcated by the Wanderer; 200 (and) 50 (and) 6 (years have elapsed since then)."[9]

There can be no doubt that both Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet have correctly surmised **that 256 is a date, and that it begins in the year of Buddha's death.** But with the greatest deference to their very high attainments, I must humbly submit that **they are wrong with reference to the person denoted by the word 'vyûtha' or 'vivutha' which simply means 'departed.' I consider that the precept is of Aśoka[10] himself,** given almost on his deathbed, that

[9] *J. R. A. S.*, January, 1904.

[10] Mr. V. A. Smith, to whom I sent an advance copy of this paper, kindly draws my attention to an article by himself and Mr. F. W. Thomas since published in the *Indian Antiquary*, wherein Mr. Thomas says: "But according to one text the *sâvane* is *kaṭe*, 'made,' and this seems to imply rather a newly-composed, than an ancient, precept. The actual tenor of the precept confirms this theory. . . . The lesson, therefore, which he would inculcate is a new one, an outcome of a recent personal experience. . . The author of the precept . . is Aśoka himself." Mr. Smith adds in a footnote to the copy of that article kindly sent by him to me: "V. Gopala Aiyer agrees and I am pretty sure that this is right." But Mr. Thomas takes '*vyûtha*' to mean Aśoka's missionary travels. This appears to me to be incorrect. Mr. Smith himself says in another footnote to the same copy with reference to this interpretation of Mr. Thomas: "This, I now admit, is doubtful."

probably he gave instructions to "the prince and magistrates of Suvarnagiri", where he seems to have lived in religious retirement, to engrave his last commands in all parts of his dominions, and that possibly before his instructions could be carried out, he departed from this world. If this precept were to be considered as that of Buddha, scholars ought to have, but have not, been able to point out among Buddha's sayings the teaching herein engraved, namely, "Let small and great exert themselves." Nor does this find a place in the list of the passages, which Aśoka culls from Buddha's sayings and publishes for the edification of the monks of Magadha in the Bhâbrâ Edict, famous for its clear showing of Aśoka's adherence to the Buddhistic faith. Moreover, the words under discussion, namely, *Iyam cha sâvane* . . *256 se* in the Brahmagiri text, and *Vyuṭhenâ sâvane* . . *vivâsâ ta* in the Rupnâth text, no more belong to the body of the text than the words "*Padena likhitam lipi kareṇa*" (written by Pada, the Scribe), which we find at the end of the Brahmagiri, Jatunga Râmeśara and Siddapura inscriptions. Just as the Scribe immortalized himself by adding his name at the end of the inscription, so even the Prince and Magistrates of Suvarṇagiri, who published this inscription, began it by proclaiming that it was at their instance that it was published, and ended it by appending hereto its date in the years of the Nirvâna. The term '*vyûtha*' was applied by them **to Aśoka, who had probably just then 'departed' to the other world,** and, as it was no longer possible, on account of his death, to adhere to the practice of dating the Inscriptions of Aśoka in the years of his reign, this inscription had to be dated in the years of the Nirvâna of Buddha. The Brahmagiri text may therefore be translated thus: **"This teaching was proclaimed by the Departed (Aśoka) in the year 256."** The Rûpnâth and Sahasrâm texts have, in addition, the following words respectively, namely, "256 *Sata vivâsâ ta*" and "*Satâ vivuṭhâ ti* 256." Dr. Bühler correctly translates '*Sata*' [11] as 'Teacher' and considers it refers to Buddha; and in my humble opinion these words mean **"in (the year) 256, since the departure of the Teacher (Buddha)."** I therefore consider that the precept was perhaps the last admonition to his people of Aśoka, who 'departed'

> Like some full-breasted swan,
> That, fluting a wild carol ere her death,
> Ruffles her pure cold plume, and takes the flood
> With swarthy webs.

The next point to be considered is the period given in the inscription for the interval when Aśoka was a lay disciple. The exact word used in the Rûpnâth inscription for this period is *aḍhitisâni*, whereas the Brahmagiri text has *aḍhâtiyâni*. Dr. Bühler translated this Magadhi word in the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1877 (p. 256), as meaning thirty-two and-a-half years. But Dr. Bühler subsequently gave up this construction, and he states in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III (p. 134), that the word means two and-a-half years, an interpretation which, though wrong, has been adopted by Mr. Smith in his *Asoka*, and by Mr. B. L. Rice, the discoverer of the Mysore Edicts. (*Ep. Carnatica*, Vol. XI., p. 4.)

Mr. V. A. Smith says: "We have Aśoka's own authority for stating that in the ninth year of his reign, for the reasons above explained, he joined the Buddhist Community as a lay disciple." [12] I submit that we have no such authority. The reasons advanced by Mr. Smith are almost the same as those relied on by M. Senart and are based on the thirteenth Rock Edict. Aśoka says therein that he conquered the Kalingas in the ninth year of his reign, that he was greatly affected by the horrors of war and that ever since "he had zealously *protected* the law of Piety, had been *devoted* to that Law and had *proclaimed* its precepts." I think that it is wrong to draw from this statement that Aśoka was converted only then for the first time. It simply shows that the bloodshed caused in the

[11] Skt. Śasta, a name of Buddha. See Amarakôśa, I, 14.

[12] *Asoka*, p. 18.

Kalinga War opened his eyes to the iniquity of military conquests, and that he resolved thenceforth to be zealous in the discharge of religious duties. It means that he then became, what in modern language may be called, regenerated. The absence of any specific statement in this long and biographical record that he was only then converted, shows, on the contrary, that he was a Buddhist already. Again the statement made in the eighth Rock Edict on Pious Tours, to the effect that in former times Kings used to go out on tours for purposes of pleasure, but, in the eleventh year of his reign, "he went on the road leading to true knowledge, whence originated tours devoted to piety," during which pious men were seen, and largess bestowed, — this statement — has been interpreted by Prof. Rhys Davids and Mr. Smith, as showing that Aśoka became a monk in the eleventh year of his reign by taking the eightfold path. This idea, I venture to express, never entered into the mind of the pious monarch. What he clearly intended to proclaim was that, whereas former Kings went out only for purposes of mundane pleasures, he, on the other hand, toured in his provinces only for the purpose of acquiring spiritual merit. As a matter of fact, we have evidence of his pious tours in the numerous *stūpas* and pillars, which he erected in holy places in various parts of his dominions in memory of his having visited them.

It is clear to anyone conversant with even modern Prakrit vernaculars that *aḍhe* means two and-a-half, and *tîs* means thirty, and that the word consequently signifies thirty-two and-a-half years. This interpretation is also supported by the following considerations. If *aḍhitisâni* meant two and-a-half years, then as Aśoka was certainly a Buddhist in the year after the Kalinga War, he must have been a monk in the 13th year of his reign at the latest; **but no inscriptions of his, of that or of any later year,** including the pillar edicts of the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth years of his reign, **make any mention of his having joined the Order, which must, therefore, have occurred at a much later date.**

Secondly, the Rupnâth version of the Edict under discussion states that Edicts had already been inscribed on rocks and pillars. **As we do not find any pillar edict prior to Aśoka's twenty-seventh year, this inscription must certainly be later and cannot belong to the eighteenth year of his reign, as was supposed by Mr. Smith.**[13]

Thirdly, in this inscription strenuous exertion for a short period as a member of the Order is contrasted with, and considered superior to, the moderate exertion of a layman for a longer period. **It is absurd, therefore, to contrast strenuous exertion for the longer period of six years with moderate exertion for the shorter period of two years and-a-half.**

Fourthly, we find in this Inscription the first and only glimpse of an intolerant spirit ever exhibited by Piyadasi. Even as late as the 28th year of his reign, he says, in the Sixth and the Seventh Pillar Edicts. 'I devote all my attention to all communities. All sects have been reverenced by me.' "He also arranged that censors should be occupied with the affairs of the Buddhist clergy, as well as with the Brâhmans, Jains, Ajîvakas and, in fact, with all the various sects." The Twelfth Rock Edict of about the fourteenth year of his reign is devoted solely to the subject of Toleration, and Aśoka declares therein : — "A man must not do reverence to his own sect by disparaging that of another man for trivial reasons. Depreciation should be for adequate reasons only, because the sects of other people deserve reverence for one reason or another." He recommends charity and respect to Brâhmans in many of his edicts and bestowed certain caves on the members of the Hindu Ajîvaka Sect. **If we compare these splendid acts of toleration with the fanaticism of the Inscription in question, there can be no doubt that Aśoka was in his dotage when the latter was issued.** For he says therein that during the six years he had

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[13] *Asoka*, pp. 138—140.

been a monk, "the men who were all over India regarded as true (meaning thereby, Brâhmans) have been with their gods shown to be untrue," a statement more worthy of an intolerant old bigot than of a wise statesman that he till then had been. It stands to reason, therefore, that it must have emanated long after the Pillar Edicts of his twenty-eighth year.

Fifthly and lastly, **the interpretation herein attempted also agrees with the chronological details of the Ceylonese Chronicles in a remarkable manner.** As we have already seen, they declare that the King joined the Buddhist faith in the fourth year after his succession to the throne, and celebrated his coronation soon after in the same year, *i. e.*, 218 years after the death of Buddha and that he died thirty-seven years after his coronation. The *Sudarśana Vibhâsha*, which was translated into the Chinese in 489 A. D., also agrees in giving 218 A. B. for Aśoka. From these statements we may draw the obvious inference that Aśoka was a Buddhist[14] for about thirty-eight years and that he died in the year 256 after the death of Buddha. **This result exactly tallies with the details of our Inscription, which was proclaimed in the year 256 after Buddha's death and according to which Aśoka was a Buddhist for $32\frac{1}{2} + 6$ or $38\frac{1}{2}$ years.**

We have already fixed the date of Aśoka's death in 231 B.C. This inscription which may be fittingly styled as his last swan-song is, therefore, of that date. **On the authority then of the available inscriptions and of the tradition as recorded in the Ceylonese Chronicles, the date of the Nirvâna of Buddha is found to be 231 + 256 or 487 B. C.;** and as tradition assigns eighty years as the period of his life, he may be considered to have been born in the year 567 B. C.

Curiously enough, the date we have arrived at is corroborated by testimony from an independent quarter. It appears that **there is in China a Dotted Record** "which was attached to the *Vinaya Pitaka*, and every year at the end of the *vassa* ceremony, the presiding priest used to add a dot to it. This process is said to have been kept up till 489 A. D., when Sanghabhadra added the last dot after his *vassa* residence at Canton in China." The *Record* is stated to have "indicated 975 dots (years) from the Nirvâna to 489 A. D."[15] **If this statement is found to be correct, then we have one more reason for considering the Nirvâna to have occurred in 487 B. C.**

We have lastly to consider **how it is that the Ceylonese tradition,** as recorded in the *Chronicles*, which, as we have seen, is not without its great value for historical and chronological purposes, **has all along been that Buddha attained Nirvâna in the year 543 B. C.** I am aware that scholars like Max Müller and Mr. Smith unceremoniously brush aside all the chronological particulars of these *Chronicles* prior to 160 B. C. as unreliable, while others go so far as to condemn them wholesale. But as Professor Rhys Davids says: "It jars upon the reader to hear the *Chronicles* called the mendacious fictions of unscrupulous monks. Such expressions are inaccurate; and they show a grave want of appreciation."[16] Dr. Fleet goes even so far as to say that 543 B. C., the date according to the *Choronicles* as interpreted by the editors Turnour and Wijesinha, "is not asserted by or supported by anything contained in *Dîpavansa* or the earlier part of the *Mahâvansa*, but was simply invented, as far as I can see my way, in the 12th or 13th century A.D."[17] But this is certainly a mistake, for as Bishop Bigandet points out: "There is, perhaps, no

[14] Mr. V. A. Smith writes to me under date 7th October 1908: "I am fully persuaded, with Senart, and against Dr. Fleet, that *all* the inscriptions (of Aśoka) are Buddhist." I agree; but I venture to consider also as correct the statement of the Ceylonese *Chronicles* that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism very shortly before his coronation.

[15] *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1896; *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 153; *J. R. A. S.*, January, 1905, p. 33.

[16] *Buddhist India*, p. 274.

[17] *J. R. A. S.*, January, 1904.

single point in the whole history of India on which *the chronicles* of Ceylon and further India are so *distinct* and *unanimous* than that Buddha died — or as they express it, attained Nirvana — at the age of eighty years in the year 543 B.C., or in the year 148 of the Eetzana or Anjana epoch."

I believe that the erroneous idea regarding the value of the Ceylonese *Chronicles* is due to a certain extent to the circumstance that no explanation was forthcoming why the Ceylonese date for the Nirvâna should be nearly six decades anterior to the one which may be inferred from reliable data. This antedating of the Era of the Nirvâna injuriously affected to a certain extent the correctness of the chronology of the *Dîpavansa* and the *Mahâvansa*. Turnour accepts 543 B. C. for the Nirvâna, but supposed that the date of Aśoka was carried back by a period of sixty years for the reason that it was thought expedient for the good of religion that the landing of Vijia, the first Buddhist missionary to Ceylon, should be coincident with the death of Buddha.

But this far-fetched explanation cannot be accepted for the simple reason that it assumes a wrong date, namely, 543 B. C. for the Nirvâna of Buddha. **On the other hand, the real reason for the antedating by the Chronicles of the Nirvana by a period of 56 years, the difference between the Ceylonese date 543 B. C. and B. C. 487, the date advanced herein,** must be sought for elsewhere. I believe that it is **due to an erroneous belief entertained by early Buddhists that the Maurya Era began with Aśoka, the Constantine of the followers of Gautama.** They ignored the possibility of the era commencing with the accession to the throne of Magadha of a non-Buddhist King, namely, Chandragupta, who did not loom so largely in public estimation. They knew that Aśoka dated his edicts by the years elapsed since his coronation, and naturally supposed that the Maurya Era, which was current in the third and second centuries before Christ as can be inferred from the Hâtigumpha Inscription dated in the year 165 of the Maurya Era, began with the coronation of their greatest Emperor. **Aśoka's coronation was thus placed 56 years earlier, the interval between the Mauryan epoch of 325 B. C. and 269 B. C., the correct date of his coronation.** And as Buddhists believe that he was formally crowned "after 218 years had elapsed since the death of Buddha," the Great Sakyamuni was erroneously supposed to have passed in the year 325 + 218 or 543 B. C. "unto Nirvâna, where the Silence lives."[18]

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[18] In two communications from Dr. Fleet, since published in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1908, pp. 486 and 815, he accepts the statements of the *Dîpavansa* that Aśoka reigned 37 years after his anointment in the 218th year after Buddha's death, but rejects the other statement that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism in the 4th year after his accession to the throne. Dr. Fleet takes *adhitisâni* to mean 2½ years and says: "Aśoka was converted to Buddhism and became a lay disciple about half-way through the 30th year after his anointment. A little more than 2½ years later . . he formally joined the Buddhist Samgha. A little more than 5 years after that, early in the 38th year, . . he took the vows of a monk, perhaps installing Daśaratha as his successor . . And from that retirement, 1 year later, early in the 39th year, he sent forth this notification (the minor rock edicts of Brahmagiri, etc.)" I respectfully submit that it is against the tenor of Aśoka's edicts and the Ceylonese *Chronicles* to suppose that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism only so late as the 38th year after his coronation. Aśoka would not have "set up" the Rummindei Pillar in his 21st year in memory of Buddha's birth and done "reverence to Buddha Sakyamuni" and called him "Bhagavân," unless he had been a Buddhist already. His enlargement, for the second time, of the *stûpa* of Buddha Konakamana in the 15th year of his reign as recorded on the Nigliva Pillar, his constant references in his inscriptions to *Dhamma*, the Buddhist word for Religion, the circumstance that he does not mention in any of his inscriptions any of the Hindu deities which would have been impossible in a Hindu as pious as Aśoka, the evidence afforded by his 13th rock edict of his misssionary zeal which must certainly have been in the cause of some proselytizing religion like that of Buddha, and not merely for the inculcation of the primary duties of man which all men recognised, his opinion that the best of all deeds is the proclamation of Dhamma (Rock Edict IV), his condemnation of animal slaughter, his directions for the convoking of the General Assembly once in every 5 years for proclaiming Dhamma and his reference in his third rock edict to the clergy (*parisâ*) for teaching the same to others, the definitions given in his inscriptions of true ceremonial and true charity, and above all, the clear statement of the Ceylonese *Chronicles* that he was converted in the 4th year after his accession to the throne, all go to prove that he joined the same Buddhist faith as a layman in which 32½ years later he was confirmed as a monk.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M. A., RAI BAHADUR.

(Continued from p. 284.)

Pallava Expansion in the Tamil Country.

Early in the 7th century A.D. the Pallavas were apparently driven out from their northern possessions and "the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his (*i. e.* Pulikêśin's) power" was "obscured by the dust of his (the latter's) army" and the former was forced "to vanish behind the walls of Kâñchîpura."[51] The kingdom of Vêṅgî was subsequently founded and Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulikêśin II., was appointed to govern the province sometime before A. D. 632.[52] In defining the boundaries of Vêṅgî, Dr. Fleet gives the river Kṛishṇâ as its southern limit, but subsequently remarks that the more northern portions of the Pallava dominions appear to have been quickly absorbed into the Eastern Chalukya country.[53] We may, therefore, suppose that, soon after the Eastern Chalukya kingdom had been founded, the northern portion of the Nellore District was annexed by it,[54] while the southern portion continued under the Pallavas and was accordingly included in Toṇḍai-nâḍu.[55] This name was eventually altered into Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-maṇḍalam,[56] which, as will be shown later on, extended at least as far north as the Atmakûr tâluk.[57] Where exactly the boundary line lay between Vêṅgî and Toṇḍai-nâḍu cannot be ascertained at present. In the Ṭêki plates of Chôḍagaṅga, dated in A. D. 1086-87, the river Mannêṛu is said to be the southern boundary of the Vêṅgî kingdom.[58] It is not unlikely that this river formed the boundary between Vêṅgî and Toṇḍai-nâḍu even in earlier times. That portion of the Nellore District, which was subject to Eastern Chalukya domination, naturally adopted, from its frequent contact with the Andhra country, Telugu for its vernacular, while in the southern portion, which was governed by the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, Tamil seems to have prevailed until the Vijayanagara conquest.

Though the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II. drove the Pallavas out of the Telugu country, yet, towards the close of his reign, the latter became powerful and actually defeated him and seized his capital Vâtâpi, *i. e.* Bâdâmi, in the Bombay Presidency, about A. D. 642.[59] But his son Vikramâditya I. conquered the Pallava king Paramêśvaravarman I. and probably led an expedition against Kâñchî.[60] The Pallavas apparently lost, at least temporarily, a portion of their dominions. About the same time there was a powerful coalition to uproot the Eastern Chalukya Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka, who is said to have reigned for seven days in A. D. 663.[61] It is not known whether the Western Chalukya Vikramâditya I. took any active part either in favour of or against his cousin or not. The Talamañchi plates (CP. 24), dated in A. D. 660, belong to his reign,[62] but as the village granted has not yet been identified, the inscription cannot be taken to prove that the dominions of Vikramâditya I. extended into the Nellore District.[63] At any rate, the grants of Vishṇuvardhana II. (A. D. 663 to 672)[64] and Maṅgi-Yuvarâja[65] (A. D. 672-96) found in the Nellore District may be taken to prove the restoration of the Eastern Chalukyas in Vêṅgî. Vishṇuvardhana III. (A. D. 709—46), who

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51 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 11.

52 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 352.

53 *Ante*, Vol. XX, p. 93.

54 About A. D. 640, when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited Southern India, there was a kingdom called Dhanakaṭaka or Mahâ-Andhra, whose capital seems to have been Bezvada. Dhanakaṭaka was 1,000 *li* or so south of Andhra and was 6,000 *li* in circuit (or twice the extent of Andhra); Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 221. The northern portion of the Nellore District was probably included in Dhanakaṭaka.

55 See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 318.

56 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 312.

57 See p. 354 below.

58 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 335.

59 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 358.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 362.

61 *Ante*, Vol. XX, p. 97.

62 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 98. The king granted the village of Eḷasatti to the north of Koḷchukoṇṛa to his Brâhmaṇa preceptor Śrimêghâchârya of the Vasishṭha *gotra*. The writer of the grant was Vajravarman of the Vaidya family.

63 Two copper-plate grants of Vikramâditya I. and two of his son Vinayâditya have been discovered in the neighbouring district of Karnûl.

64 *Ante*, Vol. XX, p. 98.

65 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 236.

succeeded to the throne after ejecting his younger brother, seems to have become a subordinate of the Pallava king Nandivarman, whose general Udayachandra is said to have ordered the Nishâda chief Prithivivyâghra out of the district of Vishnurâja, which he subjected to the Pallava.[66] The only Pallava stone inscription[67] found in the Nellore District is built into the floor of the Subrahmanya temple at Mallam in the Gûdûr tâluk (G. 54). It is dated in the 15th year of the reign of the Pallava king Nandippôttaraśar, and seems to register a grant to the shrine of the god Subrahmanya (at Tiruvânbûr) made at the request of an Âluva chief,[68] the executor being the Chalukya king. Both the Âluva chief and the Chalukya king — very probably the Eastern Chalukya Vishnuvardhana III. — were evidently Pallava feudatories, and it is interesting to note that the worship of the god Subrahmanya dates from such an early period as the 8th century A. D.

The Ganga-Pallavas in the Nellore District.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been the last powerful king of the Pallava dynasty.[69] About the middle of the 8th century A. D. they ceased to be the ruling power in Southern India and their place was taken at least in a portion of the Pallava dominions by the Ganga-Pallavas. The inscriptions of the latter found in the vicinity of Kâlahasti[70] raise a presumption that their dominions might have extended at least into the southern portion of the Nellore District. Gûdûr 63, of which Mr. G. Venkoba Rao has furnished an impression at my request, confirms this presumption. It belongs to the 20th year of the reign of the Ganga-Pallava king Srî-Kampavarmán and appears to record some gift to a goddess (*bhatâri*).

The Eastern Chalukyas of Vêngî in the Northern Portion of Nellore.

The decline of the Pallavas[71] and the almost synchronous disappearance of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi must have made the Eastern Chalukyas of Vêngî more powerful than before. The Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêd, who took the place of the Western Chalukyas, and the Ganga feudatories of the former were constantly at war with the Eastern Chalukyas. Vijayâditya II. of Vêngî (A. D. 799 to 843), is said to have fought for "twelve years, by day and by night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gangas and the Rattas and built the same number of large temples of Siva."[72] His grandson Vijayâditya III. (A.D. 844 to 888) was another powerful king. According to the Maliyapûndi grant (CP. 19) he bore the title Parachakrarâma, while Gunaga or Gunaka[73] was his surname according to other copper-plates. Challenged by the lord of the Rattas he conquered the unequalled Gangas; played the game of ball with the head of Mangirâja on the battlefield; burnt Chakrakûta[74] and frightened Sankila residing in Kiranapura and joined by Krishna.[75] From the Maliyapûndi grant we learn that Mangi or Mangirâja was a Nolamba king.[76] The general who gained most of these

[66] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 354.

[67] Mr. Butterworth very kindly placed at my disposal impressions of about 800 stone inscriptions from Nellore. The number of impressions actually printed in the volume is 921. In the following pages, the variations from the names or dates found in the Nellore volume are based on the revised readings of them, which I have accepted after studying the impressions received from Mr. Butterworth. In those cases where impressions have not been available, I have made use of the text printed in the Nellore volume.

[68] As traces of later Nâga rule are found in the south of the Nellore District, it is not altogether impossible that this Âluva chief was a Nâga. In the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 281, footnote 3, Dr. Fleet remarks that the Sêndrakas and the Âlupas may possibly have been Nâgas.

[69] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V. p. 157.

[70] See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-04, para. 13.

[71] At Nalajanampâdu in the Kanigiri tâluk is a somewhat damaged but archaic inscription of a king, whose name is not fully preserved, but who calls himself *Paramamâhêśvara* and bore the title *Pallavâditya* (KG. 25).

[72] Above, Vol. XX, p. 101. If this be true, a few at least of these 108 temples ought to be in the northern portion of the Nellore District, which, as I have already pointed out, was included in Vêngî.

[73] The surname *Gonakenallâta* occurs in an archaic fragment found in the town of Kandukûr (KR. 31 and KR. 32) and *Gunakenallundu* in a similar fragment at Dharmavaram in the Ongole tâluk (O. 39).

[74] Mr. Hiralal has pointed out (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 179) that Chakrakûta has to be looked for in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces.

[75] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 226.

[76] *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 48. Perhaps Mangi was a familiar form of the name Mangala, which was borne by the first Nolamba king Nolambâdhirâja; see Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, p. 5.

victories was Pâṇḍaraṅga[77] whose name figures in one or two of the lithic fragments in archaic characters published in the Nellore volume. The same general figures as the executor in the Masulipatam plate of Vijayâditya III,[78] while Kaḍeyarâja, mentioned in the Bezvâḍa plates of Châlukya Bhîma I., was his grandson.[79]

On the death of Amma I. in A. D. 925 the succession was disputed. Vijayâditya V., also called Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya, reigned 15 days; Tâḍapa, 1 month; Vikramâditya II., 11 months;[80] and Bhîma III., 8 months. Then followed a period of confusion when, according to the Maliyapûṇḍi grant, Râjamârtaṇḍa, Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya, Yuddhamalla and others were fighting for the throne oppressing the subjects like *râkshasas*, and the strife is said to have lasted five years. Other princes also seem to have taken part in the war and to have harassed the country. Châlukya Bhîma II. killed Râjamârtaṇḍa[81] and drove Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya[82] and Yuddhamalla out of the country. The Kaluchumbarṟu grant refers also to this calamitous period in the history of Vêṅgî and mentions the names of the other kings who took part in this war. Châlukya Bhîma II. is said to have surpassed the epic hero Bhîma in strength and majesty:—having, unaided, slain the glorious Râjamayya, and Dhaḻaga, who excelled far and wide, and the fierce Tâtabikki, and Bijja who was (always) ready for war, and the excessively powerful Ayyapa, terrible and savage, and the extremely great army sent by king Gôvinda, and Lôvabikki, the ruler of the Chôḻas, and the valorous Yuddhamalla. This glorious Râja-Bhîma II. gave encouragement to those who were frightened, protected those who came to the excellent refuge which he afforded, and removed troublesome people.[83] The description given in these two grants of the state of the country cannot be altogether fanciful, and therefore it may be supposed that the province was actually devastated by this war.[84] The end of the reign of Châlukya Bhîma II. takes us to about the middle of the 10th century A. D. After a short period of peaceful progress came the interregnum in the Vêṅgî country lasting more than a quarter of a century. According to the words of the poet, "a feverish desire to obtain a suitable lord consumed the earth which was without a leader."[85] What actually took place during this interval is not known. The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ collapsed in consequence of their defeat at the hands of Sîyaka-Harsha of Malwa and the plundering of their capital;[86] and the place of the Râshṭrakûṭas was taken by the Western Chalukyas of Kalyâṇi.

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[77] At Addaṅki in the Ongole tâluk is a fragment which records a gift of land by Pâṇḍaraṅgu to a temple (O. 3). The name Pâṇḍaraṅgu occurs also in an archaic fragment at Dharmavaram in the same tâluk (O. 39), which refers to a certain Ayyaparâju and his younger brother Bejeyuṇḍu. A descendant of Pâṇḍaraṅgu was Durgarâja (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 49) who might be identical with Dugirâju mentioned in an archaic inscription at Peṭlûru (KR. 67).

[78] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 123.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 131. At Reḍḍipâḻayam in the Gûdûr tâluk in a hamlet named Pantraṅgam, is a temple called Paṇḍaraṅgam in its inscriptions. The earliest record in the temple belongs, however, to the reign of Vikrama-Chôḻa, while mention is made of Kulôttuṅga I. in another epigraph of the same temple. Pantraṅgam was known in ancient times as the great city of Kâkandi in Kaḍalkoṇḍa-Pavvattiri-kôṭṭam, a district of Râjêndra-Chôḻa-maṇḍalam (G.87 and G.94). Kâkandi was another name of Kâvirippaṭṭiṇam (*Maṇimêjalai*, xxii, ll. 37-38) mentioned in ancient Tamil poems as the capital of the Chôḻas. Kâvirippaṭṭiṇam was submerged in the ocean during the reign of the Chôḻa king Neḍumuḍikkiḻḻi. The district in which Pantraṅgam or Kâkandi was situated was Kaḍalkoṇḍa-Pavvattiri-kôṭṭam 'Pavvattiri-kôṭṭam submerged in the ocean.' Though we have no reason to suppose that the Kâkandi mentioned in early Tamil poems has to be looked for in the Nellore District, it is a strange coincidence that a portion of that district was also submerged in the ocean in historical times. As regards the name Pantraṅgam of the village, we cannot be quite sure if the Eastern Chalukya dominions extended so far south as the Gûḍûr tâluk and as the volume before us furnishes no information as to the architecture of the temple, we cannot venture to connect the hamlet and the temple with the Eastern Chalukya general.

[80] The Vikramâditya-Mahârâju of the Châlukya family mentioned in D. 2 must be Vikramâditya II., if he was an Eastern Chalukya at all, because Vikramâditya I. of that dynasty did not reign; see also above, p. 201.

[81] Râjamârtaṇḍa is, according to Professor Hultzsch, the same as Râjamayya of the Kaluchumbarṟu grant.

[82] He was also known as Bêta-Vijayâditya and founded a separate line of kings, who held the Vêṅgî country later on. He was anointed to the throne while still a child. If the Maliyapûṇḍi grant is to be believed, he fought for the crown even after he was dethroned. As he seems to have been a child when the war took place, it may be that his cause was taken up by his partisans.

[83] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 190.

[84] Perhaps some of the monuments of the northern portion of the Nellore District came to grief about this time.

[85] *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 52, text-line, 43 f.

[86] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 426.

The Chôḷas in the Southern Portion of the Nellore District.

In the south, about the time of which we are speaking (*i. e.* the second half of the 9th century A. D.), the Pâṇḍyas, who had been powerful, were gradually declining. As the Chôḷa king Âditya I. conquered the Gaṅga-Pallava Aparâjita and annexed his dominions[87] and as inscriptions of Parântaka I. have been found in the vicinity of Kâḷahasti[88] (which is not far from the Nellore border), it may be supposed that the Chôḷas had extended their dominions into the southern portion of the Nellore District and become practically neighbours of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vêṅgî. The Chôḷa Parântaka I. claims to have conquered the Bâṇas, who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and some of whom figure in inscriptions at Guḍimallam near Kâḷahasti.[89] Perhaps it was this defeat that led them to seek their fortunes beyond the limits of the Chôḷa dominions. We find a Bâṇa king, named Aggaparâju, in the north of the Nellore District (P. 38) about the middle of the 10th century and another named Chûraballirâju at Koṇidena in the Guntur District about the middle of the 12th century A. D.[90] About A. D. 950 the power of the Chôḷas was checked temporarily by the Râshṭrakûṭa occupation of a portion at least of the Chôḷa dominions,[91] though it may be doubted if this in any way affected their domination in the tract of country with which we are at present concerned. It is, however, necessary to note here that the interregnum in the Vêṅgî country referred to in the previous paragraph could not have been brought about by the Chôḷas.[92] The lawlessness consequent on the interregnum must have disturbed the southern portion of the district, which had probably passed into the hands of the Chôḷas soon after the downfall of the Gaṅga-Pallavas. Perhaps, it was the fear of this lawlessness spreading into his own dominions that led the great Chôḷa king Râjarâja I. to despatch an army early in his reign into Vêṅgî and to restore order and peaceful government in the province.[93] What the other considerations were, if any, that led him to take this step we do not at present know. At any rate, the southern portion of the Nellore District was apparently under Chôḷa rule and was included in the province called Toṇḍai-nâḍu or Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-maṇḍalam[94] as testified to by a number of inscriptions in the volume before us, while the northern portion continued under the Eastern Chalukyas.[95]

Paucity of Early Records in the South of Nellore.

The Pallavas and Gaṅga-Pallavas are represented in the Nellore District each by a single stone inscription found at Mallam in the Gûḍûr tâluk. And Chôḷa dominion in the south of the district, which we have been trying to trace and which must have continued from the time of Parântaka I. (A. D. 907 to 946), has curiously enough left very few traces, to judge from the volume of Nellore inscriptions published by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty. The

[87] See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-03, para. 10.

[88] Nos. 225 and 230 of the Government Epigraphist's *Collection for* 1903.

[89] Their territory, called in inscriptions Perumbâṇappâḍi, seems to have extended as far north as Tirupati in the North Arcot District; see my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-04, para. 26.

[90] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, para. 85.

[91] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 194.

[92] The interregnum must have lasted from A. D. 972 to 998-9 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 349). It is a curious fact that the reign of the first king Taila II., of the revived Western Châlukya dynasty corresponds to about the same period. Consequently, it looks as if he had something to do with the interregnum, though no statement to that effect is made in any of the numerous records which mention the event. If he had actually subdued the country and was ruling it, the records would not characterise it as a period of anarchy. During the period of confusion consequent on the collapse of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ and the rise of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi, some unscrupulous feudatories or military officers of one or the other of these powers probably assumed temporary sovereignty and harassed the people. It may even be that there was a regular fight between two or more such feudatories all through the period of 27 years. This interregnum might also have contributed to the disappearance of monuments in Vêṅgî.

[93] It was apparently the Chôḷa invasion during the reign of Râjarâja I. that put a stop to the interregnum; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 349.

[94] This province seems to have extended as far north as the Âtmakûr tâluk. The village called Chiramana (Sirumaṇai in A. 23) was situated in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-maṇḍalam.

[95] The intermarriages between the Chôḷas and the Eastern Chalukyas, which took place during the three successive generations, must have served to strengthen the latter even against foreign invasions.

Chôḷa kings commencing from Parântaka I. have left a rich legacy of temples and inscriptions in the Tamil country. It is worthy of note that not even a fragment of an inscription of any of the Chôḷa kings from Parântaka I. to Kulôttuṅga I. has been found in that part of the Nellore District where they may reasonably be supposed to have held sway. Neither are there any ancient temples which may be ascribed to them. This again is significant and cannot be passed over without comment. The tract of country with which we have to deal is peculiarly devoid of ancient places sacred either to the Śaivas or to the Vaishṇavas. "It is possible," says the *Madras Manual of Administration*, "that the tract was to a certain extent uninhabited till a comparatively recent period, and like the Cuddapah, Bellary, Anantapur, and Kurnool districts formed part of the so-called desert of Dandaka." Under the heading 'Physical Geography' of the Nellore District the same authority remarks: "Its general aspect is forbidding . . . . The soil is not naturally fertile, nor are means of irrigation readily at hand. Scarcely one half of the total area is cultivated." These causes must have been at work to prevent the foundation of temples and the establishment of large Brahmanical colonies. The amalgamation of the Chôḷa and Eastern Chalukya kingdoms during the reign of Kulôttuṅga I; the wave of Vaishṇava revival during the time of Râmânuja and its spread from Conjeeveram into the north; and the foundation of local feudatory families in several parts of the Telugu country towards the close of Kulôttuṅga's reign and after his death — these were probably some of the causes which led to the gradual colonization of the barren and unproductive parts of the Nellore District. With this occupation commenced the building of the temples now found in the district, which are all later than the time of Kulôttuṅga I[96] In fact, most of the stone inscriptions included in the Nellore volume belong to the period subsequent to the reign of Kulôttuṅga I. There are no records, either on stone or on copper, in the volume, for the elucidation of the history of the district, from the close of the interregnum to the reign of Kulôttuṅga I., as far as the northern portion is concerned. As regards the south, there are only two inscriptions which are prior to the time of Kulôttuṅga.

Kulôttuṅga I. and His Successors.

Thus far the history of Nellore has had to be made out mainly from records found elsewhere. The later periods may be worked out from the inscriptions of the district, which Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty have made accessible to the antiquarian public with characteristic disinterestedness. The Chôḷa king Kulôttuṅga I. is referred to in a Gûḍûr inscription under the name "Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva, who abolished tolls" (G. 87), while his son and successor is represented by a single Tamil record in the same tâluk (G. 94).[97] The accession of Kulôttuṅga II. is fixed at A. D. 1132-33 by O. 142 and by a few epigraphs from the Guntur District in the Government Epigraphist's Collection.[98] He reigned until at least A. D. 1148-49, while his Chellûr plates are dated in A. D. 1143.[99] The initial date of Râjarâja II, *viz.* 1146, calculated by Professor Kielhorn from astronomical details furnished in Tamil inscriptions of his reign[100] is confirmed by O. 51 and O. 59 and by a number of records from Bâpatla in the Guntur District.[1] He must have reigned until at least A. D: 1171-72. The absence of epigraphs of Kulôttuṅga II. and Râjarâja II. in the southern portion of the Nellore District may be taken to show that

[96] In the Ongole tâluk a comparatively ancient Haihaya inscription (O. 112) has been found. It is, however, undated and fragmentary, and no king's name has been traced in it. Perhaps it belongs to some ancestor of the Kôna chiefs, who claimed to belong to the Haihaya family and to be lords of the city of Mâhishmati. In the 12th century A. D. the Kôna chiefs were ruling the Gôdâvarî delta as feudatories of the Velanâṇḍu family (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 86).

[97] O. 74, which contains some of the *birudas* of Kulôttuṅga I. and of Vikrama-Chôḷa, has perhaps to be assigned to the latter or to some descendant of either of them. The king's name is not mentioned and the name Vîra-Chôḍa, which does occur, cannot be taken to denote the Eastern Chalukya viceroy of that name, because the titles given to the king were not ordinarily used by the rulers of Vêṅgî.

[98] Nos. 172, 173, 174, 176, 180, 183, and 223 of 1897. [99] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 10. [100] *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 2.

[1] Nos. 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 211, 215, 216, 221, and 231 of 1897. The sovereignty of Kulôttuṅga II. and of his successor Râjarâja II. appears to have been merely nominal in the Telugu country. Their inscriptions have also been found at Drâkshârâma in the Godavari District. No. 164 of 1897 belongs to the 25th year of Râjarâja II. and to Śaka-Saṁvat 1094 = A.D. 1171-72. Subsequently, another branch of the Eastern Chalukyas seems to have ruled Vêṅgî, or at least a portion of it, for a short time.

their dominions were probably limited to the northern part of the district. The next Chôḷa king represented in the volume before us is Kulôttuṅga III.,[2] whose accession took place in A. D 1178[3] and whose records are found in the Nellore, Râpûr, and Gûḍûr tâluks, in the Sûlûrpet Division, and in the Veṅkaṭagiri Zamîndârî. A. 18, A. 26, and A. 43, dated, respectively, in the 35th, 18th, and 39th year of Kulôttuṅga may also be attributed to him. The latest date of Kulôttuṅga III is apparently his 39th year[4] corresponding to A. D. 1216-7. Towards the close of the same year his son and successor Râjarâja III. ascended the throne. The latter is represented in the Gûḍûr, Nellore, and Râpûr tâluks, Sûlûrpet Division, and the Veṅkaṭagiri Zamîndârî. The latest date of his reign is the 37th year in an inscription at Kanupartipâḍu in the Nellore tâluk (N. 27), which mentions a Jaina temple called Kaṅkâla-Chôḷa-Jinâlaya and a certain Matisâgaradêva, apparently a Jaina teacher. If this date has been correctly read, Râjarâja III. and his successor Vîrarâjêndra-Chôḷadêva must have been co-regents. Inscriptions of the latter have been found in the Gûḍûr and Udayagiri tâluks (G. 39, G. 85, G. 90, and U. 48). He may be different from Râjêndra-Chôḷa III., who, according to Professor Kielhorn, ascended the throne in A. D. 1246. The initial date of Vîrarâjêndra-Chôḷadêva is A. D. 1244-5 according to G. 90 and U. 48. The former is represented at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool District by a Tamil inscription,[5] while the latter seems to have been ruling over a small portion of the Nellore District until at least A. D. 1262-63 (G. 85 and G. 90).

Later History of Nellore.

Thus, while the earlier Chôḷa kings are altogether unrepresented in the Nellore volume, Kulôttuṅga I. probably ruled over the whole of the Nellore District, because he was the sovereign both of Vêṅgî and of the Chôḷa dominions. He has, however, left no unmistakable monuments. As regards his successors, their sovereignty seems to have been merely nominal, while the feudatories to be mentioned presently appear to have divided the country into several portions and to have governed them as semi-independent chiefs. This state of things probably continued all through the 12th century. Towards the close of that period, the Kâkatîyas of Orangal became powerful and seem to have secured a portion of the Vêṅgî kingdom. A number of inscriptions of the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati have been found in the Ongole tâluk (O. 17, O. 28, O. 45, O. 86, O. 88, O. 89, O. 139, O. 143 and O. 150), and in the Darśi (D. 25 and D. 27) and Podili divisions (P. 7, P. 10 and P. 11). Probably, the northern portion of the district acknowledged the Kâkatîya supremacy, while the south remained subordinate at least in name to the tottering Chôḷas. About the middle of the 13th century, the Pâṇḍyas, who had become supreme in the Tamil country, extended their conquest in the north[6] and actually captured Nellore. Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. (A. D. 1251 to at least 1261) boasts of having defeated the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati and of having performed the coronation of heroes at the town of Nellore.[7] Though the actual extent of

The Kâkatîyas.

The Pâṇḍyas.

[2] I am unable to decide whether G. 78 has to be assigned to Kulôttuṅga III. or Râjarâja III. It is dated in the 18th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrî-Râjarâjadêva, "who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pâṇḍya." It is very unlikely that Râjarâja III. is meant, because he could not have conquered Madura. But it may be contended that he simply inherited the title from his father Kulôttuṅga III., in which case it must be remarked that this title occurs nowhere else in connection with Râjarâja III. It occurs most frequently as a *biruda* of Kulôttuṅga III.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 8. During the interval between the death of Râjarâja II. and the accession of Kulôttuṅga III, the northern portion of Nellore probably passed into the hands of the Velanâṇḍu chiefs, who were actually governing Vêṅgî as feudatories of the Chalukya-Chôḷa kings. The southern portion of the Nellore District must have continued under the Chôḷas.

[4] This is evident from V. 10, where the year next to the 39th of Kulôttuṅga is described as the 2nd year of Râjarâja. The double date of N. 57 is due to a mistake, which is apparent already in the published transcript. The impression shows that a portion of the inscription was copied twice, and one of the copies was pasted by the side of the other.

[5] See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, para. 24.

[6] The chiefs mentioned in A. 37, dated in the cyclic year Vyaya, bear Pâṇḍya names. But the inscription seems to be a comparatively modern one.

[7] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 121.

the Kâkatîya dominions during the time of Gaṇapati is not known, there is, no doubt, that he penetrated as far south as Conjeeveram, where an inscription of his is found dated in A. D. 1249.[8] And it became the interest of the dominant Pâṇḍyas to drive him back. That the Pâṇḍyas did gain at least some temporary advantage over the Kâkatîyas is proved by a mutilated Tamil inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya in the Raṅganâyaka temple at Nellore (N. 61).[9] We have at present no means of ascertaining how long the Pâṇḍya king remained in Nellore and how he was driven back.[10] But the Kâkatîya dominions seem to have extended as far south as the Kâvali tâluk during the reign of Gaṇapati's successor Rudrâmbâ, called in inscriptions Rudradêva-Mahârâja (KV. 48). One of the

Kâkatîya Feudatories.

Kâkatîya feudatories named Ambadêva-Mahârâja of the Kâyastha family claims to have established at Vikramasiṁhapura (*i. e.* Nellore) a certain Manmagaṇḍagôpâla,[11] who had been deprived of his dominions.[12] It may therefore be supposed that the Kâkatîya dominions (or, at least their influence) extended at the time over the greater portion of the Nellore District, though not in the extreme south of it.[13] Rudrâmbâ's successor, Pratâparudra, seems to have been a powerful king.[14] During his time, too, the Kâkatîyas were ruling a considerable portion of Nellore and an expedition was despatched against Conjeeveram. His general, Muppiḍi-Nâyaka, or Muppiḍîndra, who is also mentioned in several Nellore inscriptions (A. 56, KR. 84, N. 80, and O. 87), captured Conjeeveram in or before A. D. 1316-17.[15] A somewhat mutilated record of Pratâparudra is found at Jambukêśvaram, near Trichinopoly.[16] The circumstances that led to the invasion against the Tamil country are not known. An adventurous Kêraḷa king, named Ravivarman, appears to have taken advantage of the confusion that prevailed in Southern India consequent on the Muhammadan invasion in A. D. 1310. He conquered the Pâṇḍya king and advanced as far north as Conjeeveram in A. D. 1313.[17] It may be that Pratâparudra's invasion against the Tamil country was in support of some Telugu-Chôḍa chief against the Kêraḷa adventurer. Pratâparudra's latest sure date is [Śaka Saṁvat 1246], the cyclic year Rudhirôdgârin (D. 10) corresponding to A. D. 1323-24. He probably died in A. D. 1325.[18] What became of his dominions after his death is not known[19] An inscription at Upparapalle in the Cuddapah District refers to a son of Pratâparudra named Juṭṭaya.[20] Sir Walter Elliot mentions Vîrabhadra as Pratâparudra's successor,[21] while Mr. Sewell says that his son "Krishna succeeded him, but with a much reduced kingdom."[22] The absence of inscriptions of either Kṛishṇa or Vîrabhadra is significant, and may be taken to show that the Kâkatîya dominions were in a state of disorder, like the rest of Southern India, in consequence of the Muhammadan invasions.

(To be continued.)

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[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 202, and No. 588 of Professor Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII.

[9] Inscriptions of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. and of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II. (A. D. 1276 to at least 1290) have also been found at Nandalûr in the Cuddapah District; see my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-8, Part II, paragraphs 44 and 47.

[10] Perhaps the Chôḷa and Kâkatîya feudatories combined together in this attempt to drive out the intruding Pâṇḍya.

[11] In the sequel, more will be said about this chief.

[12] See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, para. 44.

[13] The extreme south of the Nellore District was probably subject to the Telugu-Chôḍas of Nellore.

[14] In the Nellore District his inscriptions have been found in the Ongole (O. 49, O. 53, O. 58, O. 63, O. 87, O. 96, O. 129, and O. 149), Kandukûr (KR. 1, KR. 23, KR. 40, KR. 54, KR. 55, and KR. 84), Âtmakûr (A. 53), Nellore (N. 80) and Kâvali tâluks (KV. 33) and the Darśi (D. 10, D. 12, D. 26, D. 35, and D. 70) and Poḍili divisions (P. 6).

[15] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 128.

[16] *Ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 200.

[17] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 8. Inscriptions of this king have been found so far at Conjeeveram (*ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 145), Śrîraṅgam (*ibid.*, p. 148), and Tiruvadi (South Arcot).

[18] Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, p. 84.

[19] The editors of the Nellore volume assign KR. 28, CP. 21, and CP. 22 to the Kâkatîyas. But these inscriptions seem to belong to the Gajapatis of Orissa.

[20] See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, para. 57.

[21] *Coins of Southern India*, p. 84. Pratâparudra's son is here said to have retired to Koṇḍaviḍu.

[22] *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 174. The Muhammadan writers speak of Vinâyakadêva, *alias* Nâgadêva, as the son of Pratâparudra.

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE C. P. TIELE.

(*Translated by G. K. Nariman.*)

(*Continued from Vol. XXXV., p. 203.*)

7. The duties of the faithful.

A complete system of religious ethics is as difficult to deduce from the scanty remnants of the most archaic hymns of Zarathushtra as a complete code of the religious doctrines themselves. The salient thoughts, however, which regulated the moral life of the devout Mazdayasnians, and which are more fully dilated upon in the younger *Avesta* find expression in the *Gâthas*. The dominant note is struck by the triad that it is not enough to practice good in acts and to combat the evil, but that we should equally consider sentiments and words. This injunction is enjoined in a variety of ways in the *Gâthas*. In lieu of sentiments, we have **wisdom**, and the latter is further subdivided into will, inclination, choice or belief;[48] but the later formula **"in thoughts, words, and deeds"** is also employed.[49] And the thoughts or the mind was subordinated to the guidance of Mazda, the omniscient, the deeds to that of Asha, the genius of righteousness, order and the cult, and the words to that of Sraosha, the heavenly listener and speaker.

But, however great the value attached to words, the prophets before all laid stress on **deeds**, in that the mind reveals itself in them much more manifestly than in speech. Action stands at the head of everything Zarathushtrian. Man must seek his livelihood in his personal merits. He that soweth not the soil diligently, nor extendeth Mazda's domain by promoting the settled mode of life, is not his true worshipper. The doctrine of absolving prophets rests in a certain sense on a philosophical basis. But the prophets do not demand that man should give up the work-a-day existence for solitude and retired meditation, or that man should renounce the world with its joys and obligations. **All asceticism is foreign to the Mazda creed.** In a reform, which was of a social as well as religious nature, and which so intimately united moral piety with the cultivation of the soil, nothing else in truth could be expected.

This appreciation of energetic activity did not exclude sympathy for the indigent. The pious insignificant individual is more honoured than the opulent miscreant of importance, for it is incumbent on the faithful not only to devote himself to Mazda and to abjure the *dævas* and the human *khrafshtras*, but in his integrity and benevolence to maintain the "Mazda's poor."[50] I cannot but suggest that by these "poor of Mazda" is implied, not what Louis the Saint called *le menu peuple de nostre Seigneur*, but rather in the first instance the minstrels, preachers and priests, who must support themselves on the largesses of the faithful, chiefly royalties and magnates.

Had the stanzas, which deal with the nuptials of Pauruchishti, the prophet's daughter, not been so corrupt, and therefore hard to elucidate, we should be able to affirm with greater certainty what the Zarathushtrian reformers thought of conjugal alliance. What admits of no contradiction is that, in their view, **religion must consecrate marriage,** that the wife should respect the husband as one pure person does another, that she is bound to lay to heart the evangel of the prophets, and thereby to seek to study "the life of Vohumano." "Love each other in Asha, in righteousness and devotion, which will make your home happy," is the admonition to the bridegroom.[51]

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[48] *Yasna* 48, 4, *ahya zaoshang ushtish varneng; yasna* 51, 21, *chisti* instead of *manangha; yasna* 23, 14 and 52, 2, *manangha ukhdhaish shyaotha naishcha*.

[49] *Yasna* 31, 15 ; 51, 5. Here the agriculturist (*vastryo*) by "just deeds," possessing a good understanding for prayer, and having *hukhratush nemangha*, is a sort of a type of the pious

[50] *Yasna* 47, 4 ; 34, 5.

[51] *Yasna* 53, 3-5.

In vain we look into the *Gâthas* for the *khvætvadâta*, the principle of the next of kin marriages, as being the one invested with the greatest sanctity. The saints of the past, Zarathushtra, Frashaoshtra, De Jamaspa, married into families other than their own. Consanguineous *connubium* is neither Zarathushtrian nor Aryan. It must have been a local usage, which in time crept into the Mazdian faith; or, if that is not so, a measure invented with a view to conserve the purity of blood of a small Aryan minority, or a few noble *gens*.

Love of one's enemy and forbearance were not included in the category of virtues which the apostle of Mazda's persuasion preached to his audience. On the contrary, to harbour or succour them was held to be prejudicial to the good cause. He that is the best disposed towards the godly (*ashono*), be he kinsman, servant, or friend, and looks energetically after the earth (*gavoi, the kine*), he is reckoned among the people who are after the heart of Asha and Vohumano. But it is a duty, and one well-pleasing in the sight of Mazda, to do an evil turn by word, intent or action to the wicked. No clemency to them. The adorer of the Falsehood, who consigns house, hamlet, district, and country to misery and death, "him let men correct with the sword." The destruction designed by the enemy recoils on himself, so that a wretched existence shall be his doom. In a word, the proper mission of the faithful is to smite the evil. Should he fail in it he has approved himself well-affected to the brotherhood of Mendacity, and so is one of them. If he omits to assail the fiend, when it is in his power so to do, he is himself on the way to the abode of the Fiend.[52] In those times of fierce struggles, every act of compromise with the adversary was regarded as tantamount to treachery. It could hardly be regarded otherwise. The crusade that was the mission of the reformers, and the persecutions to which they were exposed, at least account for their intolerance. Unfortunately the religion they founded carried down to remote posterity the impress of this lack of forbearance.

If, on the one hand, we cannot deny the ethical nature of the Zarathushtrian discipline, it is self-evident on the other that, for a religion of antiquity, the moral element is not elevated above eudaimonism. The mandatory ordinances are ever accompanied by the mention of the reward, which awaits the faithful here below as well as hereafter, while menaces of terrible penalties in store for the evil-doers in the inferno of the Druksh are reiterated. The meed of the virtuous, a favourite theme, consists in mundane felicity and vigour, and, as has been already indicated, in salvation and a life without death in heaven. The pious are satisfied that they have earned *kudos* by their sacrifice, in acquitting themselves of their duty towards Mazda.[53]

This accords with the peculiar development of the doctrines of dualism and retribution among the Zarathushtrians, and is a logical sequel to them. And if the recompense, as a rule, is made to depend on sanctity and righteousness, it is in consonance with the commandment that the highest good is appointed for those who offer the largest number of sacrifices, whilst the worst lot is reserved for such as bring nothing to Mazda (or his priests ?).[54]

But here and there we get a gleam of a loftier plane of thought. If the pious are enjoined to adore Mazda[55] with prayers with the single object of winning his favour, there are also exhortations to the saintly urging them to bring their souls into unison with Asha[56] and to

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52 *Yasna* 32, 2; 31, 18; 43, 8; 48, 2; *yasna* 46; 5 and 6 lay down that a ruler shall publicly accuse anyone, who has been disobedient to him, and him who is untrue to an agreement entered into.

53 *Yasna* 34, 15; 50, 5; 50, 8 refers to the hymns pronounced to acquire blessings (*padaish ya frasrute izhayao*). In 51, 22, the living, not less than the heroes of the past, Zarathushtra, Vishtaspa, Frashaoshtra, Jamaspa, and Maidyomaongha mentioned in the preceding strophes, receive the bliss (*vahishtem*) for the offering they bring. *Yasna* 34, 1 is a difficult passage, but this much is clear that the return for religious acts, words and prayers is immortality, justice and the possession of abundance, the first fruits of which belong to Mazda.

54 *Yasna* 51, 6.

55 *Yasna* 51, 20.

56 *Yasna* 34, 2. The good mind and the actions of the beneficent men (*spentahvya neres*) are Mazda's.

endeavour by acts to be comparable to Mazda, and to some extent to be his terrestrial embodiments. Whoever violates the moral law, the true doctrine by which the world is rendered blissful, and which was revealed first by Mazda to Zarathushtra and then by Zarathushtra to the world at large, feels guilty towards Mazda and the Ahuras and implores his forgiveness for "that deed whatsoever it may be."[57] And what is placed so often in the foreground in the younger books is prominent here too, namely, the idea that the life of a true Mazdayasnian is a life dedicated to the service of Mazda, attuned to his eternal ordinance, a struggle on his side and in accordance with his ways against the dominion of darkness and mendacity.

Naturally, the *Gâthas* furnish no detail regarding the cult. Such prescriptions belong to a law-book. The *cultus* is touched upon only here and there. From what little is positively said, it is manifest that in the main it was not different from what was in practise at a later period. In the cult, the prime position was occupied by "the red-hot fire of Mazda." The sacrificial offerings consisted of flesh,[58] sacred cakes, *haurvatat*, and probably a certain beverage which symbolically represented Ameretat." In course of time the latter yielded its place to Haoma.[59] At these sacrifices the *manthras* were recited and sacrificial litanies intoned. The priest charged with this function was, as we saw, the Zaotar, the Indian Hotar, and probably the supreme sacerdotal head was denominated Zarathushtra, as in later ages. Mazda, instructs him in what is agreeable to himself with reference to songs of praise and the cult, and in Asha he learns to know God's own path. Mazda teaches him, as one friend would another as to how he should be adored with a prayer worthy of himself. The true Zarathushtrian gives himself up to his God, surrenders to him his soul, or his life-energy; in a word, life, but wholly for his service. From those who heed not Asha, which is to say, who fail of their obligations to God and man, Vohumano remains afar, — Vohumano, the beneficent Mind, the cherisher of the godly. And further, as *he* shuns the wild transgressors, Asha shuns those who, by denying Vohumano, offend against Aramaiti, knowing full well Mazda's love for her; — those, in other words, who do not observe the second principal duty imposed upon the righteous, — the sowing of the earth.

Practical so far, if the cult of the Zarathushtrian is in reality not unfrequently a service rendered for the sake of *kudos*, we do not miss in it altogether a purer and more elevated view; and many an utterance is characterised by a genuine religious spirit.

(*To be continued.*)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES I.

Industrial Technicalities.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Introductory Note.

THE existing dictionaries of Panjâbî are very far from complete. The work of Bhâî Mâya Singh[1] is largely based on an old Panjâbî Dictionary compiled by Janvier and published at the Ludhiâna Mission Press about 1850. It also draws upon O'Brien's *Multânî Glossary* for Multânî words. Jukes' *Western Panjabi and English Dictionary*[2] also draws upon O' Brien's work, as well as upon Wilson's *Grammar and Dictionary of Western Panjabi.*[3] O'Brien's *Multânî Glossary* has now been re-edited by Mr. Wilson and Paṇḍit Harî Kishn Kaul.[4] Diack's *Kulû Dialect of Hindî* also contains a Glossary of Kulûî (Pahârî) words.

[57] *Yasna* 31, 16 and 22.

[58] *Myazda*; *yasna* 34, 3. It is much a question whether the horses and camels, which are mentioned in *yasna* 44, 18, as the gifts for the chanters and are consecrated to Mazda, are to be actually regarded as sacrificial offerings.

[59] *Yasna* 33, 8 and 9. This conjecture has already been spoken of.

[1] Munshi Gulab Singh and Son, Lahore, 1895.

[2] Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., London, 1900.

[3] Punjab Govt. Press, Lahore, 1899.

[4] Punjab Govt. Press, Lahore, 1903.

But in addition to these regular dictionaries many official publications, especially District Settlement Reports and Industrial Monographs, contain words or even lists of words which have never been drawn upon as materials for a complete lexicon of the Panjâbî Dialects. These sources, however, are used in the following Series, the first of which comprises words to be found in the Monographs. Hence, most of the words in this Series (I) are technical terms. Series II. will contain words from a number of Settlement Reports and Gazetteers dealing with a specified part of the Punjab. Series III. will deal with another part, and so on. One Series at least will be devoted to words from unpublished sources.

These Series are designed to be contributions to a lexicography of the dialects spoken in the Punjab, as well as of those used in the North-West Frontier Province which are not Urdu or Pashto. As they do not form a dictionary, but merely raw materials for a dictionary, only the bare definitions are given, but the *provenance* of each merely local word is added, when known, as well as the source from which it is taken. The Panjâbî dialects have an extremely rich vocabulary, and have borrowed from (and quite as probably lent to) languages like the Balochî and Pashto, which are spoken on their borders. The object in view is to make the collection as comprehensive as possible.

The words collated from published sources cannot, as a general rule, be given with diacritical points; nor can their accurate transliteration be guaranteed for the present, many of the older Settlement Reports, etc., having been printed before the Hunterian system was introduced. Due allowance must also be made for possible mistakes and misprints. Nevertheless, the value of these sources cannot be denied. *E. g.*, a considerable number of words have been culled from **Maclagan's** *Gazetteer of Multân* (1901—2) and **Diack's** *Gazetteer of Dera Ghâzî Khân*, which are not traceable in **Jukes**, and from works like Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, Vol. II., which contains Kulûî words not given in Diack's *Kulûî Dialect of Hindî*.

It is intended to collect and print the material available for a Lexicon of Pañjâbî and its Dialects in the form in which it now exists, and eventually to obtain corrections and additions to that material. This task, as pointed out by the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey in his preface to *The Languages of the Northern Himâlayas* (now under publication by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain), will require the enthusiastic toil of many collaborators.

Âbkhorâ: a small deep pot with a rim. Cf. *matkâna*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 8.

Adda: a wooden frame. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 18.

Adhaurî: a hide, of an ox or buffalo. Cf. *dhaurî*, *charsah*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 15. A half skin, *ibid.*, p. 33. Cf. Platts, p. 35.

Adhîsa: a cloth containing 250 threads to three-fourths of a yard. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 4.

Adhotar: a thin loosely woven stuff. Cf. *dhotar*. (Hind. Platts, p. 35.) Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 7.

Agâ: the process of purifying gold: Jhelum. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 22.

Agardân: a vessel for burning incense. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 11.

Agwartha: a polishing stick. Cf. *rangwatâ*. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 14.

Ahan: the Himalayan nettle (*Urtica Heterophylla*); Kângṛa. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 3. Cf. *jaraha* and *kâṛah*.

Ainthnî: a small wheel. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 12.

Air: warp. Cf. *tanâ*. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 5.

Ajotâ Gâgrashâhî: a kind of silver; Kulû. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 6.

Akalbîr: *Datisca Cannabina.* Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 11.

Akhchâ: a kind of silk imported from Central Asia. Cf. *kokhânî.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 14.

Akhor: a yellow, green, and white silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Akhri: a star affixed to an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Âl: an awl. Cf. *âr.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.

Aliân: a forehead ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Alwân: a kind of cloth. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 8.

Amlîkâr: *pashmîna* embroidered with silk; Nurpur in Kângṛa. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 9.

Amrat: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Anam: a neck ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Anchlâ: ribbon which is more than two *ungals* or fingers in width. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28. (Cf. Platts, p. 89.)

Anjâni: oxide of manganese. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 20.

Ankalâ: *Calotropis gigantea* = *ak.* Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. A-i.

Ankri: an iron rod about a foot long with a curve or hook at the end. Cf. *kundi.* Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 24. (Cf. Platts, p. 94.)

Arewâ: a course Yârkandî silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Arganzî: a kind of silk imported from Bokhâra. Cf. *khujandî.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 14.

Arore: an instrument. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Arthrâ: a concave rest in which a vessel is held. Cf. *khopra.* Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Asârâ: a cotton and silk thread. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28. Cf. *pam.*

Ateran: an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Aterwâ: a spinning wheel. Cf. Hind. *aṭeran.* Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 12.

Aṭhâsî: a cloth containing 800 threads to the three-quarters of a yard. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 4.

Athulnâ: a round mould. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Attî: a skein. Cf. *chanḍ.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 17. (*Aṭṭi,* Platts, p. 22.)

Attyan: a China silk imported from Bombay. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 14.

Atura: a mixture of water and bark used in tanning. Cf. *tarsa.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 18.

Ateza. Cf. *burghi* (both in Peshâwar).

Baboya: a kind of *phulkârî.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Babrî: a broken potsherd. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Babrîwanak: gold containing one-twelfth alloy; Muzaffargaṛh. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

Badaite: a bullock muzzle. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Badâm: a kind of silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20. (Per. *bâolâmz.*)

Badhainâ: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Badgar: a maker of leather jars. Cf. *dabgar.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 6.

Badhâ: odd rupees over Rs. 100; Hissâr. Cf. *badlaur.* Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.

Bâdlâ: plain flattened wire; Delhi. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 27.

Badlaur: odd rupees over 100; Kohât. Cf. *badhâ.*

Bagar: a kind of cotton. Cf. *Haridna*: Shâhpur. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 2.

Bahâdurî: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Bahaira: the dried fruit of the *Terminalia chebula.* Cf. *hurr.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 19.

Bâhin: the inside piece of a shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.

Bahrâmpurî: a kind of silk, produced in Gurdâspur District. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Bahwatte: an armlet worn by Hindu and Muhammadan females. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Baigarî or **begrî**: a stone-cutter. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 24.

Baina: a nose ornament. Cf. Platts' Hind. Dicty., p. 211. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Baingar: a vat; Siâlkot: Cf. *vegar* and *nând.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 17.

Bal, bala: an arm ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33. (Platts, p. 163.)

Balainchî: a hand-brush for the hair. Cf. *kuchî*: Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Balka: a nose-ring set with gems. Cf. *bûla.* Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 10.

Balmâ: a mould for grooves. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Bâlû: an armlet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Bambia: a stick to which a piece of ivory is glued with *lâk*, for carving. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 14.

Bânan: silk of the third quality. *Cf. sûf, kachar*: Mono: Silk Industry, p. 17.

Bandî-pânewâlâ: a worker in silk. Cf. *taûlî, taûzî.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 16.

Bangiâr: a person who ornaments *chûrîs* and takes them to villages for sale. Cf. *maniâr.* Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 26.

Banî: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Banknal: a blow-pipe, smaller than the *nâl* and curved at one end. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Bannî: red earth. Cf. *pannî*: Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 3.

Baongrâ: a wooden scraper or rubber. Cf. *wyâng.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.

Bâr: an ornament worn on the arm. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Bârâ: a crucible in which *kânch* is melted. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 4.

Barîkangnî: a thick stamped wire. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Basant-mittî: a medicinal preparation of gold, silver, pearls, copper, slag and other drugs. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 30.

Basotî: the *Colebrookia oppositifolia.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 21.

Balâyâ: a gold and silver thread-maker. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 27.

Batlî: a synonym for *piâlî* (*cup*); Bannû. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 9.

Battak: a *surâhî* with flattened sides and fitted with ears, to allow of its being slung on a traveller's back. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 8.

Bawâlîwâlî nath: a nose-ring. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p 32.

Beângra: a wooden scraper or rubber. Cf. *bâongra.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.

Bend: a forehead ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Benj: see *jangli bâns.* Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.

Berî: a variety of boat. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 17.

Bhâbar: a kind of grass, *Andropagon involutus.* Cf. Platts Hind. Dicty., p. 177. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 2.

Bhai bharnâ: to cross parallel sets of strings behind each strand of the woof. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 11.

Bhaklâ: a kind of cloth: Hissâr. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 11

Bhambirî: the *Antherœa sivalika* silkworm. Cf. *kaunta* and *joâdrî.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 2.

Bhânda: a bowl containing water and sand kept by the side of the potter as he works. Cf. *trena.* Cf. Platts Hind. Dicty., p. 180. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Bhar: a sheaf. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 4.

Bharat: a mixture of equal parts of copper and lead. Cf. Platts' Hind. Dicty., p. 185. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 1.

Bharlû: a basket. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Bharrî: a sheaf, which the *sepî* gets at each harvest. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 5.

Bhartyâ: a cooking pot. Mono: Brass and Copper Ware, App. C., p. 8.

Bhaunar: the Himalayan nettle (*Urtica heterophylla*). Cf. *ahan.*

Bhedî: a kind of mould. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Bhirnî: a kind of wheel used in twisting fibre; Dera Ismâîl Khân. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 12.

Bhodâl: a plate of mica or talc. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Bhorâ: a wide hole in the ground in which a potter deposits prepared clay as stock. Cf. *ghambail.* Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 3.

Bhûlchî: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Bhungî: a basket. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13. See P. D., p. 145.

Biâ: a nose ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Biâng: a wooden scraper or rubber. Cf. *sitnî.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.

Bichhlî: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Bichû: *Urtica reticulata.* Cf. *kârla.* Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. A.-ii.

Bihul: the bark of the *Grewia oppositifolia*. Cf. *dhaman*. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 5.

Bijlî-kâ-jorâ: an ear ornament. Cf. Platts' Hind. Dicty., p. 134, *s.v. bijlî = chând*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Bina: a forehead ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Bindlî: an ornament worn by women on the forehead. Cf. *bindî*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Birî: a narrow strip of leather. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 29.

Birkas: a chisel for making small grooves. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 9.

Bittî: Russian gold (in five-rouble pieces). Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

Bodî: a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Bohar: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Bokhârâ: an English-made kind of *sûsî*. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 9.

Bomkinjâ: a tool for 'clearing out the inside of a vessel to be turned hollow.' Cf. *patra*. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 11.

Bordî: a bracelet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Boriâ: strips for bedding. Cf. *saf*. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 10.

Borlâ: a head ornament; Gurgaon. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Boye: a basket shaped like a cup; Kângṛa. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Budkî: see *butki*.

Bûkhârcha: a balcony. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 9.

Bulbulchasham: a silk woven in a diamond pattern. Cf. Platts' Hind. Dicty., p. 164. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Bûnâ: lit., woof: also silk of the second quality used for the woof. Cf. *wânâ*. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 17.

Bûndî: the points at the heel and over the instep of a shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Bundû: the tassel of a silver pendant; Kullû. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.

Bungnâ: a forehead ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Burakî: a pointed chisel for grooving. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 11.

Burburâ: disintegrated felspathic rock. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 18.

Burghî: an ear ornament. Cf. *aveza*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Bushâra: see *magar bâns*. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.

Butkâ: the woof thread of a carpet. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 12.

Butkî: a Dutch ducat. Cf. *budkî*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

Châbâ: a scale-pan. Cf. *palrâ*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 25.

Châbre: a basket shaped flat like a tray; Kângṛa. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Chaggal: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Châg-gûn: a water-bottle. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 27.

Châgul: a leather water-bottle. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 25.

Châk: a double-wheel. Cf. *charkh.* Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Chakâl: a wooden board with round holes in it. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 24.

Châkdanda: see *dandâ.*

Chaket: see *dandâ.*

Chakîwâlî: a kind of silver; Muzaffargarh. Cf. *talwâlî.* Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 6.

Chakkî: a large shallow vessel in which grindstones are placed, and which serves to collect the flour. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 11.

Châklai: see *danda.*

Chakor: a flat basket like a dish. Cf. *dal*; Kohât. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 14.

Chaktî: a small circular piece of silver; Hissâr. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.

Châkvatî: the round piece of stone let into the potter's wheel. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 4.

Chala: small embroidery on a shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Chalakâra: see *danda.*

Challâ: a die. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Challadâr molî: a kind of mould. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Challî: a spindleful of thread. Cf. *mudha.* Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 3.

Chamanpurî: copper of a light-red colour. Cf. *chandanpurî* and *rûsî.* Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 6.

Châmkalî: a kind of silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Châmp, a clamp. Cf. *kilâm* and *dhalîjna.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.

Chan: (1) a head ornament, Shâhpur; (2) a bracelet, Ambâla. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Chana: a skein. Cf. *attip.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 17.

Chandanpurî: a copper of a light-red colour. Cf. *chamanpurî* and *rûsî.* Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 6.

Chandan-sainî hâr: a kind of necklace (*hâr*). Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Chandar-kala: a neck ornament; Dehli. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Châandbîna: an ornament: Cf. *chandra.* Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Chandna: gold containing from 2 *ratis* to 1 *mâsha* of alloy to the *tola*; Siâlkot. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

Chandra: Cf. *châandina.*

Chânjar: a hollow jingling anklet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Chankangan (? *chun* -): a bracelet with pendants; Shâhpur. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, pp. 32 to 34.

Channâ: a sieve. Cf. *jhannâ.* Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 3.

Chantârâ: a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Châp: a finger ring. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34. -*challa*: a finger ring.

Chap: an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Chaplî: a leather sandal = *kherî*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 6.

Chappî: a convex piece of clay or stone fitted with a handle. Cf. *konera*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Chappra: a flat wooden mallet with one side slightly concave. Cf. *thatwa*; Derajât. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Char: a basket with low sides; Kângra. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Charâ: a tripod on which sewn up skin is hung. Cf. *trikâlî*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 18.

Châra, charâ: an ornament for the foot; Lahore. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Charâî: vat: Cf. *kûn*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 18.

Charbâ: the little white spaces left between the woof threads of a carpet. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 13.

Charî: (1) a hooked tong. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 14; (2) a cylindrical peg. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 11.

Charkh: a double wheel. Cf. *châk*; Derajât. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Chârkhâna: a *gulbadan* woven in checks. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 19.

Charkhî: a Bokharan silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Chârsûti: a cloth with quadruple threads in warp and woof. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 7.

Chatarnî: a brush used in applying *banni* or other colouring matter to earthenware: Cf. *chatrîn*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Chatera: a chaser. Hind. *chiterâ*, Platts, p. 424. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 23.

Châthî: a basket. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Châtî: an extra piece of leather covering the whole heel. Mono: Leather Industry, p 28.

Chatrîn: see *chatarnî*.

Chau: a tall blue-stemmed variety of wild bamboo; Simla. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.

Chauk: a gold ornament worn by Hindu women. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 24 (for syns., *cf.* p. 32.)

Chauki-shâh-jahân: a kind of silver; Kullû. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 6.

Chaunsî: a cloth containing 400 threads to $\frac{3}{4}$ yard. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 4.

Chaupat: a kind of silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Chaurâ: a kind of hammered brass. Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 3.

Chaurâsî: a small square-headed hammer. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Chaursî: an instrument. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 9.

Chekî: a die. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Chellî: a foot ornament; Delhi. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Chhabî: a round cylindrical basket for holding bread. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 14.

Chhaj: a measure; the length of a man's forearm, square (*sic*). Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Chhala: a kind of silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Chhalka: a flower-shaped silver pendant. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.

Chhall: a kind of hill grass; Ambâla. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 17.

Chhibu: a tassel pendant; Spiti. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.

Chichrâ: inner skin: Cf. *jhillî* and *gadûd*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 17.

Chikkû: a kind of basket; Kângra. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Chikrî: a kind of white wood. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 6.

Chilla-jaidar: a synonym for Nawâbi silk imported from Bokhâra. Cf. *imâmî kundûzî*, *tûnî* and *shâlbâfî*. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Chhîn: a string used to separate the moulded portion of the clay from the rest of the lump on the wheel. Cf. *chîwan*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Chhinka: a net suspended from the roof as a receptacle for clothes, food, etc., in the east; also the cattle muzzle used at the threshing floor in Karnâl. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 14.

Chhissî: a cloth containing 600 threads to ¾ yard. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 4.

Chhoti kangnî: a thin stamped wire. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Chilmardâ: the seat of a saddle. Cf. *chilmardân*, Platts, p. 439. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Chilnî: an iron blade or scraper used to smooth earthenware. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

China: a short, pointed instrument. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 23.

Chirî: undefined. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 24.

Chîrna: a saw. Ivory-carving, p. 11.

Chitî: a wooden rest used in shoe-making. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Chittan: rude paintings in black lines on pottery. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 6.

Chîwan: see *chhîn*.

Cholnâ: an instrument for removing inequalities on the surface of pottery. Cf. *khurdâ*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 22.

Chopat: a pivot: Cf. *thâna*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 4.

Chorpânî: a kind of glass ornament; Peshâwar. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 28.

Chosth: a small forcep. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Chotîphul: a silver ornament worn on the head by Hindu females. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Chujan: a kind of grass; Shâhpur. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 2.

Chulkiyan: an ornament for the foot; Dehli. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Chûrna: a chisel. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Chut: a grain sack; Gurdâspur. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 10.

Chuthî: an iron point. Cf. *sumba* and *tumlî*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 4.

Chuttû: a vessel used in clearing grain from dust. Cf. *dokhlâ*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 10.

Dab: a kind of grass. Cf. *pannî* and *kharî*. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 2.

Dab: the fibre of the *poa cynosuroides* used for making ropes and string. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.

Dabkai: a gold and silver wire-beater. Hind. *dabdiyâ*, Platts, p. 506. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 11.

Dabla: a yellow silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Daf: a small drum. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 6.

Dafkain: the sides of a saddle-tree. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Dagî: an ear-ring suspender. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Dahe: long, flat, thickish bands of wood; Kullû. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Dal: a flat basket. Cf. *chakor*: cis-Indus.

Dalbara: an ornament for the neck. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Dâmnî: a fringe ornament that hangs over a woman's forehead. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32. Cf. Hind. meanings in Platts, p. 502.

Dânadâr: granulated. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 20.

Danda: the stick by which motion is imparted to the wheel (*râm châk*). Cf. *chaket*, *châklâî*, *châkdandâ*, *chalakâra* and *sotî*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 4.

Dandî: the shaft of a pillar. Cf. *ḍanḍî*, Platts, p. 507. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 3.

Daraz: an instrument. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 9.

Darî: a kind of silk mixed with flax imported from Italy. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Darî-kânsî: a kind of mould. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Darmâl: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.

Daropa: the three seers of grain which the *sepî* gets from every heap on the threshing floor. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 5.

Dâruwad: a kind of mould. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Daryâî: a silk fabric, entirely of one colour. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 19. *-bâf*: a weaver of *daryâî*, p. 16.

Dâs: a small tool used in dressing leather. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 20.

Dastband: a bracelet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Dât: a curved knife. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 10.

Dâthâ: beard bands; Hissâr. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Dâunah: a finger ring. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Denhûn tilla: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Desia pâssâ: gold in lumps, obtained by melting down old ornaments. Cf. *patar*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 3.

Dewla, Deola: a small *chirâgh* specially used, by Hindûs only, for illumination during the Diwâlî festival. Cf. Platts, p. 560. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 11.

Deva: a kind of wheel used in twisting fibres; Lahore. Cf. *ċhisni.* Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 12.

Dhablâ: woollen piece-goods, a mixture of cotton and wool; Hissâr. Cf. Platts, p. 540. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 8.

Dhâga: a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Dhairnî: a board perforated with holes used in twisting fibre, Montgomery. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.

Dhâkwân: a covered dish. Cf. *sarposh.* Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 9.

Dhalîjna: a clamp. Cf. *kilâm* and *châmp.*

Dhanak: a narrow kind of *tilai gota* or gilt ribbon. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28.

Dhandû: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Dhanirî: a hand *urî* or spindle (see *ûras*). Cf. *urî.* Mono: Silk Industry, p. 17.

Dhannî: bellows. Cf. *jhallân.* Hind *dhoṅknî.* Mono: Leather Industry, p. 26.

Dharamra: a neck ornament; Jhang. Cf. *dharmara* and *duṛmarah.* Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Dharan: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Dhârî: a strand. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 12.

Dharmara; Shahpur. Cf. *dharamra.*

Dhauncha: a kind of shoe; Peshâwar. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 29.

Dhaurî: Cf. *adhaurî.*

Dhedkû: a small silver ring with a ball-shaped pendant, worn in the ear. Cf. *litkî* and *dhedû.* Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.

Dhedû: see *dhedkû.*

Dhelu: see *konera*; Derajât.

Dhernâ: an instrument used instead of a spinning wheel; Kullû. Cf. *taklî.* Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 5.

Dhol: the middle piece of a shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 25.

Dholaṛâ: a neck ornament; Jhang. Cf. *dulara.* Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

Dhotar = adhotar. Cf. Hind. *dhotar,* Platts, p. 550.

Dhuknî: bellows. Cf. *dhannî.* Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 4.

Dhûp-chân: a short *gulbadan.* Lit., 'sunshine and shade,' cf. Platts, p. 550. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 19.

Dhur: a turning axle. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 14.

Dihla: a rush. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 11.

Dilidara: a kind of silver; Kullû. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 6.

Diwâlî: a plain, rather broad, wire; Delhi. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 27.

Doda: the husk of a pod. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 2.

Dodmâl: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.

Doî : a small wooden instrument. Cf. Hind *ḍoî*, Platts, p. 569. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 19.

Dokara : an alloy of gold containing a *mâsha* of silver and one of copper to one *tola* of gold; Dera Ismail Khân and Siâlkoṭ. Cf. *dorassa*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

Dokarî : an alloy of silver with zinc and copper; Lahore and Siâlkoṭ. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.

Dolâra (? dolra) : coarse stuff used as floor cloth. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 7.

Dolmiâna : a waist ornament; Jhang. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Dolra : a type of *darî* made of very coarse old cotton. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 2.

Domrî : a synonym for *tabâq*, a large dish. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industry, p. 9.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA,

2ND EDITION.

A REPLY.

ALTHOUGH, as a rule, an author does well to abstain from replying to his critics, **Dr. Sten Konow's review of my book (ante, pp. 178-80)** deals with so many matters of fact, and with a large proportion of them so unsatisfactorily, that I think it better to break the rule and ask space for a reply. I accept the reviewer's assurance that his remarks are 'offered in a perfectly friendly spirit,' but, nevertheless, some of them are inapplicable and inaccurate.

He quotes as an example of a 'hard judgement' my remark that **M. Senart's brilliant treatise on the Asoka Inscriptions is 'largely obsolete,'** and the reader of the review is left under the impression that I treated an eminent scholar with disrespect. What I actually said is: — 'But since then (1886) several new inscriptions have been discovered, and perfect reproductions of those known to M. Senart only in extremely faulty copies have been prepared and published, with the result that M. Senart's book, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, is now largely obsolete, notwithstanding its many high merits.' That statement of fact is perfectly accurate. I have lately read again M. Senart's work, and there is no doubt that a great part of it has been superseded by subsequent researches during twenty-two years. The publication of correct fac-similes has proved that the license of emendation assumed by the learned author is not warranted by the facts, as Bühler pointed out long ago. But the admission of this truth does not involve any impertinent censure on M. Senart or any disrespect to his profound learning.

The other example of a 'hard judgement' cited is my expression of opinion that **Bāṇa's simile describing Skandagupta's nose** 'as being as long as his sovereign's pedigree' may be considered 'the most grotesque simile in all literature.' I am not disposed to withdraw that opinion. The text goes on to say that another passage of the same writer, 'although not in perfect good taste, unmistakeably bears the stamp of power.'

The complaint is made that **'the treatment of the different parts is very uneven.'** Unfortunately, the materials are very 'uneven,' and it is impossible to write history when the materials are lacking. Tastes differ, and some readers find the full treatment of Alexander's campaign the only interesting part of the book.

I am accused of **often making categorical statements without quoting authorities or weighing opposing arguments.** This serious charge is supported by references to my treatment of the question of **Greek influence** on the drama, art, and architecture. As to the **drama**, exact references are supplied, and both text and notes plainly state that the view of Weber and Windisch, to which I still adhere, is opposed by 'most scholars,' as the note puts it, or 'acute and learned critics,' as the text has it. What more could be said? If I had time to take up the question good reasons for my belief could be adduced.

So, with reference to **relief sculpture**, the only reference possible is given in another publication of my own. I have much material on the subject collected, but it is impossible to fill the

pages of a political history with treatises on controverted topics in the history of art.

As to the **Gāndhāra sculptures**, that is a big question. The references given are sufficient to put the student in the way of forming his own opinion.

The point of the remarks about '**Greek architecture**,' which the reviewer deems 'superfluous,' is that there was Greek architectural ornament, but not Greek architecture in India, a distinction rather neglected in Cunningham's treatment of the subject. As to '**cosmopolitan Græco-Roman art**,' that, of course, is only a late development of Greek art. I think that if the reviewer looks up the Mathurā sculptures, he will find that many, at all events, of the best examples of the **Gāndhāra school** belong to the time of Kanishka and Huvishka, whatever that may have been. The numismatic evidence that **Kanishka** is not earlier than Augustus has been well summarized by Boyer.

I gratefully acknowledge the service done by the reviewer in pointing out the strange case of **Choḍaganga and his four sons in Orissa**, whose reigns apparently cover a period of, at least, 131 years, not 130 as stated in the review. It seems to show that the tradition about the Nine Nandas may be less incredible than I supposed.

As to the **Shāhjī-ki-Dheri at Peshāwar**, I necessarily followed M. Foucher. The correction announced since the publication of my book was duly noted some time ago.

The reviewer finds fault with me about the **disputed site of Śrāvastī**. If he will do me the honour of looking up the arguments which seem to prove that the inscribed statue came from elsewhere, he will probably agree that the umbrella came along with the statue. The recently-discovered copper-plate was dealt with in my article on Kanauj in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 792.

The review closes with **a list of alleged 'nasty misprints'** or blunders, which I am bound to notice.

Kushān.—This form was adopted advisedly as being that made familiar by Cunningham and probably representing the real pronunciation. It occurs on certain Sassanian coins, and its use was justified by the note in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 289. The Kharōshṭhī alphabet, which gives the form 'Kushana,' does not ordinarily distinguish between short and long *a*, and the Chinese forms of the word suggest the long vowel.

Kautalya.—I am aware that most people write *Kautilya* or *Kauṭilya*, but I deliberately followed Mr. R. Shamasastry, who used MSS. and writes *Kautalya* and *Kautalīya* (*ante*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 5). The reference was duly given. Since the publication of my book I have received Prof. Hillebrandt's valuable paper *Über das Kauṭilīyaśāstra* (Breslau, 1908), which shows (pp. 1, 3) that the patronymic may be written optionally as either Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya.

Kāṅva — should be Kāṇva, as written by Bhandarkar.

Shāshtra.—I wrote *shāstra*, which is the ordinary pronunciation in Upper India.

Vāsishṭa —In the compound *Vāśishta-gotra* (p. 197), the vowel might be either long or short, but the short vowel is preferable.

Kā-gyur.—I followed Hardy's spelling in *Eastern Monachism*. Other writers spell Kahgyur. Tibetan scholars must decide which is right.

Jaya-skandhavāra —The accidental misplacing of the hyphen is rectified in the *Corrigenda* at the end of the book The interpretation, as noted, is D. R. Bhandarkar's. The reference is to 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions,' p. 16 of reprint from *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S*, Vol. XX. See also Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, V, 209.

That is the complete list of so-called 'nasty misprints.' The reviewer then proceeds to deal with certain 'etymologies' and other trivial matters.

'Kharwār-Gahaṛwār.'—I never derived the one word from the other. The Kharwār descent of the Gahaṛwārs rests on tradition, for which the reference is given.

Thānēsar-Sthāṇvīśvara.—A special note is devoted to the matter on p. 309 of the *Early History*, and more fully, *ante*, Vol. XXXV, p. 125.

Chaḍa.—This Āndhra (not Andhra) name will be cleared up when Prof. Rapson's forthcoming catalogue of Āndhra coins appears.

Rudradāman.—Could anybody suppose that the Rudradāman of the fourth century was identical with his namesake of the second century?

Harsha's signature —I see no difficulty in believing that the elaborate signature was the king's own handiwork, of which a specimen was kept in the Secretariat to be copied in documents.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

Cheltenham, 18*th Oct.* 1908.

THE NARAYANIYA AND THE BHAGAVATAS.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D. LITT.

(*Continued from p. 262.*)

Môkshadharma Parvan of the Sânti Parvan of the Mahâbhârata.

Contents of some of the Introductory Chapters.

(The *Adhyâya* numbers are those of the *Sânti Parvan*).

(*Adhyâyas* 174-181, not important for our present purpose.)

Adhyâya 182. Conversation between Bhṛigu and Bharadvâja. Birth of *mahat* from the eternal *mânasa*, and thence *ahaṁkâra*. The Lord (*Prabhu*) creates ether, from which comes water, from which comes fire and air, and from these two, earth. The Self-born One creates the lotus-born Brahmâ, who creates the firmament.[44]

183. Process of creation.

184. The *mahâbhûtas* or gross elements. Meaning of term. Particulars.

185, 186. The vital fire and the vital airs.

187. Indestructibility of the soul.

188. Order of Brahmâ's creation.

192. To the north, beyond Himavat, there is a country (evidently the White Continent, see below), where all are pious, etc. (7010—16). Contrast with 'here.'

194. On the *Adhyâtma*.

207. On the nature of Nârâyaṇa, who is the Male (*Purusha*). List of nations who are sinners. In the South: Andhrakas, Guhas, Pulindas, Sabaras, Chuchukas, and Mâdrakas. In the North: Yaunas, Kâmbôjas, Gândhâras, Kirâtas, and Varvaras (7559). The universe developed by Kṛishṇa. Even Nârada admits that he is the Supreme Deity.

210. Description of the supreme *yôga* which leads to *môksha*. *Adhyâtma* = Vâsudêva = Nârâyaṇa. Repeated account of the Sâṁkhya principles.

217. *Pravṛitti, Nivṛitti, Purusha, Prakṛiti, Kshêtrajña, yôga.*

218. Janaka's devotion to Sâṁkhya. Pañchaśikha, Âsuri. The instruction conveyed to Janaka by Pañchaśikha. Polemic against materialism and Buddhism (7912 ff.). Janaka convinced.

219. Explanation to Janaka of the Pañchaśikha doctrine as to existence after death. *Môksha* is not extinction, but is absorption.

246. On the *jîva* (soul) and the *gûḍha-jîva*.

247—249. On *Adhyâtma* (the Supreme Self), the five *mahâbhûtas* (gross elements), and *manas, buddhi*, and *kshêtrajña*.

250, 251. On the Supreme Duty (*Parô Dharmaḥ*).

252. On the *mahâbhûtas*.

253. On *yôga*, and the power of seeing the *jîva* (soul) and the *liṅgaśarîra* (subtile body, or personal character).

[44] This will be further developed in the *Nârâyaṇîya section*. At present we may state that, in the Bhâgavata doctrine, *mânasa* or *manas* corresponds to Pradyumna, and *ahaṁkâra* to Aniruddha. Usually the *guṇas*, or constituents, corresponding to Brahmâ, are stated to spring from *ahaṁkâra*-Aniruddha.

254. On *kâma* (desire), and its results.

269—271. Kapila discusses the comparative merits of the religion of works and of *yôga*.

275. *Yôga*, the path which leads to *môksha*.

276. Conversation between Nârada and Asita-dêvala (*cf.* 12987 in 341, below) on this. Repetition of the principles of Sâṁkhya (and of Pañchaśikha).

286, 287. Further account of *Adhyâtma*.

302. Discussion on the differences between the Sâṁkhya and Yôga systems of philosophy. Both are approved.

303. The principles of Sâṁkhya described. Condition of the released soul (11177).

304—308. On the *akshara* (undecaying) and the *kshara* (decaying).

309. On *vidyâ* and *avidyâ*. Sâṁkhya and Yôga compared.

310. On *buddha* and *abuddha* (the Supreme Soul, and the *jîva* connected with *Prakṛiti*).

312—314. Conversation between Yâjñavalkya and Janaka. Sâṁkhya principles repeated. Creation and dissolution.

315. On *Adhyâtma*, *adhibhûta*, and *adhidaivata* (cf. *Bhag. Gîtâ*, viii).

316. On the three constituents (*guṇa*).

317. On the *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa*.

318, 319. The principles of Yôga described.

320. Pañchaśikha on the immortality of the soul.

321. Janaka misunderstands the Pañchaśikha doctrine, and is enlightened by Sulabhâ.

The Nârâyaṇîya.

336. Yudhishṭhira asks Bhîshma who is the greatest God, the Deity of deities. Bhîshma relates the conversation between Nârada and the earthly Nârâyaṇa on the subject. This Nârâyaṇa, who was the deity Nârâyaṇa in earthly form and under the same name, lived with his brother Nara (also an incarnation) at Badarikâśrama. Nârada, filled with *bhakti* for the deity Nârâyaṇa, finds them worshipping the deities and *pitṛis*, and asks who was the object of worship on the part of him who was really the Unborn, the Eternal. The Adorable One (*i. e.*, Nârâyaṇa, the earthly) replies (12678) : —

The universal soul, or Male (*Purusha*), is known by the name of Kshêtrajña[43] (the kenner of the body). From Him is sprung the indiscrete Prakṛiti possessed of the three constituents (*guṇa*)[44] of conscious existence (*sattva*), energy (*rajas*), and inertia (*tamas*), and the source (*yôni*) from which we two are sprung. It is this Universal Male (*Purusha*) that we worship in these rites that we nominally perform in honour of the deities and *pitṛis*.

337. Nârada determines to repair to the White Continent in order to behold Nârâyaṇa's original nature (*âdya prakṛiti*). Being endued with the power of *yôga*, he soars to the top of Mount Mêru, and turning his eyes towards the North-West beholds a wonderful sight. Towards the North, in the Ocean of Milk, is the large White Continent. Here follows a description of the inhabitants. Amongst other wonders, their complexions are white, they are clean from every sin, and blast the eyes of sinners that look at them.

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[43] See *Bhag. Gîtâ*, xiii, and also many passages below, especially 13744.

[44] Regarding this translation of the word *guṇa*, see Garbe, *Die Sâṁkhya Philosophie*, pp. 13 ff. For the other translations, see Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 119.

Yudhishṭhira interrupts Bhîshma to enquire further about these people. Bhîshma replies (12711) : — In former times there was a king named Uparichara (Vasu), who was devoted to Nârâyaṇa Hari[45]. Following the Sâtvata (*i. e.*, Pâñcharâtra) rule that had formerly issued from the mouth of Sûrya, (the sun), he used to adore the Lord of gods (*dêvêśa, i. e.*, Nârâyaṇa) and, with what was left over from his oblations, the grandsires. Adopting the Sâtvata ritual, he performed all the optional and necessary sacrificial acts. He considered all that he possessed as Bhâgavata, *i. e.*, as coming from the Adorable One (Bhagavat). Many leading men connected with the Pâñcharâtra cult used to eat the food offered to the Adorable One in his house[46]. He never uttered an untruth, or had an evil thought, or committed even a mote of sin.

(12722) This supreme scripture (*i. e.*, the Pâñcharâtra scripture) was compiled and uttered by the seven Chitra śikhaṇḍin[47] Ṛishis and (Manu) Svâyaṁbhuva, after worshipping Hari Nârâyaṇa for a thousand years of heaven. They then read it to Nârâyaṇa, who praised it and certified it to be in complete accord with the four Vêdas. He also prophesied that it would be the basis of the teaching of Uśanas and of Bṛihaspati. The latter would teach it to king (Uparichara) Vasu[48].

338. After the expiry of a *mahâkalpa*, Bṛihaspati is born in the race of Aṅgiras, and instructs Uparichara Vasu. Uparichara Vasu studies the doctrine of the Chitra-śikhaṇḍins, and performs an *aśvamêdha* sacrifice. (12757) Amongst those present are the *maharshis*, sons of Prajâpati, *viz.*, Êkata, Dvita, and Trita, who act as overseers (*sadasya*). Bṛihaspati is the *hôtṛi*. The Adorable (Bhagavat), the God of gods, the ancient one, being invisible, takes the offering and carries it off without being seen. Bṛihaspati in wrath flings the sacrificial ladle to the sky, saying "here I place his share, the god (*dêva*) must take it away before my eyes." (12768) Vasu and his overseers pacify Bṛihaspati, explaining that the god is incapable of being seen. That man only can see Him, on whom He has shown His grace (*prasâda*). Êkata, Dvita, and Trita then explain how, in their desire to see Nârâyaṇa, they have travelled to the White Continent, the inhabitants of which are devoted to Nârâyaṇa, the Supreme Male (Purushôttama), and are *bhaktas*.

[Here follows the oft-quoted account of the White Continent (Śvêta-dvîpa). It is so well-known that a few brief notes will suffice.] (12781) "The inhabitants worship only the one god (*êkântin*). Blinded by his glory we could not see Him, the Male (*Purusha*). Believing that this was due to insufficient penance, we performed austerities for a hundred years. We then saw them silently worshipping Bráhma (neuṭ.), turned towards the East and the North. Hari became pleased with them." (Then follows a description of their worship). (12795) The deity is addressed as Hṛishîkêśa (Lord of the Senses), Mahâpurusha (the Great Male), Pûrvaja (First-born). These men, endowed with the highest (*parama*) *bhakti*, entirely devoted to Hari, knowing the Pañcha-kâla (= Pâñcharâtra rules, see note 53 below), were worshipping with mind, word and action. The God (*dêva*) certainly appeared in that place, but we could not see Him. We were informed that the Adorable could only be seen by those who had faith (*bhaktas*). We then returned to our desired places.

"When we failed to see Him after severe penances, how can you expect to see Him? Nârâyaṇa is a *Mahad-bhûtaṁ*,[49] the Creator of the universe, without beginning, without end, indiscrete." (12812) Pacified by these remarks of Êkata, Dvita and Trita, Bṛihaspati

45 For a long account of Uparichara Vasu, who was king of Chêdi, see MBh., I, 2334 ff.

46 Apparently the *mahâprasâda*, or sacramental meal of the modern Vaishṇavas.

47 A collective name for the Ṛishis Marîchi, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vaśishṭha (*cf.* 13040, below). It will be observed that, in opposition to Śaṁkara, the orthodoxy of the religion is insisted upon.

48 The name Vasu is important in connexion with the fact that the Pâñcharâtras worship the Adorable under the name of Vâsu-dêva.

49 P. C. Roy translates this word "a Great Being." The meaning is not clear to me. One is reminded of the Sâṁkhya *Mahâbhûtas*, or Grossor Elements, but such a translation does not suit the passage. In the original, the word is neuter singular.

completes the sacrifice. Uparichara Vasu thereafter ruled righteously. Owing to the curse of a Brâhmaṇa he subsequently fell from heaven into the heart of the earth. There he worshipped and meditated upon Nârâyaṇa, and through His grace (*prasâda*) was once more restored to heaven, and obtained release (*parâgati*).

339. Yudhishṭhira asks how, as Vasu was a Bhâgavata, he was cast down from heaven to the heart of earth.

Bhîshma explains. The gods once had a discussion with the Ṛishis, the most excellent of the twice-born, as to whether offerings should consist of animals or of grain. The Ṛishis argued for the latter. They appealed to Vasu, who, addressing them as *dvijôttamas*, gave his opinion that sacrifices should be of animals. Enraged at his decision, the Munis cursed him to sink below the earth, and so it happened. The gods wished to release him, because he was a *bhakta* of the Brahmaṇya-dêva.[50] "He will rescue thee as soon as the effects of the curse of the Brâhmaṇas are exhausted." They arranged for his sustenance while in the cavern, by making over to him the streaks of clarified butter (hence called *vasu-dhârâ*) poured along the walls by Brâhmaṇas at sacrifices. (12846) Vasu commenced to worship Vishvaksêna[51] and sang the prayers (*japya*) that issued from the mouth of Nârâyaṇa. Although in the cavern, he sacrificed to Hari the five sacrifices[52] at the five times.[53] Then the Adorable Nârâyaṇa Hari, the Adorable Vishṇu, being pleased with his *bhakti*, sent Garuḍa, as soon as the effects of the curse had worn off, to bring him up to the sky. Garuḍa did so, and he entered the Brahma-lôka in bodily form.

Bhîshma continues: — I now proceed to tell how Nârada went to the White Continent.

340. Nârada goes to the White Continent to see Nârâyaṇa. He raises his arms (in *yôga*) and sings a long prose hymn, addressing the deity as *Nirguṇa*, *Kshêtrajña*, *Purushôttama*, *Ananta-purusha*, *Mahâ-purusha*, *Tri-guṇa Pradhâna*, . . . the *Pañcha-yajña*, *Pañcha-kâla-kartṛi-pati*, *Pañcha-râtrika* . . . . *Haṁsa*,[54] *Para-haṁsa*, *Mahâ-haṁsa* . . . *Sâṅkhya-yôga*, *Sâṅkhya-mûrti*. . . . *Abhagna-yôga* . . . *Vâsudêva* . . . *Bhakta-vatsala*. Nârada concludes, by saying that he is the deity's *bhakta*. (This chapter is entitled the *Mahâpurusha-stava*.)

341. The Adorable, pleased with this hymn, shows himself to Nârada. Description of his appearance, in the course of which he is named Hari Nârâyaṇa. He addresses Nârada. "Êkata, &c., could not see me, but thou, being a monotheist (*êkântika*), hast succeeded. Ask a boon." Nârada replies that he has already received the highest boon by being permitted to see the Adorable. The Adorable praises the people of the White Continent, who are *bhaktas*. "Being free from inertia (*tamas*) and energy (*rajas*), they will enter me. (12889) He, whom having entered, the best of the twice-born become in Him (*iha*) released, is the Eternal Supreme Self (*paramâtman*), to be known as Vâsudêva."

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[50] See note [8] on p. 252, *ante*. With this legend we may compare Abel's offering of animals which was accepted by Yahweh, while Cain's offering of fruit was rejected.

[51] The chief of the Adorable's *pârshadas* or archangels. Here used for the Adorable Himself. *Cf.* 13467.

[52] *Brahma-yajña*, *Nṛi-yajña*, *Daiva-y.*, *Pitṛi-y.*, *Bhûta-y.*

[53] The five times (*kâla*) at which these five sacrifices are performed recalls the name *Pañcha-râtra*, literally a period of five nights. Various meanings are given to this compound. The *Nârada-Pañcharâtra* says that *râtra* is equivalent to *jñâna*, or knowledge, and that the five 'knowledges' are two *sâttvikas*, a *nairguṇya*, a *râjasika*, and *tâmasa*. For further particulars, see *Śabdakalpadruma*, *s. v.* Har is one of the Bhâgavata incarnations of the Adorable.

[54] According to the modern *bhakti* theology, the Adorable had twenty-four, not ten incarnations. One of these was that of the *Haṁsa*, or Swan.

(12893) "At the dissolution of the universe, the Earth is absorbed into the Water; the Water into the Light; the Light into the Air; the Air into the Ether (*kha*); the Ether into the Intelligence (*manas*); the Intelligence, which is a *parama bhûta*[55], into the Indiscrete (*avyakta*, *i. e.*, *Prakriti*); and the Indiscrete into the actionless Male (*Purusha*). There is nothing beyond the Male (*Purusha*), the Eternal. He, Purusha Vâsudêva is the only Eternal. Vâsudêva is the Self (*âtman*) of all elements (*bhûta*). The five great elements (*mahâtman*) are earth, air, ether, water, and light.[56] These combined form a body (*śarîra*). (12897) He who then enters it, is invisible and of little power. He is the Lord (*prabhu*), and thus becomes born and endows the body with action. Without the combination of the elements, the body cannot be, and without the living soul (*jîva*), the vital airs (*vâyavaḥ*) cannot endow it with action. This living soul is specified (*parisaṁkhyâta*) as Śêsha, as Saṁkarshaṇa, and as the Lord (*prabhu*)[57]. He who becomes Sanatkumâra, issuing from Saṁkarshaṇa by his own act, and in whom all created things merge at the universal dissolution, is the *Manas*, Intelligence, of all created things and is named Pradyumna. From Pradyumna is born he who is the Creator (*kartṛi*), the Cause (*kâraṇa*), and the Effect (*kârya*), from whom everything movable and immovable is produced, namely Aniruddha, the Lord (*Îśâna*), discrete (*vyakta*) in all his works. (12904) When Vâsudêva, the Adorable, Kshêtrajña, devoid of constituents (*guṇa*) is a living soul, he is Saṁkarshaṇa. Pradyumna or Intelligence, is born from Saṁkarshaṇa, and from Pradyumna is sprung Aniruddha, or consciousness (*ahaṁkâra*)[58]. "I, Vâsudêva, am the Male (*Purusha*), the actionless, the Twenty-fifth[59]. I am without constituents (*guṇa*), without parts, indifferent to alternatives, without ownership. I am Îśa, the preceptor of the world. That which thou beholdest is not me, but illusion (*mâyâ*), created by me. Thou shouldst not know me thus, endowed with the constituents of all created things, for I am omnipresent, the inner self (*antarâtman*) of all living creatures, yet when their bodies are destroyed, I am not destroyed. Brahmâ is my chief overseer. Rudra, born of my wrath, is sprung from my forehead . . . . . . (12924) Brahmâ was created by me, and himself sacrificed to me. I made him my son at the beginning of the æon (*kalpa*), and endowed him with the overlordship of the worlds, and with consciousness (*ahaṁkâra*) suggesting the identification of things (*nâma-paryâya vâchaka*) . . . . . After granting these boons, I became inactive (*nivṛitti-paramô 'bhavaṁ*). (12934) After a thousand ages (*yuga*) I shall withdraw the universe into myself, and shall remain alone with Wisdom (*vidyâ*), with which I shall emit the universe again[60] as before. (12936) It was my fourth form (that of Vâsudêva) that created Śêsha or Saṁkarshaṇa. He produced Pradyumna, and in turn Pradyumna produced Aniruddha. From the lotus sprung from Aniruddha's navel was produced Brahmâ. . . . In

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55 *Manas* is not here the *Manas*, or mind, which is the eleventh organ of sense and action, derived from *Ahaṁkâra*, or consciousness, of the Sâṁkhya principles. In this place it is the Bhâgavata synonym of *Buddhi* or *Mahat*, *i. e.*, Intelligence, the second of the Sâṁkhya principles, which is produced from the indiscrete *Prakṛiti* or *Pradhâna*. *Manas* is given as a synonym for this in the *Sâṁkhya-krama-dîpikâ* See Garbe, *Die Sâṁkhya Philosophie*, p. 244. *Parama Bhûta*, the Supreme Element, seems to mean the Ultimate Discrete, beyond which all is Indiscrete. *Cf.* 12903, and also 13035 and note[66] thereon, below.

56 This is all Sâṁkhya-yôga. See Colebrooke, *Essay*, I, 255 ff. Vâsudêva corresponds to the Sâṁkhya-yôga *Purusha* or *Îśvara*.

57 Here we begin to meet the *vyûha* doctrine of the Pâñcharâtras. Śêsha is here only another name of Saṁkarshaṇa, as Sanatkumâra is of Pradyumna. As explained *ante*, p. 261, the process of evolution of the universe by *vyûhas* is as follows:— From Vâsudêva, or the Adorable, are evolved a being named Saṁkarshaṇa and Indiscrete Matter (*Prakṛiti* or *Pradhâna*). From the combination of these two are evolved Pradyumna and Intelligence (*Manas* or *Mahat*. From the combination of these two are evolved Aniruddha and Consciousness (*Ahaṁkâra*). From the combination of these two are evolved Brahmâ, the Fashioner, and the Elements (*Mahâbhûtâni*), out of which he fashions the universe. For another system, with only a single *vyûha* (Aniruddha), see note [66] on 13034 ff.

58 The meaning of all this is that Vâsudêva, by dividing himself became (with the three others) four beings by successive production.

59 *Purusha* is the last of the twenty-five principles in Sâṁkhya-yôga.

60 *Cf.* the Logos doctrine, and 13352, 13467, below.

each æon I shall become incarnate as the Boar, as the Man-lion, as the Dwarf, as Paraśurâma. At the junction of the Trêta and the Dvâpara ages I shall become incarnate as Râma, the son of Daśaratha. The saints already mentioned as the sons of Prajâpati (12757), *viz.*, Êkata and Dvita, shall become incarnate as apes, in punishment for an injury done to Trita[61]. They shall, in that form, be allies in my work. When the Dvâpara age is passing into the Kali age, I shall become incarnate as Kṛishṇa. (Kṛishṇa's exploits detailed). (12965) Having thus relieved the burden of the earth according to my will, I shall cause a terrible destruction (*pralaya*), surrounded by knowledge of the Supreme Self (? *âtmajñânâbhisaṁvṛita*), of the principal Sâtvatas and of Dvârakâ, and shall go to my own worlds (*svân lôkân*), which are honoured by Brâhmaṇas. (Later on, in 12968, the term *sâtvata* is employed as synonymous with the name Kṛishṇa). [Next (12967) comes a recapitulation and fuller list of the incarnations. It is the ordinary well-known list of ten, except that Buddha is omitted, and Haṁsa[62] is substituted, being put first of all. After Haṁsa comes the Tortoise, then the Fish, Boar, Man-lion, &c.]. (12971) Now, Nârada, thou hast seen Me in visible form, a thing which has not been permitted even to Brahmâ."

Bhîshma continues: — "The Adorable Dêva then disappeared. This great *Upanishad* which is associated with (*samanvita*) the four *Vêdas*, made by Sâṁkhya-yôga (*Sâṁkhya-yôga-kṛita*), was named by Nârada '*Pañcharâtra*,' and was heard by him from the mouth of Nârâyaṇa Himself, and was repeated accurately by him in the abode of Brahmâ[63]."

Yudhishṭhira asks why all this had to be told to Brahmâ. Surely he knew it all before. Bhîshma admits that the objection is a sound one. Nârada did not tell it to Brahmâ, but to the saints (*siddha*) assembled there. Sûrya (the sun), having heard it on this occasion, repeated it to sixty-six thousand Ṛishis in his train. (12987) They told it to the deities assembled on Mount Mêru. These told it to Asita,[64] who told to the Fathers (*pitṛi*). The Pitṛi Śântanu, my father, told it to me, and I tell it to thee. It is only to be told by thee to him, who is a faithful one (*bhakta*) of Vâsudêva. Benefits of reciting it described. May the eternal Adorable, Janârdana, be pleased with thee.

Vaiśampâyana narrates how Yudhishṭhira and his brethren, on hearing Bhîshma's discourse, all became devoted to Nârâyaṇa. Their continual cry was "Victory to that Adorable Male (*Bhagavat Purusha*)."

342. Śaunaka asks how it is that Bhagavat (the Adorable), the Bhâgavata Prabhu, who Himself has laid down the rules of inaction (*nivṛitti*), has created gods who partake of sacrifices which involve action (*pravṛitti*) and others, of contrary mind, who follow the rule of inaction.

Sauti replies by telling what Vaiśampâyana said to Janamêjaya on this subject, having heard it himself from Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana. (13034) The Supreme Self (*paramâtman*) of Sâṁkhya-yôga takes the name of Mahâpurusha,—or the Great Male,—by his own act. From Him is sprung the indiscrete Pradhâna[65]. (13036) From the Indiscrete, who is Îśvara, was produced, in order to the creation of the world, the Discrete, — Aniruddha, who is known among men as

[61] They threw him into a well, in order to get his property. Not very saintly conduct.

[62] Haṁsa is the fourteenth in the modern *bhakti*-cult list of twenty-four incarnations. The *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* calls this incarnation Nârada.

[63] Brahmâ was Nârada's father.

[64] Asita Dêvala, the Ṛishi of *Rig-Vêda*, IX, v, 24. Note that he was also the Simeon of Buddhism, who took the young child Siddhârtha into his arms and blessed him. To the Buddhists he was an exemplary Ṛishi, though following heterodox rules. See Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 68.

[65] In Sâṁkhya-yôga also called *prakṛiti*.

He whose self is Intelligence (*mahat*)[66]. He is also Consciousness (*ahaṁkâra*), and being vested with discreteness he created the Grandfather (*i. e.*, Brahmâ). From it also, in its capacity of consciousness, are sprung the five grosser elements (*mahâbhûta*), earth, air, ether, water, and light. Having created the grosser elements, he also formed those qualities (*tân guṇân*)[67]. Eight beings were produced by the combination of the elements, *viz.*, (13040) Marîchi, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vaśishṭha, and Manu Svâyaṁbhuva (*cf.* 12722). These are known as the eight Prakṛitis. From these eight was the whole universe born, while Brahmâ formed the *Vêdas*, sacrifices, &c., Rudra was born, having anger for his Self[68] (*rôshâtmaka*), and himself created ten others, and these eleven are called *vikâra-purushas* or males (*purushas*) by production[69]. All these ask Brahmâ for definitions of their respective duties. He takes them off to enquire from the indiscrete Great Male (*Mahâpurusha*), who dwells on the north shore of the Ocean of Milk (*i. e.*, presumably, in the White Continent). (13054) They engage in austerities, and after a thousand celestial years, the Adorable directs them to perform a sacrifice in His honour. They do so. (13065) Then the Adorable gives them the privilege of enjoying the fruits of sacrifices made by them (this is action, *pravṛitti*) and of receiving a share of the sacrifices offered by men. Strengthened by these sacrifices they are to tend the worlds. So strengthened, they will strengthen Him. (13082) Different creatures are intended for different purposes, some for action (*pravṛitti*), some for inaction (*nivṛitti*). (13075) Marîchi and the others (Manu's name omitted) will be teachers of the *Vêda*, and hence of action. (13079) The seven mind-born sons of Brahmâ: Sana, Sanatsujâta, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumâra, Kapila, and Sanâtana, will be teachers of Sâṁkhya-yôga, and apostles of inaction. They are foremost of those who know Yôga, and are skilled in the Sâṁkhya philosophy (*jñâna*), (Pradhâna is) that from which consciousness (*ahaṁ*) is sprung, and, before (consciousness), intelligence (*mahat*)[70], indiscrete with its three constituents (*guṇa*). Beyond Pradhâna is that which is called Kshêtrajñâ, who is I Myself. This consciousness is the path of those who follow action, and is fraught with return.

(13088) Descriptions of the four ages (*yuga*). In the Kali age, when only a fourth part of righteousness (*dharma*) will remain, (13095) ye are to go to places where the *Vêdas*, sacrifices, austerities, truth, self-restraint, accompanied by mercy, still flourish.

They all go away, except Brahmâ, to whom (13099) the Adorable shows Himself in the form of Aniruddha, with a horse's head (*hayaśiras*), bearing the triple staff (*tridaṇḍa*) and an ascetic's pitcher (*kamaṇḍalu*), and singing all the *Vêdas*. He lays the burden of the world on Brahmâ, promising to become incarnate when necessary, and disappears. Brahmâ adopts himself the path of inaction, but ordains the path of action for others to give picturesqueness (*chitratâ*) to the world. (13108) Vyâsa's song in praise of the Adorable. (13122) Benefits of hearing or reciting the above.

343. Janamêjaya asks Vaiśampâyana the meaning of the names employed for the Adorable in Vyâsa's hymn. Vaiśampâyana quotes the reply of Kêśava (*i. e.*, the incarnate Adorable) himself to a similar question put by Arjuna.

[66] Here, as in 13463 ff., the *vyûhas* Saṁkarshaṇa and Pradyumna of the full list in 12904 ff. are omitted, and Aniruddha performs their functions as well as his own. This is expressly allowed by 13602. *Mahat* is here the equivalent of the Bhâgavata *manas*, or Intelligence, corresponding to the Sâṁkhya-Yôga *buddhi* or *mahat*. The usual stages of evolution are (1) Saṁkarshaṇa-*Pradhâna* (or *Prakṛiti*), thence (2) Pradyumna-*Manas*, thence (3) Aniruddha-*Ahaṁkâra*, and thence (4) Brahmâ and the elements. But here (1) Aniruddha-*Pradhâna* produces *Mahat* (*i. e.*, *Manas*); (2) Aniruddha-*Mahat* produces *Ahaṁkâra*; and (3) Aniruddha-*Ahaṁkâra* produces Brahmâ.

[67] The word *guṇa* can hardly mean the *guṇa*, or constituents, of Sâṁkhya, for they are not subject to creation. They exist from eternity, even in Pradhâna. P. C. Roy interprets the word here as meaning the attributes of the elements. They were created, and then their attributes, and, though this again is not Sâṁkhya, he is evidently right. In this passage all mention of the Sâṁkhya *tan-mâtras*, or subtile elements, and of the ten organs of sense and *manas*, all of which are derived from consciousness, is omitted.

[68] See 13140 ff., below. Rudra was born from Nârâyaṇa's wrath.

[69] *Vikâra* is the Sâṁkhya technical term for the production of *Buddhi* from *Pradhâna*, and so on.

[70] The meaning of the original is not clear, but this seems to be the sense.

There are many names of Me in the four *Vêdas*, *Purâṇas*, *Upanishads*, in astronomy also, in the *Sâṁkhya*, in the *Yôga-śâstra*, and in the *Âyur-Vêda*. (13140) Salutation to Nârâyaṇa, who is the universe, devoid of constituents (*guṇa*), and yet their self (*guṇâtman*). From His grace (*prasâda*) is sprung Brahmâ, and from His wrath (*krôdha*) is sprung Rudra. He is the source (*yôni*) of everything movable and immovable. That which has eighteen attributes (*guṇa*) is Conscious Existence (*sattva*)[71]. It is the supreme Origin (*prakriti*) . the Self (*âtman*) of the worlds (*lôka*). From it come all the changes of creation and absorption. It is austerities, the sacrifice, the sacrificer, the ancient Male (*Purusha*), Virâj[72]. As a male being it is Aniruddha. By His grace (*prasâda*) towards the wane of Brahmâ's night, Brahmâ was born in the lotus. Towards the wane of Brahmâ's day, Aniruddha became subject to anger (*krôdhâvishṭa*), and Rudra (Śiva) was born from his forehead. Thus, of these two great *Vibudhas*, one was born from his grace, and the other from his wrath. Under his directions, these two create and destroy in turn. Rudra, also called Kapardin, &c., is to be considered as having Nârâyaṇa for his Self. Whoever worships him worships me. I am the Self of all worlds, and therefore I worship Rudra, as really my Self. If I did not worship Îśâna (*i. e.*, Rudra), no one would worship my Self. The standard (*pramâṇa*) which I set is followed everywhere. Standards are to be worshipped, and therefore I worship him. He who knows him knows Me and *vice versâ*, Rudra and Nârâyaṇa are one being (*sattva*) divided into two. He alone can grant me a boon. Long ago I once adored him to gain the boon of a son[73]. In doing so, I only adored myself. For there is no other deity whom Vishṇu adores."

(13161) There are four kinds of people who are faithful to me (*mama bhakta*). The first and best are those that are devoted to one god (*êkântin*), *i. e.*, to me alone. The remaining three include those who do good works for the sake of their fruits.

(13167) Explanation of the names Nârâyaṇa, Vâsudêva, Dâmôdara, Pṛiśnigarbha, Kêśava, Gôtama, Hṛishîkêśa. The explanation of the name Vâsudêva is (13169) "As the sun with its rays, I cover the whole world, and am called Vâsudêva because I am the one that dwells above (*adhivâsa*) all creatures." (13186) [Commencement of the explanation of the name Hṛishîkêśa. Agni and Sôma have a common source (*yôni*)].

344. The Adorable explains to Arjuna why Agni and Sôma have a common source. He first relates an ancient story sprung from the energy (*têjas*) of His Self. When at the end of four thousand ages (*yuga*), there occurs a universal dissolution; when everything merges in the Indiscrete; when there is a blank inertia (or darkness, *tamas*[74]) without light or earth or air; when the world is one sea of water and is known as '*Brâhma-bhûta*,' without a second; when there is not night or day; when nothing exists or does not exist; when there is neither Discrete nor Indiscrete: then the eternal Male (*Purusha*), the immutable Hari

[71] *Sattva*, which is itself one of the three *guṇas* of the Sâṁkhya Pradhâna, has itself, as here stated, eighteen *guṇas*, which here mean 'attributes' or 'properties.' A list of these 18 *guṇas* of *sattva* is given on p. 215 of Professor Garbe's *Die Sâṁkhya Philosophie*. A slightly different list is given in Nîlakaṇṭha's commentary to this passage, *viz.*: —

Prîtiḥ prâkâśyam udrêkô *laghutâ sukham êva cha*
akârpaṇyam asaṁrambhaḥ *saṁtôshaḥ śraddadhânatâ*
kshamâ dhṛitir ahiṁsâ cha *śaucham akrôdha êva cha*
ârjavaṁ samatâ satyam *anasûyâ tathai 'va cha*
Iti tat-tad-guṇôpâdhiḥ prîty-âdi-śabditô bhavatî 'ti gauṇa-nâma-nirvachanam.

In *MBH.*, xii, 11623 ff. there is another list of the *guṇas* of *sattva*, but giving 31 not 18. *Cf.* Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 119, 120.

[72] Here Prakriti or Pradhâna is apparently equated with the Adorable, from whom it proceeds. The whole passage seems to mean that Aniruddha, as descended both from the Adorable, and from Prakṛiti, represents them both. Regarding the identification of Purusha with Prakṛiti or Pradhâna, *cf* note to 13762, below.

[73] All this glorification of Śiva is evidently an insertion by the writer of the latest additions to the epic (what Hopkins calls the 'pseudo-epic,') in which no god is equal to Śiva. So also the concluding part of the next *adhyâya*. *Cf.* Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 184.

[74] *Tamas* here means *Prakṛiti*. See note to 13463, below.

becomes revealed from the inertia (or darkness, *tamas*), which is endowed with the constituent of Nârâyaṇa (*Nârâyaṇaguṇâśraya*), immortal, without senses, inconceivable, without origin, true, merciful, with a mark upon his forehead, impelling in various manners, without hate, death, decay, or form, all-pervading, maker of all things.[75] (Reference to *Ṛig-Vêda*, X, cix, 1.) Then, on the revealing of this Male (*Purusha*), sprung from *tamas*, having Bráhma (neut.) for his source (*yôni*), namely on the revealing of Brahmâ (masc.), the Male (*Purusha*), being desirous to create offspring, created Agni and Sôma from his two eyes. Description of the deity of Agni. Description of Brâhmaṇas and their powers. Stories of several Ṛishis.

(13224) Agni and Sôma are regarded as the joy (*harsha*) of the universe. Hence I am called Hṛishîkêśa. Continuation of the explanation of the names in Vyâsa's hymn. Ṛitadhâman, Śipivishṭa, Aja, Satya (13235-7) Sàttvata (*sic*) (because I am full of *sattva*), Kṛishṇa (because I plough, *kṛishâmi*, the earth, and am of dark (*kṛishṇa*) complexion), Vaikuṇṭha, Achyuta, Adhôkshaja, Ghṛitârchis, Tridhâtu, Vṛisha, Vṛishâkapi, Anâdi, Amadhya, Ananta, Śuchiśravas, Êkâśṛiṅga, Trikakud, Viriñcha, (13254) Kapila (by the followers of Sâṁkhya), (13255) Hiraṇyagarbha (by the followers of Yôga, *cf.* 13703), the four different *Vêdas* Dharmaja, Nara and Nârâyaṇa, Khaṇḍaparaśu. Legend of the origin of the last name and of the battle between Rudra and Nara-Nârâyaṇa. Brahmâ intervenes and pacifies Rudra, who acknowledges Hari's superiority. Hari addresses Rudra after the reconciliation (13293): — "He that knows Thee, knows Me; He that follows Thee, follows Me; There is no difference between us two." I have now told this story. (13300) Rudra is the deity sprung from my wrath (*krôdha*). End of the Adorable's speech.

345. Sûta relates to Śaunaka, Vaiśampâyana's account to Janamêjaya of Nârada's adventures after seeing Nârâyaṇa. (13314) Nârada goes to Badarî and there meets the Ṛishis Nara and Nârâyaṇa. He tells them what he has seen in the White Continent. (13358) Bhagavat the Adorable, is dear to Bhâgavatas. (13370) I am here under Hari's instructions, and shall in future dwell with you two.

346. Nara and Nârâyaṇa address Nârada. He is highly honoured by having been permitted to see the Lord (Prabhu). Not even Brahmâ has seen Him. "No-one is more dear to Him than His *bhaktas*, and therefore He showed Himself to thee. We two are the only ones who have access to the place where He performs austerities. (13376) From Him springs mercy (*kshamâ*), which is connected with the earth; savour (*rasa*) attached to water; heat (*têjas*) attached to the sun; tangibility (*sparśa*) attached to the air (*vâyu*); audibility (*śabda*) attached to the ether (*âkâśa*); and mind (*manas*) which is attached to the moon. That place, where He dwells, with Wisdom (*vidyâ*, cf. 12935 and 13467) for His companion is named by the *Vêda* 'Sat,' the existing, the productive cause of things created (*bhûta*). (13383) The perfect who are free from actions, whether good or bad (*puṇya-pâpa-vivarjita*), go thither. They first enter the sun (*âditya*) as the door. There their bodies are consumed and they become atomic entities (*paramâṇubhûta*). Thence they enter that God (name not mentioned[76]), and then, freed from him, they stand in the body (*tanu*) of Aniruddha. Then having become mental entities (*manôbhûta*) they enter Pradyumna. Freed from Pradyumna, the best Brâhmaṇas (*viprapravara*) and Sâṁkhyas, with the Bhâgavatas, enter Saṁkarshaṇa who is living soul (*jîva*). Thence, void of the three constituents (*traiguṇa-hîna*), they instantly enter the Supreme Self (*paramâtman*), the Kshêtrajña, Himself without constituents, (13388), who is Vâsudêva, the abode of all things (*sarvâvâsa*). We were born in the house of Dharma, and live here to hail the various manifestations of the deity in the three worlds." (13397), Nârada remains with Nara and Nârâyaṇa for a thousand celestial years.

347. Origin of the oblations to the *pitṛis* explained in a conversation between Nârada and Nârâyaṇa, the elder of the two sons of Dharma.

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75 Here we leave the Sâṁkhya-yôga, and find ourselves among the Brahmâ speculations of the *Upanishads*.

76 P. C. Roy says he is Nârâyaṇa, which is impossible. I consider that it refers simply to the Sun. Being consumed they enter him as the door.

348. I have told you the word of Nârâyaṇa as it was spoken to Nârada, and as I heard it from Vyâsa. It was obtained by Nârada from Nârâyaṇa Himself. It has once before been concisely told in the *Harigîtâs* (*i. e.*, the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*). (13441) The Sauti tells Śaunaka that he has now told him the story (*âkhyâna*) entitled the *Nârâyaṇîya*. Praise of Nârâyaṇa by the Sauti, and list of His attributes. He is . . . . (13447) the Witness, of the Worlds (*lôka-sâkshin*) (*cf.* 13743), the Unborn (*aja*), the Male (*Purusha*), the Ancient One (*Purâṇa*) . . . . . He is adored with their understanding (*buddhi*) by the Sâṁkhya-yôgins.

349. Śaunaka asks why the Adorable appeared to Brahmâ with a horse's head (*haya-śiras*), (see 13092 in *Adhyâya* 342). The Sûta tells how Vaiśampâyana explained the point to Janamêjaya. (13462) Description of the dissolution of things. The earth (*dharaṇî*), becomes absorbed (*lîna*) into water (*âpas*), the water into light (*jyotis*), light into air (*vâyu*), air into ether (*âkâśa*), ether into intelligence (*manas*), intelligence into the Discrete (*vyakta*), the Discrete into the Indiscrete (*avyakta*), the Indiscrete into the Male (*purusha*), and the Male (*puṁs*) into the All (*sarva*).[77] Then the All become only inertia (*tamas*). Inertia is in its essence primevally immortal (*mûlâmritâtmaka*). From it was sprung (*saṁbhûta*) Bráhma (neut.). It had for its aim the conception of a universe, and so took a form evolved from the Male (*paurushîṁ tanum*), (13466). As a male, this form is called Aniruddha, and, as a neuter, it is also called Pradhâna.[78] It is indiscrete and possesses the three constituents (*guṇa*). He is the deity with Wisdom (*vidyâ*, cf. 12935 and 13382) for his companion. Vishvaksêna, Hari, the Lord (*prabhu*). He became subject to Yôga-sleep, and lay upon the waters only. There he meditated upon creation, and while meditating remembered intelligence (*mahat*),[79] which was his own self (*âtmaguṇa*, cf. 13036), and from it was born consciousness (*ahaṁkâra*), which is Brahmâ, also called Hiraṇyagarbha, sprung from Aniruddha in a lotus. Seated upon the lotus he saw the universe consisting of nothing but water. Adopting the constituent of Conscious Existence (*sattva*), as Paramêshṭhin (*sic*), he began to create the elements (*bhûtagaṇa*). Nârâyaṇa had also created (*kṛita*) two drops of water on the leaf of the lotus. One became Madhu, born of the constituent of inertia (*tamas*). The other became Kaiṭabha, born of energy (*rajas*). They watch Brahmâ seated on the lotus and emitting (*srijan*) the four *Vêdas*. They seize the *Vêdas*, and carry them off to the bottom of the Ocean.[80] Brâhma appeals to the Lord (*Îśâna*), called Hari. (13486) Brahmâ's hymn. . . . (13487) Thou art the receptacle of Sâṁkhya-yôga. . Thou art the maker of the discrete and of the indiscrete . . . without source (*ayônija*). (13489) I was born from Thy grace (*prasâda*). My first, or mental, birth was from Thee.[81] My second, ancient, birth was from Thine eye. My third from Thy mouth, my fourth from Thine ear, my fifth from the nose (*nâsatya*), my sixth from an egg, and this my seventh from a lotus. All these births were from Thee. The *Vêdas* are my eyes. They have been taken away, and I am blind. . . . .

(13496) The Adorable Male (*Purusha*) resolves to rescue the *Vêdas*. He takes a form with the head of a horse (*hayaśiras*). (13507) In this form He finds the *Vêdas*, and returns them to Brahmâ. (13520) He slays Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Aided by Hari, Brahmâ creates the universe. (13524) Hari subsequently, on another occasion, again assumed the same form for the sake of the religion (*dharma*) of action (*pravṛitti*, see *Adhyâya* 342). The Horse's Head is a primeval (*paurâṇa*) form. Benefits arising from the recitation of the story.

[77] The Discrete is Aniruddha of the Bhâgavata single-vyûha system of evolution. But it is Aniruddha in process of evolution, combined in turn with *Pradhâna*, *Mahat* or *Manas* (Sâṁkhya *Buddhi*), and *Ahaṁkâra*. Cf. 13033, and note [66] thereon.

[78] This is, of course, once more another name for Prakṛiti. With the reference to *tamas*, above, we may note that this word is also used in Sâṁkhya as a synonym, or rather epithet, of Prakṛiti. See Garbe, *Die Sâṁkhya Philosophie*, p. 205.

[79] Intelligence (*mahat* or *manas*) is the second of the Bhâgavata principles, and Consciousness (*ahaṁkâra*) is the third. The evolution described here, with Aniruddha alone, is the same as that described in note [66], above, to 13034 ff.

[80] Compare the parallel account in *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, viii, 24.

[81] According to 13559, below, this birth was from Nârâyaṇa's mouth.

(13528) Whatever forms the deity assumes, He does so by His own power (*kurvâṇaḥ svayam âtmânam âtmanâ*). He is the receptacle of the *Vêdas* and of austerities. He is Yôga, He is Sâṁkhya, He is the foremost Bráhma (neut.), and the infinite[82] (*vibhu*) Hari . . . . The religion, in which rebirth is impossible (*i. e.*, *nivṛitti*, see *Adhyâya* 342), has Nârâyaṇa for its object, and so also the religion, which has *pravṛitti* for its distinguishing mark, has Nârâyaṇa for its essence. Smell, the attribute of earth; taste, that of water; touch, that of air; sound, that of ether; mind (*manas*), of which the attribute is indiscreteness (*avyaktaguṇa-lakshaṇa*); time; Kîrti, Śrî, and Lakshmî; Sâṁkhya and Yôga; all these have Nârâyaṇa for their Selfs (*âtman*). (13537) As the Male (*Purusha*) He is the Cause, and as Pradhâna He is also the cause. . . . He, Hari Nârâyaṇa is the one real principle (*tattva*)[83]. He, Kêśava, knows the thoughts of Brahmâ, of the Ṛishis, of the Sâṁkhyas, of the Yôgins, of the Yatins who know themselves, but not they His. All acts performed in honour of the gods are really devoted to Vishṇu. He is called Vâsudêva, the abode of all beings and actions (*sarva-bhûta-kṛitâ-'vâsa*, cf. *sarvâvâsa*, in 13388, above).

350. Janamêjaya says: — The ordinary good man, free from both merit and demerit, reaches the Male (*Purusha*), through the three stages (of Aniruddha, Pradyumna, and Saṁkarshaṇa); but those who are monotheists, — devoted to one God (*êkântin*) reach the Male (*Purusha*) at once. To my mind the latter is the preferable religion. Who taught it first?

Vaiśampâyana says: — It was told by the Adorable Himself to Arjuna (*i. e.*, in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*). As then stated it was difficult to understand. Nârada subsequently explained it to Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana, who explained it to me. Nârada's account of the mode in which the religion was taught was as follows: —

(13559) When Brahmâ was mentally born from Nârâyaṇa's mouth[84], the latter imparted it to the Vaikhânasas, who drank foam, and they to Sôma, and then it disappeared.

(13562) At the second birth of Brahmâ, from Nârâyaṇa's eye, Brahmâ received it from Sôma and gave it to Rudra, who, in the Kṛita age, gave it to the Vâlakhilya Ṛishis. Then it again disappeared.

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[82] *Vibhu*, as a Bhāgavata technical term, means 'infinite,' as opposed to *aṇu*, 'finite.' The word here possibly means 'a developed, or secondary, form of the Adorable.' According to the Bhâgavatas, the Supreme Deity exists in five different forms.

1. The first is that of the Adorable Himself, the Bhagavat, in this connexion styled 'Parâtpara' or 'The Supreme.'

2. The second consists of the four *vyûhas* or evolved forms of the Adorable, *viz.*, Vâsudêva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, dealt with at length in the Nârâyaṇîya.

3. The third is that of a Vibhava, or secondary form of the Deity. There are five kinds of *vibhavas viz*:—

(*a*) A *Pûrṇa Avatâra*, or complete incarnation, such as that of Râma, Kṛishṇa, or the Man-lion.

(*b*) An *Aṁśa Avatâra*, or major Partial Incarnation, in which only a portion of the Deity became incarnate, such as those of the Fish, the Tortoise, the Dwarf, or Kapila.

(*c*) A *Kalâ Avatâra*, or minor Partial Incarnation, in which the Deity is not present to so great an extent as in the preceding. Such is Paraśu-Râma, who, in the Anugîtâ, is not referred to as an incarnation at all. It will be remembered that he was a Brâhmaṇa, who was conquered by Râma, a Kshatriya incarnation.

(*d*) A *Śakti Avatâra*, or an Incarnation in Might, such as those of the Adorable as Śiva or Brahmâ who, according to Bhâgavata theology were but forms of Him.

(*e*) A *Vibhûti Avatâra* (Incarnation of Power) or *Kârya Avatâra* (Incarnation for a Purpose). This is a temporary or occasional manifestation, such as that of the Adorable as Môhinî at the churning of the ocean. Every Bhâgavata who preaches the doctrines of his religion is, for the time being, a *Vibhûti Avatâra*.

4. The fourth form in which the Supreme Deity exists is that of the *Antaryâmin* or 'Inward Restrainer,' *i. e.*, the God in the soul of every animate being.

5. The fifth and last form is that of an *Archâ Avatâra*, or Incarnation for Worship, *i. e.*, the Deity inherent in every idol or other representation of God. An idol is merely a *mûrti*, or image, till it is solemnly consecrated (*pratishṭhita*) according to the rules laid down in the *Nârada Pañcharâtra*. It is then no longer a *mûrti*, or image, but is an *Archâ Avatâra*.

For most of the above, I am indebted to Śrî Sitârâma-śaraṇa Bhagawân Prasâda, the esteemed editor and translator of the Bhakta-mâla.

[83] *Tattva* is the name given to the Twenty-five Sâṁkhya principles, to which reference has frequently been made, *viz.*, Nature (*prakṛiti* or *pradhâna*), Intelligence (*buddhi* or *mahat*), Consciousness (*ahaṁkâra*), Mind (*manas*), the ten Organs of Sense and Action (*indriya*), the five Subtile Elements (*tanmâtra*), the five Grosser Elements (*mahâbhûta*), and the Soul (*purusha*, *puṁs*, *âtman*). In the theistic Yôga, the last is deified into the Universal Soul, or God.

[84] Cf. 13489, above.

(13565) At the third birth of Brahmâ, from Nârâyaṇa's voice, Nârâyaṇa Himself gave it to the Ṛishi Suparṇa, who recited it three times a day. Hence it is called Trisauparṇa. Suparṇa gave it to Vâyu, who gave it to the Ṛishis, who ate the residues of oblations. They gave it to the Ocean (*mahôdadhi*), and then it disappeared again and became merged in Nârâyaṇa.

(13571) At the next birth of Brahmâ, from Nârâyaṇa's ear, Nârâyaṇa ordered Brahmâ to receive the religion under the name of Śâsvata, and by its means to create and arrange the Kṛita age. Brahmâ received the religion, with its mysteries, its abstracts (*saṁgraha*) and its *âraṇyaka*, as it issued from the mouth of Nârâyaṇa. He then created the worlds. The first age was the Kṛita age, which was auspicious, inasmuch as the Sâttvata (*sic*) religion was established and pervaded the worlds. Brahmâ taught it to Manu Svârôchisha, who taught his son Śaṅkhapada, who taught his son Suvarṇâbha. When the Trêta age came, it again disappeared.

(13585) In the birth of Brahmâ from (Nârâyaṇa's) nose (*nâsatyê janmani*), Hari Nârâyaṇa recited it Himself to Brahmâ, who taught it to Sanatkumâra, who taught it to Vîraṇa, the Prajâpati, in the Kṛita age, who taught it to Raibhya, who taught it to his son Kukshi. It then disappeared.

(13590) In the next birth of Brahmâ, from an egg born of Hari, Brahmâ received it from Nârâyaṇa's mouth and communicated it to the Barhishad Munis, they to a Brâhmaṇa (*dvija*) conversant with the *Jyêshṭha Sâman* and with the *Vêdânta*, whose name was Jyêshṭha who gave it to King Avikalpana. It then disappeared.

(13594) At the seventh birth of Brahmâ, that from the lotus[85], Nârâyaṇa taught it to Brahmâ, who taught it to Daksha, who taught it to the eldest son of his daughter, Âditya, who was older than Savitṛi, and from whom Vivasvat received it. In the beginning of the Trêta age Vivasvat gave it to Manu, who gave it to his son Ikshvâku, by whom it was spread abroad over the earth. At the dissolution of the universe, it will again go to Nârâyaṇa.

(13599) This, which is the religion of Yatins, has been already compendiously told in the *Harigîtâs* (*i. e.*, in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*). Nârada got it with its mysteries and abstracts from Nârâyaṇa Himself. It is difficult of comprehension and performance, and is always maintained by Sâttvatas (*sic*).

(13602) By some Hari is worshipped under one manifestation (*vyûha*) (*i.e.*, Aniruddha cf. 13035 and 13466), by some under two (*i. e.*, Aniruddha and Pradyumna), by some under three (*i. e.*, Aniruddha, Pradyumna, and Saṁkarshaṇa, cf. 12897 ff.), and by some under four (*i. e.*, Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Saṁkarshaṇa, and Vâsudêva, cf. 13752). Hari alone is the Khsêtrajña, without egoism (*nirmama*) and without parts (*nishkala*). He is the Living Soul (*jîva*) in all beings with attributes (*dharma-bhûta*), transcending the five elements (*bhûta*)[86], and He is intelligence (*manas*), setting in action the five senses (*indriya*). He is inactive and active, cause and effect, and, as the Male (*Purusha*), the Immutable, He sports according to His desire[87]. Such is the religion of devotion to the one God (*êkântadharma*), as I heard it by the favour of my preceptor. It is hard to be understood by those of undisciplined self (*akṛitâtman*), and it is hard to find many men who are devoted to one (*êkântin*). My preceptor heard it from Nârada. Those who are devoted to Nârâyaṇa go to Him, who is the supreme Brâhma[88] who is white in colour, and brilliant as the moon.

Janamêjaya asks why different persons follow different religious practices.

(13615) Vaiśampâyana explains that men's natures differ. Some are subject to *sattva* (conscious existence), others to *têjas* (energy), and others to *tamas* (inertia). It is the nature of those of the first class that leads to emancipation. (13621) The religion of devotion to Nârâyaṇa is equal[89] to Sâṁkhya-yôga. He who follows it is endowed with *sattva* because Hari looks upon

[85] *I. e.*, the present 'dispensation.'

[86] The well-known five elements of Sâṁkhya: ether, air, fire, water, and earth. So the five senses are sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch.

[87] Here we see the influence of the Brahmaist theory of *lîlâ*.

[88] Here we again see the influence of Brahmaism.

[89] Hopkins (*Great Epic*, pp. 99, 100) here justly points out that it is stated that the Bhâgavata religion is as good as Sâṁkhya-yôga, not the same as it.

him. He is awakened (*pratibuddha*) by Hari looking upon him. No one can be awakened by his own will.[90]

(13623). When a man's nature is mixed, and is subject to both *rajas* and *tamas*, he has *pravṛitti* (the way of works) as his characteristic, and it is not Hari, but Brahmâ, who looks upon him.[91] The deities and Ṛishis themselves are certainly in a state of *sattva*, but it is not *sattva* in its subtile (*sûkshma*) form, and therefore they are still subject to change (*vaikârika*).

Janamêjaya asks how a being thus subject to change can reach the supreme Male (*Purusha*). He also asks for further information regarding *pravṛitti*.

Vaiśampâyana explains:—The soul (*purusha*) or twenty-fifth (principle of the Sâṁkhyas), which is actionless (*i. e.*, performs no works, good or bad), goes to the Male (*Purusha*), who is very subtile, who is endowed with the (twenty-five Sâṁkhya) principles (*tattva-saṁyukta*), and with the three letters (*a* + *u* + *m*). The Sâṁkhya-yôga, the Vêdas and Araṇyakas, and the Pañcharâtra (*sic*) are mutually related and are really and only one. This is the religion of those who are solely devoted (*ékântin*) to Nârâyaṇa alone. As waves issue from the ocean only to re-enter it again, so do these waves of the ocean of knowledge again re-enter Nârâyaṇa. This is the Sâttvata (*sic*) religion, the immutable monotheistic (*ékânta*) way of the white men and of Yatins. It was taught by Nârada to Vyâsa, my preceptor, and by Vyâsa to me. Vyâsa also taught Yudhishṭhira. It is difficult to follow (*duśchara*). Others become as much puzzled by it as you; for Kṛishṇa alone is the teacher and the perplexer of the universe, its destroyer and its cause.

351. Janamêjaya asks:— Are the Sâṁkhya-yôga, the Pañcharâtra (*sic*), the Vêda-Araṇyaka separate courses of duty (*nishṭha*) or one course? Also, explain *pravṛitti*.

Vaiśampâyana:—(Episode of the story of the birth of the Vyâsa, Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana, with an account of the origin of the *Vêdas*.) (13702) There are these five different philosophies, (*jñâna*), *viz.*, Sâṁkhya, Yôga, Pañcharâtra, Vêda, (*i. e.*, Vêda-Araṇyaka), and Pâśupata. Kapila declared the Sâṁkhya. Hiraṇyagarbha (*cf.* 13255), and no other man of old, was the teller (of Yôga). Apântaratamas, also called Prâchînagarbha, was the teacher of the *Vêdas*.[92] Śiva, the Lord of Umâ, Śrîkaṇṭha, the son of Brahmâ, spake the Pâśupata lore.[93] The Adorable, Himself is the kenner (*vêttṛi*) of the entire Pañcharâtra (*sic*). In all these, according to the scriptures and philosophies of each, the Lord Nârâyaṇa is the object of worship (*nishṭhâ*). Those that know the Pañcharâtra, who are devoted to monotheism (*êkântabhâva*), enter Hari. The Sâṁkhya, Yôga, and Vêdas are primeval (*sanâtana*). In all, the worship is directed to Nârâyaṇa.

352. Janamêjaya asks if there are many males (*purushas*, *i. e.*, souls) or only one. What is the source of all things?

Vaiśampâyana replies: — In the opinion of the Sâṁkhya-yôga there are many males in the world. Nor do their followers admit that there is only one Male. But inasmuch as one sole source (*yôni*) of the many males is declared, therefore shall I describe that one Male (*Purusha*) who is above constituents (*guṇâdhika*) as the All. This *Purusha-sûkta* (*Ṛig Vêda*, X, 90) is celebrated in all the *Vêdas* as right (*ṛita*) and true (*satya*). Treatises, with general rules and exceptions, have been declared by Ṛishis, beginning with Kapila, in their contemplation of the Highest Self (*adhyâtma*),[94] but the doctrine of unity of the Male (*Purusha*), which was declared by Vyâsa, as he heard it explained by Brahmâ to Mahâdêva, is what I now proceed to tell.[95] (13737) There are

[90] Here we have the germ of the "cat" or "irresistible grace" school of the Bhakti cult. The Deity is represented as taking up the soul of him who is to be saved, as a cat takes up its passive kitten, in opposition to the "monkey" or "co-operative grace" school, which holds that the soul must cling to the Deity, as a young monkey clings to its mother.

[91] *I. e.*, they have a happy future life, but when the fruits of their works are exhausted they are liable to rebirth.

[92] It has been explained in the episode (13697) that Apântaratamas was born again as the Vyâsa, Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 97, note 3, suggests that it is possible that in mentioning Hiraṇyagarbha 'and no other,' the verse is a refutation of the claim of Patañjali to be author of the Yôga system.

[93] For an account of the Pâśupata doctrines, see Colebrooke, *Essays*, II, 430 ff.

[94] Cf. *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, viii, 1.

[95] Here, as Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 123, 134, points out, we have the Sâṁkhya doctrine of the plurality of souls proclaimed of old by Kapila, who is represented as the first of all the Ṛishis in time, and condemned in favour of the Yôga doctrine of a Universal Soul or Male (*Purusha*) from whom the many souls (*purusha*) of Sâṁkhya take their rise.

many males (*purushas*) and one Male (*Purusha*), who is their source (*yôni*). If they become void of constituents (*nirguṇa*) they enter Him, the universal supreme Male (*Purusha*), who is Himself void of constituents.[96]

353. Brahmâ continues his explanation commenced in 13737: — The universality and invisibility of the Male (*Purusha*). Without a body, yet dwelling in all bodies. Though dwelling, in bodies (*śarîra*) He is not affected by their acts. He is my inner self (*antarâtman*) and thine. (13743) He is the Witness of all who possess bodies (*dêha*) (*cf.* 13447). He is incomprehensible. The universe is His head. The universe is His arms. The universe is His feet, eyes, and nose. ONE He wanders at His will in the *kshêtras*. *Kshêtra* (or 'field') means 'body' (*śarîra*). He knows all *kshêtras* and their seed (*i. e.*, actions), whether it be good or bad, and therefore He Whose very self is Yôga, is called the *Kshêtrajña*, or 'The Kenner of the Field.' His not-goings and His goings are unknowable. (13746-47) I have studied His goings, in order, according to Sâṁkhya and according to Yôga, yet I know them not, but according to my knowledge I will tell thee of the primeval Male (*Purusha*), of His oneness and of His greatness. He is recorded as the One Male (*Purusha*). That primeval One bears the name of the Great Male (*Mahâ-purusha*). Just as fire is one, but glares everywhere; just as the sun is one, but is the universal source of heat; just as air is one, but blows everywhere; just as the ocean is one, but is the source of all the waters; so the Male (*Purusha*) is one, void of constituents, having for His form the Universe. By casting aside everything that has constituents, every act, whether good or bad, by abandoning truth and falsehood, so does a man become without constituents, and enter Him. He who, knowing the inconceivable, humbly contemplates the quadruple subtle entity[97], goes to that auspicious Male (*Purusha*). (13753) Some learned men prefer to consider Him as the Supreme Self (*Paramâtman*) and others as the one Self, which is Self (*êkâtmânam âtmânam*).[98] According to the former opinion that Supreme Self is without constituents, and is to be known as Nârâyaṇa, the All-Self (*sarvâtman*) the Male (*Purusha*). As the lotus-leaf is not affected by a drop of water, so He is not affected by the fruits of actions. But the other Self, the active self (*karmâtman*) is confined by the bonds of salvation (*môksha*[99]) and also (in the state of the *liṅga śarîra*) by the seventeenfold rope.[100] It is owing to (the existence of this *liṅga śarîra*) that it is (erroneously) said that the Male (*Purusha*) is manifold. But (there is only one, Who) is the abode of the world-ordinances, the highest object of knowledge, the knower and the thing to be known, the thinker and the thing to be thought, the eater and the thing to be eaten . . . . (13758) the everlasting immutable *Pradhâna*. . . (Repetition of what has been said several times before) . . . (13762) The Male (*Purusha*) in His four-fold manifestation sports[1] (*krîḍati*) as He wishes, He is the Adorable instructed by His own knowledge.

In this manner have I taught you, as is told in the Sâṁkhya philosophy (*jñâna*) and also in the Yôga.[2]

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96 Here the alleged Yôga is getting mixed up with Brahmaism.

97 Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Saṁkarshaṇa, and Vâsudêva.

98 This is the translation preferred by Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 143, note 1. The two systems contrasted are Yôga and Brahmaism. The author here holds to the first. The commentator makes *âtmânam* refer to Sâṁkhya, and *êkâtmânam* to Brahmaism.

99 Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 167, suggests that we should read *môha*, instead of *môksha*, 'confined by the bonds of delusion'. This gives much better sense.

100 In Sâṁkhya, *karmâtman* is the epithet applied to *ahaṁkâra*, or consciousness, when in a state of production, whether of mind (*manas*), of the senses (*indriya*), or of the subtile elements (*tanmâtra*). See Garbe, *Die Sâṁkhya Philosophie*, p. 249.

According to the *Sâṁkhya-pravachana-bhâshya* on *Sûtra*, III, 9, which quotes the present passage with approval the reference here is to the *liṅga-śarîra*, personality or character, as distinct from the soul (*purusha*). This *liṅga. śarîra* is made up of seventeen constituents, *viz.*, the mind, the ten senses, and the five subtile elements, together with *buddhi* and *ahaṁkâra* counted together as one. *Karmâtman* is therefore here equivalent to the *liṅga-śarîra*. It is this personality or character which accompanies the soul and leads it wandering through transmigrations. Not till the soul is freed from it does it obtain *môksha*, 'release.'

1 Again a reference to the Brahmaist *lîlâ*.

2 As Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 125, justly remarks, a great deal of what has been said is not Sâṁkhya-yôga at all. For instance the identification of *Pradhâna* with *Purusha*, as here and elsewhere in the Nârâyaṇîya, is radically opposed to Sâṁkhya-yôga dualism.

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